/ xxxvi cont. /

*114 Our entire country is straining every effort consistent with the Lenin national policy to help the culturally backward peoples of the USSR to overcome their backwardness, which has been centuries in forming, to help them to catch up with the most cultured peoples of the Union, to contribute to the direct transition of their disintegrating clan society to a socialist society, passing over the capitalistic stage. And the works of Shternberg printed here, with a certain critical approach to their methodology, indubitably offer, we repeat, very valuable material for our workers in this field.

/xxxvii/

● 128 The present collection of works by Shternberg, with the exception of the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketches "Sakhalinskie gilyaki," "Orochi," "Ainskaia problema," "Kul't inau," and "Programmy po sobraniiu etnograficheskikh svedenii /Programs on the Collection of Ethnographic Information/," appears in print for the first time.

It is necessary to give some special explanation with regard to these works. The end of the article, "Klassifikatsiia korennogo naseleniia Amurskogo kraia /The Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region/," specifically, that part dealing with the nomenclature of these peoples, was reconstructed by V. I. Tsintsius (1) from rough drafts by Shternberg found in his archives.

1. Docent of the Leningrad Historico-Linguistic Institute and a scientific co-worker of the Institute of the Peoples of the North (of the INS).

The end of the sketch "Gol'dy," offering an account of the expedition of 1910, was likewise not found in the archives, and that gap is compensated for, to a certain degree, by "Otdel'nye materialy po etnografii gol'dov /Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Gol'di/," dug up from the archives by V. Tsintsius.

/xxxvii cont./

128 V. I. Tsintsius has also extracted from the archives systematized, separate materials, ethnographic, linguistic, and in part grammatical, on the Goldi, Orochi, and Negidal, and in the selection of the Negidal materials, another one of Shternberg's students took part, K. M. Myl'nikova (2). "Otdel'nye materialy po

2. Researcher on the Negidal and Lamut.

giliakam /Separate Materials on the Gilyak/" were selected by S. A. Ratner-Shternberg (3) from the notebooks of the author and

3. Ethnographer of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

other travel notes by him from the nineties of the last century and 1910 and were systematized by her; the style of the notes, the transcription of the non-native words, and, where it was possible to determine them, the dates cited are observed as far as possible.

The transcription of the Gilyak words and texts were checked by one of Shternberg's students in Gilyak studies, IU. A. Kreinovich (4).

4. Researcher on the Gilyak, scientific co-worker of the INS.

The anthropological materials were worked over by G. I. Petrov (5).

5. Former scientific co-worker of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, now head scientific co-worker of the Acad. of Mater. Culture in Leningrad.

128 With regard to "Otdel'nye materialy," for both the Tungus and the Gilyak, we must state that there might be data in them which were hastily thrown in during Shternberg's field work and, upon future examination by him, might have been deleted or corrected, but to clarify such instances, if they occur at all, is unfortunately, impossible.

104 As for the transcription of the Gilyak and Tungus-Manchu words, in agreement with the above-named co-workers -- linguists, we have adopted a Latinized transcription, preserving, however, some Russian letters, namely, ж, з, х, ч, ш /transliterated in the translation as zh, dz, kh, ch, and sh, respectively/, and departing somewhat from the signs generally accepted in modern linguistics for the expression of the length of vowels, softening of sounds, and so forth, in view of the technical obstacles in the typography of publishing. For the same reason it was necessary in the transcription of the Gilyak words, to omit a number of signs for the expression of certain phonetic nuances accepted by Shternberg in his "Obraztsakh po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Samples for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/." An explanation of the accepted transcription can be found below.

In the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketch "Sakhalinskie giliaki" published during the author's lifetime, the former transcription for Gilyak words is preserved. /HRAF ed.: The spelling of native terms in the original text is confusing, because letters from both the Russian and Latin alphabets have been used and they are not always distinguishable. In doubtful cases the letters have been transliterated as Russian, for which the transliteration system of the Board of Geographic Names (BGN) is used. Furthermore, the spelling of native terms varies from section to section in the original text, in part because of the use of the different alphabets, but sometimes inexplicably. In the following table, which has been slightly modified to avoid the use of the five Russian letters mentioned above, the Russian letter to which a given consonant corresponds is shown in the transliterated (BGN) form. The Library of Congress transliteration system is used for bibliographic references, and tribal names are spelled as they appear in the Outline of World Cultures./

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native 574 517 [484] [157] places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 157 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social framework of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

128

III.

601 171 174

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] [614] [595] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/383 cont./

683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
[411] with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[859] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
648 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
[178] present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

121
128 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[592] [128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

[The western coast]

162 /385 cont./
592
128

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 The total population is 1,041, of whom
595 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[161] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[589]

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

[128]
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163 The number of children who
165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124]

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

T /388 cont./

361 The inhabitants of the village of Kekhrvo say that in the
[103] extreme north -- above Cape Levenshtern -- there is a small
E[162] settlement of Orochon on the coast -- Trond (two yurts with six
G [103] men and three women). It has communications with the western
T coast by way of the settlement of Pomr (a 24 hour trip on reindeer,
[484] although from Kekhrvo it takes 10-15 days in the summer). The
[492] remaining Sakhalin settlements of Orochon, as well as the settle-
G ments of the Tungus, were also described in detail during the
T [128] census. We shall not, however, include the details about these
peoples in the present article, which deals only with the Gilyak.

/6 cont./

122 Little as I understood Gilyak, it was nevertheless always more than any other newcomer in the Amur region, because it was more important for me to learn the language than for anyone else.
[123] Also, I can offer the testimony given by the Gilyak themselves to the effect that I did not speak their language like the other Russians (or foreigners), but in the way they themselves spoke (2),

> 2. I heard them say to one another about me, he speaks "mer ngarlatsch," i.e., "like us."

which undoubtedly referred to my use of some of their /7/ verb forms and suffixes, which were still wholly unknown to my contemporaries in the Amur region, and in any case did not mean much in view of their extremely slight knowledge of Gilyak. It was similar for Maximowicz with the Olcha and Goldi as for me with the Gilyak. Therefore none of the information given below about these peoples was obtained through the mediation of
122 interpreters. This circumstance perhaps makes our reports much
128 less complete than they would have been otherwise, since at the beginning, before learning the language, we had to limit ourselves to observation with the eyes and renounce the much more important instruction through the ears. On the other hand, however, the information, especially concerning abstract things, religious conceptions, and the like, could only gain in trustworthiness and inner value if it was obtained directly and immediately and not rendered in the light in which it was reflected in the mind of an uneducated interpreter.

123 Another and scarcely less significant difficulty in ethnographic research lies in the easily understandable suspicion with which the traveler is only too apt to be met among a half-wild foreign people and which makes the people either taciturn and reserved or even prompts deliberately false and untrue statements. I tried to overcome this, on the one hand, by friendly advances, small presents, hospitality, and kindnesses of all sorts, and, on the other hand, by caution in accepting all

G /8 cont./
123 absolutely negative. In their naïve way they, of course, did not suspect that I might have understood their conversation.

G SS 121 The above-mentioned circumstances that I was unable to come into equally close contact with all the Amur peoples naturally was fundamentally decisive for the nature of the treatment of the subject in the following pages. If detailed or even approximately complete information about all the Amur peoples were available to us, a monographic discussion of them would perhaps be most suitable; for with such a comprehensive picture of the physical and spiritual life of each individual people, its entire individuality would be seen more precisely. But we do not have such rich material at our disposal. Moreover, with such a treatment a drawback, I mean frequent repetitions, would be unavoidable. For primitive peoples, or at the least peoples who are still half-wild, who live as neighbors under the same stretch of sky, are thrown upon the same nature, the same food resources and means of existence, and stand under the same, though equally slight cultural influences, always have many correspondences with one another in their way of life, their practices and customs, their views, etc., however much they differ with respect to descent and language. For these reasons I preferred not to take up the G SS 121 various peoples of the Amur region coming under consideration here singly, one after the other, but rather in a comparative 128 fashion, beside one another, always starting with the Gilyak, who heretofore were known almost solely by name, whereas they are the very ones whom I know best. Although such a treatment does not give a full, well-rounded, and self-contained picture of any of the peoples concerned, but rather only fragmentary descriptions, from which the reader has to put together the total picture himself, nevertheless, it might also have an advantage over the monographic treatment, beyond the avoidance of repetition already stressed, in that it offers more opportunities for general comparisons and conclusions concerning separate phenomena in the life of primitive peoples and therefore also permits much deeper insight into the natural and cultural history of mankind.

G SS 121 128 /8 cont./

Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

G SS 126 128 The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

G SS [127]

G SS [113]

1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

2: Schrenck--16 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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a meager list of the illustrations, most of which even lack any information as to which of the Amur peoples they refer to. In any case the objects pictured there do not belong to the Gilyak, since Maack's trip did not touch their territory. Some of our illustrations could have been omitted by references to several woodcuts that are found in the last issue of Middendorff's travel report -- to illustrate the household implements of the Nigidal /Negidal/ -- but this issue had not appeared at the time when the following plates had all been prepared.

As stated above, since it is the peoples of the lower Amur region who are to be discussed here in greater detail, most of our illustrations refer to them, and especially to the Gilyak. Indeed, whenever identical or very similar objects from various Amur peoples were available to me, I always gave preference to the Gilyak one for the illustration, in order thus to provide as complete a picture as possible of at least one of these proples, and unquestionably the most unique and interesting one.

By far the most of the illustrations added here are by the draftsman of my expedition, Mr. W. Poliwanof, during our stay in the Nikolayev Post; a few were also drawn or at least sketched during the trips. I owe a not insignificant portion of the illustrations, especially the sketches of many scenes from Gilyak life, to Mr. Maximowicz, with whom I made many a trip in the Amur region. Still others were first made here from ethnographic objects brought back from the trip, for example, most of the idols by Mr. A Baumer, the drawings of Gilyak patterns by Mr. Nezwetajef. Finally, I had access to a collection which was made in the sixties, in part by W. Lanin in Nikolayevsk, in part by other photographers, namely, many photographs of the Gilyak, Goldi, and Ainu. All the material was handed over to the skilled artist, Dmitrijef-Orenburgskij, in order in part to work on it and to perfect it, and in part to make lithographs corresponding to the format of this work. Since Mr. Dmitrijef himself /10/ was never in the Amur region, it was all the more incumbent on me to examine all his work closely with regard to its faithfulness to detail, and I must

2: Schrenck--17 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

/10 cont./

G SS 126 128

testify that in all his drawings he faithfully copies reality as a whole as well as in all its details. In order to illustrate the craniological proportions of the Amur peoples, the photographer of the Academy of Sciences, Mr. W. Clasen, made with his customary skill a number of phototypic plates, the details of which will be discussed in the appropriate place. The same will be done with regard to the ethnographic map of the Amur region preceding all the illustrations, which was made by the topographic section of the general staff here under the direction of Major General O. von Stubendorff.

It is a pleasant duty for me to express publicly here my warmest thanks to all the gentlemen named who have worked on the artistic design and adornment of this book, especially my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, through whose industrious devotion most of the drawings were made. If this work succeeds in giving a true and clear picture of the Amur peoples and their life and practices, certainly not the least part of this is on account of his illustrations.

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I. Geographical-Historical Part

Section 1

General survey of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region. Present boundaries of their respective areas of distribution. Spatial position of the civilized peoples of East Asia, Chinese and Japanese, in the Amur region. Spatial position of the Russians in relation to the Amur peoples. Ethnographic map of the Amur region.

SS 13

A certain uniformity of the phenomena in nature and the life of the people, extending over broad areas, is generally a part of the character of northern Asia, but it stands out in the Amur region much less than in Siberia. The Amur region, provided with diverse natural conditions, alternating mountain

S.S. /88 cont./
175 Amur on my return trip to Europe, on the whole stretch from the
131 last-named place to Ustj-Strelka I found only five small tem-
36 porary guardposts at the places where depots of food supplies had
712 been set up for the troops returning to Transbaikalia from the
[114] lower Amur. At the first of these guardposts (Sungarijskij Piket),
lying opposite the mouth of the Sungari, going upstream, /89/
these food supplies had not yet arrived at the time when I reached
it on July 15/27. The second was immediately above where the
Amur River enters the Bureja Mountains (Chinganskij Piket) and,
like all the others, on its left bank; the third and largest was
near the mouth of the Dseja (Ustjseiskij Piket), on the site of the
present town of Blagoveshchensk; the fourth was opposite the
S.S. mouth of the Komar (Kamarskij P.), and, finally, the fifth was
175 on the small Kotomanga River (Kotomandskij P.) (1) Thus,
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1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. XIX-XXI, of the present work.

during the time of my stay in the Amur region only the first steps
S.S toward the occupation and colonization of a part of it had been
[648] made by the Russians. Not until after the end of the Crimean
War, when the Amur region was again accessible to the Russians
from the sea, and especially after the conclusion of the Treaty
of Aigun (1858), by means of which the present boundaries be-
tween Russia and China were established and the major part of
the Amur region came into Russian possession de jure, did there
begin that energetic, almost feverish colonization mentioned at
the beginning and which inevitably had the greatest influence
upon the ethnographic conditions in this region. But these events
are already outside the scope of our description.

G In concluding this survey I am taking the liberty of present-
S.S. ing a few remarks, in part historical and critical and in part
114 general and summarizing, concerning the appended map
128 figuratively illustrating the geographic distribution of the Amur
peoples discussed above.[1] It is the first ethnographic map

[1] [This map appears on pages 418-423 of this translated source; facing P. 310 in foreign text.-Author]

/89 cont./

G S.S. 114 128 referring specifically to the Amur region. On the map accompanying the first volume of this work I have noted the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries, as well as on Sakhalin, without, however, defining their respective areas. Later, in G S.S. 101 114 1873, there appeared an ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/ on which the Russian part of the Amur region is included (2). Because of the relatively small scale of

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2. "Etnograficheskaia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii. Massht. v" angl. diuimie 250 verst" ili 1/10,500,000 /Ethnographic Map of Asiatic Russia. Scale: one English inch to 250 versts or 1/10,500,000/." It accompanies the work by the same author, Opyt" voennago obozrieniia Russkikh" granits" v" Asii /An Attempt at a Military Survey of the Russian Frontiers in Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1873, but it also may be obtained separately.

the whole map, however, only a few square inches could be devoted to the Amur region. Correspondingly, the information is for the most part only summary, in that the individual Tungusic tribes, which occupy almost the whole of the Amur region, are not distinguished at all or at most by a few inscriptions which for the most part are not in the proper place, and there is no mention of any delimitation of their respective areas. In connection with this, these condensed Tungusic tribes of the Amur region are usually erroneously delimited from the other two peoples distinguished on the map, the Gilyak and Ainu. This map therefore actually gives only an approximate total picture of the Tungusic population, by far the predominant one in the Amur /90/ region, into which at that time Russian colonists had already poured along the Amur, the Ussuri, Lake Kengka, and down the Ssuifun to Peter the Great Bay (1). Our map virtually ignores this

S.S. [167]

1. The following special remarks may serve as verification for my opinion of

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S.S.
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1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

G
S.S.
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Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely, since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian colonists into the Amur River region--Analyst]

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G
SS. /91 cont./
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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

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Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

G 361 /363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

G 361 162 4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

G 361 5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

G [114] 7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

G [161] [128]

G [162] [128] 8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

G [114] 10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/364/

361
342

As may be seen from this list, very many Gilyak villages consist of only a single winter dwelling, be it a Chinese yurt or an earth yurt. Most Gilyak villages contain only two or three winter yurts. As one can see for himself from the above list, this is the average number of yurts in the Gilyak villages, and, to be sure, on the continent, along the Amur River and Liman, the average is three each, and on the island of Sakhalin, on the west coast and in the Tymy valley, two yurts to a village. For [128] this reason, in determining the total number of the winter yurts on the east coast of Sakhalin for the six villages whose number of yurts remained unknown to both Glehn and me, I reckoned two earth yurts for each village. Villages with four or five yurts belong among the large ones and are few in number in all the individual areas of the region occupied by the Gilyak; but in each of these areas there are individual places with a larger number of yurts, from six to ten and more, and they can be designated as the principal and central points of the individual areas, indeed, the largest among them as the principal and central points of the whole Gilyak region. The largest Gilyak village on the mainland is Wair, or Wait, as the Russians customarily call it. Located in the estuary part of the Amur River, nearly equidistant from the area extending above its last bend and the Amur-Liman, from North Sakhalin and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Wair lies at the center, as it were, of the entire habitation area of the Gilyak, continental as well as insular. With its 16 winter houses lying somewhat inland from the river in two rows, the many summer yurts rising close to the bank in front of them, the numerous large and small storehouses scattered alongside and in between, open or roofed drying racks, and the like give an impression of a large, heavily populated village, a metropolis of Gilyak life. Only a little above Wair there is another large Gilyak village, Magho with eleven yurts, and diagonally across from it Tebach with seven yurts, which, located at the last bend of the river toward the east, belongs to both the estuary part of it and to the adjacent part upstream. In the latter part of the Gilyak habitation area the villages are closest together, though they are almost purely small villages with two or three yurts, and only the two Principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number.

293 /395 cont./
412 and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2).
[531] The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata)
[237] adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX)[1] (5). Usually a second knife is also worn at

[128] 5. On Pl. XVIII[2] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4),[3] quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring
[237] at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the
415 /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as
372
293

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container
[531] for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small
[237] bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondak, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5),[4] usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[1,2,3,4] [See category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively --Analyst]

263 /445 cont./
439
few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for
[482] dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other household needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2,[z] Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
177 ormotsch-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[z] [See category 116, p. 1013--Analyst]

226 192 805 /527 cont./
tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

[128]

1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

226 The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nyi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

/545 cont./

225 184 [192] prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uïsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lÿch held in readiness (2).

• [128] [126]

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

/566 cont./

326 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to
411 use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them
556 away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may
361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region,
326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above
411
126
[128]

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak.
361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje
648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

[128]

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

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Gi
T
224

/588 cont./

basis of the most numerous and generally most popular of these animals, simply as sable hunting, among the peoples of the upper Amur region, who rely on hunting almost entirely for their food and in large part for their clothing, the meat animals, elk, red deer, roe deer, and wild pig, stand in first place as the objects hunted. Also contributing to this is the fact that the two large animals named first are also used for tributary payments to the Manchu officials (4), and the young and still soft deer antlers are

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[648]
[439]
G
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[128]

4. I again draw attention to the fact that my descriptions apply to the 50's, that is, a time when almost the entire Amur region was still under Chinese rule.

T
224

an important trade item. To be sure, the precious fur-bearing animals, and especially the sable, are regarded as most desirable booty, and, accordingly, zealously hunted, by the upper Amur peoples, too, but their number has so greatly declined in the course of time, both because of the constant and strenuous hunting and because of the frequent and extensive forest fires, in part caused by negligence and in part intentional, that, in addition to them, other animals formerly regarded as worthless and ignored have acquired value. In particular, as the sable gradually disappeared, the squirrels serving as food for it became so much more common and numerous that along the upper Amur and its /589/ tributaries on both sides they have already become the principal objects of attention for the hunters, and, though of little value individually, they repay their labor and expense because of their great numbers. The Schilka and Argunj Cossacks, who annually in the fall and organized in small companies (artels) undertake long hunting expeditions lasting for weeks and months in the Orochon and Manegir territories, therefore simply call this hunting of theirs, in accordance with its chief purpose, "belkowjo" (1), i.e., squirrel pursuit. Thus, another

SS
224

1. Accordingly, the verb "belkowatj," i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting.

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no
116, 133, 174

Tartarie to the waters separating
was the first to apply the term Gul
such as Mamia Rinso Strait, Tarta

The following extract from Findlay's wo
the Pacific Ocean (507) gives the generall

507. London, 1851, part i, 618.

It is not absolutely determined
or peninsula, but as all evider
ion, that appellation has been
be considered that Sakhalin is
sandy neck of land over which
when the strong southerly gale
ters to a higher level, and that
tively recent date, and still on
of the Amour, so that the olde

the island from the mainland. Broughton
lf of Tartary. There are other names
ary Strait, etc.

ork entitled A Directory for the Navigation of
y accepted English view regarding Sakhalin:

l whether Sakhalin be an island
nce tends toward the latter opin-
retained . . . it must therefore
joined to the continent by a flat
, it is possible, the sea may wash
es which occur here drive the wa-
the isthmus may be of compara-
n the increase from the deposits
r Chinese charts may be correct.

21: Golder--259-261 H-3
116, 133, 174

On the map accompanying this w

508. For a somewhat simi
(New York, 1849), vol. ii."

(no date) 1914 Gil

ork Sakhalin is represented as a peninsula. (50

lar view see M'Cullouch's Universal Gazetteer

21: Golder--259-261 H-3
116, 133, 174

to the sea in this direction, t
we could plainly distinguish

undertook to solve the problem in an
of Sakhalin he sailed along the easte
of the island. He doubled and named
course through Tartary Strait, hopin
those of Laperouse. But when withi
sighting the Amur River, he was bro
back, believing Sakhalin to be a peni

502. Krustenstern, A. J. de
'Il est par consequent demont
une isthme très-bas, et ainsi
possible et meme tres vraise
meme a une epoque peu eloig
les cartes chinoises le repre

It is probably unique in the annals
the greatest naviga-[261]tors of their

he whole being closed by lowland, which
at intervals.'

other way. Instead of following the western shore
rn, and in so doing determined the northern extent
l the northern capes and then steered a southerly
ng that in this manner he would join his efforts with
n two hundred miles of his desired goal, and before
ought to a standstill by the sand banks, and turned
nsula. (502)

:. Voyage Autour du Monde, vol. ii, 247.
tré que Sakhalin est uni a la Tartarie par
i n'est qu'une presq'ile. Toutefois il est
emblable qu-anciennement, et peut-être
née, Sakhalin etait isolé du continent comme
sentent.'

of modern geography that three scientists, among
day, studying the subject on the spot should come

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

9: Hawes--186-187
116, 133

it the original sea-leve
of the Tim flowing nort
their way above the su
island already referre
posited, and the growth
wild rose (Rosa rugosa

: Golder--263-264 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak
6, 133, 174 Russ
36, 17

him at Ayan [Okhotsk Sea]; and when on the morning of September 3, 1715, the Baikal hove in sight, Muravyof went out in a small boat to meet her. When near enough to be heard the governor called for news, and Nevelski shouted back: 'God helped us...we have accomplished our important task... Sakhalin is an island. It is possible to enter the gulf and the river Amur by seagoing vessels either from the north or the south.'

From 1849 to 1855 Nevelski and other Russian officers were exploring and charting e waters and harbors of the Amur and Sakhalin. A channel was found, and the Bai iled into the Amur from the north in [264] 1850. (517) Three years later (518) the g

517. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 274.

518. De Sabir, C. Le Fleuve Amour, 63.

at Wostok, coming from Japan, entered the river from the south.
These important discoveries were known to very few people. The greatest secrec s maintained for fear of exciting China and arousing the hostility of other countries

1. The sand-dunes, due to deposition by the alluvium-laden waters
h, checked by the Okhotsk cold current flowing south, had found
face of the water in the course of the gradual emergence of the
to. From that time seeds carried by wind or bird had been de-
of coarse grass, Swiss pine (Pinus cembra pumila), and even
) had helped to bind the sand and establish these long sandy islets."

kal
un-

y
,

21: Golder--263-264
116, 133, 174
636.17

particularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof susp
He accused her of de
Pacific and to depriv
that England had des
In 1853 he predicted
ican possessions, an
the United States and
N. Muraveef-Amurs

9: Hawes--401 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 133, 563

"The morning after my departure saw the
It is a well-sheltered harbour, with a depth
thirty feet off Observatory Island, a bold isl
officers set up their instruments on it, afte
position. To the south of this is a small isle
east is Basalt Island. Near the southern hea
Kamp a fine lighthouse, then about to be des
navigation. On the north-western shore of th
Alexandrovsk post, consisting of a telegraph
assistants, and a tiny church and barracks f
there. To the north and south stretch forest
Oroktis. Around the bay the hills rise to a h
clothed with trees, save where the tell-tale
lighted by the Russians. It is a lonely spot a
by ice from all navigation, it is only access
river Amur, which is itself served by relay
in one respect was it at that time better off
cecting it with Vladivostok was intact. In thi
and Steam Shipping Company had just statior

Tsitsikar standing in for De Castries Bay.
at entrance of fifty feet, diminishing to
et so named by La Pérouse, because his
r a long interval, to determine their exact
t called Oyster Island, and to the north-
d stands up on the promontory of Kloster
erted by the pilots with the cessation of
e bay, at the mouth of the river Somon, is
-office, with the houses of the Chief and his
or the small company of soldiers stationed
s, uninhabited save by a few roaming
eight of 1100 and even to 1540 feet, thickly
brown slopes witnessed to fires carelessly
t any time, and especially in winter. Cut off
ible to the post by dog-sledges from the
s of horse-sledges from distant parts. Only
than Alexandrovsk; the telegraph-wire con-
s secluded spot the Chinese Eastern Railway
ed an agent."

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no da
116, 133, 174

to such erroneous conclusions. It is not sur
adopted their views. Some made Sakhalin a
the mainland just at the spot left unexplored

503. Heinrich Keller, Weimar, 1814
Langsdorff's Reise um die Welt.

Others, although not distinctly uniting the tw
by sandbanks and called Sakhalin a peninsula

504. Vandermalen, P. H. Asie (Brux

still picture Sakhalin as an island, (505) but

505. Malte-Brun, Traite Elementai
des cotes de la Mantchourie s'etend

circumnavigable. (506)

506. Laperouse seems to be the firs

prising that stay-at-home cartographers
peninsula of Tartary, connecting it with
by Krusenstern and Broughton. (503)

. Probably a copy of the map in

o bodies, yet indicated that they are joined
. (504) There are a few, however, who

kelles, 1827).

it is not probable that they mean that it is

re de Geographie: 'A peu de distance
a longue ile de Saghalien...'

st to have given the name Manche de

21: Golder--263-264 H-3
116, 133, 174
636.17

"Russia's success on the Amur is
Nicolai Nicolaewitz Muravyof-Amurs
Muravyof set about extending Russia
burg he selected Nevelski, a sea cap
to help him carry out his plans. Th
Russian Government to undertake a s
to explore the northern part of Sakha
and the gulf and mouth of the Amur.

515. Barsukof, I. Count Nik

in Kamchatka, and, as soon as he di
carefully surveyed and charted the n
no longer able to find a channel for h
his southward course to the mouth of
his achievement, he pushed on still f
Broughton, thus proving most convin

516. —Ibid., vol. i, 198, 222-

due in large part to one of her great statesmen,
ski. Appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1847,
's power on the Pacific. Before leaving St. Peters-
tain in the service of the Russian American Company,
rough his efforts Nevelski was commissioned by the
secret expedition with the following objects in view:
lin, the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland,
(515) Early in the spring of 1849, Nevelski arrived

olai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. ii, 37.

scharged his cargo, he sailed for Sakhalin. He
orthern point of Sakhalin and the Amur Gulf. When
is ship Baikal he went into a small boat and continued
the Amur which he entered. Not yet content with
arther south to the most northerly point attained by
cingly that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula. (516)

-224. Muravyof was anxiously waiting for

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.
161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) seagoing vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

133 they do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream
312 is torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not have an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

133 The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from
361 both sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low islands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland they are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region is covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there the stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by the sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark
136 or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.
136 The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir
137 and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-1-5
116, 133, 174

"With the exception of Poyarkof and one other party of Russians in the seventeenth century (499) and the efforts of Bering's lieutenants in the eighteenth century there [260]

499. See footnote 482. [LSS: in category 174, p. 256]

is no record that other Europeans sailed in Tartary Strait until the coming of Laperouse in 1787. This famous Frenchman set about clearing up the cartographical confusion of this region. After touching at Jeso Island, he sailed into Tartary Strait until he was stopped by the shallow water in the neighborhood of the fifty-second parallel. In his report and chart he announced that there was no navigable channel. (500)

500. Laperouse, J. B. Voyage de Laperouse autour du Monde, vol. iii, 53. 'Cette stagnation des eaux paraissait etre une preuve qu'il n'y avait point de chenal.'

Ten years later Broughton, following the course of Laperouse, succeeded in reaching farther north by fifteen miles, (501) but without finding a passage. Krusenstern, in 1805,

501. Broughton, W. R. Voyage of Discovery in the North Pacific Ocean, vol. vii, 302. Broughton was 'fully convinced that there was no opening

Golder--263-264 H-3
133, 174
.17

ticularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof suspected and dreade
He accused her of desiring to becom
Pacific and to deprive Russia of all i
that England had designs on the Amu
In 1853 he predicted that the United St
ican possessions, and suggested that
the United States and Russia against
N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 323;

(no date) 1914

Gilyak-3
Russia

d England above all other nations.
e the leading power in the North
nfluence and power. He believed
r and that her ships had been there.
tates would secure Russia's Amer-
an alliance should be formed between
England [Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai
vol. ii, 38, 46, 55]."

9: Hawes--221-224 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 135

use both to the Russian Fleet, the Manchurian and Ussu
the vast hordes of consumers of lamp-oil in China, Kore

It is to be hoped that Mr. Platonov's hopeful report ma
supplies may prove to be deep-lying; for should they be a
incidentally a god-send to the 'exile settlers,' who, from
drift in large numbers of cases into their old ways.

In 1898, a discovery of gold was made, and a company
ever gave up. It was rumoured that eternally frozen eart
[224] stopped. Frozen soil presents no insuperable diffic
were situated at a considerable depth (in the Vitim distri

1. North-east of Lake Baikal.

to a depth of 150 feet), and therefore were quite unprofita

-i railways; and by refining to
a, and Japan.
y not be belied, and that the
ctively worked, they will prove
the absence of employment,

was formed, which soon how-
h was struck, and proceedings
ulties, but probably the gravels
ct (1) they are said to be frozen

ble to work."

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look

135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The

137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along

132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous

[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the

[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the

135 491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak

103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta

361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

114 361 103

2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

Our present objective was the hut of a prospector four miles inland from the coast. A ouple of hours' rowing [LSS: From Chaivo Bay] brought us within sight of another river, nown as the Boatassin. As we approached it two figures on the left bank were moving bout and disappearing rather suspiciously, but as we neared land they showed themelves quite openly, and we saw that one of them was a soldier, though his uniform was 22] old, shabby, and much the worse for wear. Having landed our baggage with some fficulty, for the tide was still on the ebb, we found it impossible to carry all of it the x versts (four miles) to the hut, and therefore stowed all the heavier articles in a cave ose by..... Our way lay through what had been dense forest a hort while since, but was now denuded of its undergrowth. At first I blamed this wanton estruction, but, when I had made the acquaintance of the surviving mosquitoes, I ympathized with those who had fired their way through the forest. We passed over hill lopes, almost snow-clad in appearance, covered with the lichen which the reindeer ves, and among hoary-looking trees hung with a capillary lichen which he also favours. he slopes gave way at length to swamps temporarily bridged with larch-poles, along hich it was necessary to walk Blondin-like. We were met and heartily welcomed by e prospector's son, and, strange as it may seem, by an English youth who by a series f curious chances found himself in this wild out-of-the-world spot. They had preceded s by about two months.

Petroleum, known for a long time to the natives, and reported on by the Government

expert, Mr. Bazevich, in 1894, had
his search until he had found, not on
miles north near the Nutovo river. C
feet, was in a state of bubbling uphea
mud, owing to the evaporation of the
sufficient resistance to allow of walk
the Boatassin river, eternally frozen
metres. This is very low, and accou
than on the north-west shores. On th
summer, on July 1, at half a metre's
Alexandrovka) river.

A year after I reached this spot, a
despatched by the Baku Manufacture
On the same trip he had already paid
According to the Russian newspaper,
very optimistic view of the wealth an
saying that all he had seen in Americ
found in Sakhalin. He is even made t
river Nutovo exceed those of Baku in
and therefore to be capable of immed

been discovered to the prospector, who had extended
ly exusions of it on this spot, but lakes of it a few
One of these, which had a diameter of about eighteen
val. [223] The others had a surface of bituminous
oil, which was soft, but at the same time offered
ing upon it. In boring at a spot four miles north of
ground had been found at a depth of ten and a half
nts for the tundra hereabouts being less pronounced
e west coast Dr. Poliakov reported it in mid-
s depth, in the valley of the Duika (Great

Russian petroleum expert, Mr. R. S. Platonov,
rs Trust, visited and inspected the neighbourhood
a visit to the Texas and Pennsylvanian oil-fields.
the Kavkaz (Caucasus) of June, 1903, he takes a
d extent of the Sakhalin fields. He is reported as
ca was as nothing compared to that which he had
o assert that the fields situated on the banks of the
all respects. The oil is said to contain no benzine,
diate use as fuel. Such a discovery may prove of

132 purga (snow-storm) blows up everything is so completely buried that only those trees can be seen which, at the beginning of winter when the post roads are being laid, are pounded into the ice at regular intervals. Then everything is buried under an enormously thick covering of snow which lies immovable for half a year. During this time the forests are accessible to man only with the help of snow-shoes and dog sleds. Through the stillness of this white solitude the unlovely but energetic voice of the raven is heard; or the stillness is broken by the rapid ringing of a Russian post bell or by the "takh", "takh" which is the Gilyak's signal to his dogs. The raging purgas which last for several days are followed by weeks of cloudless skies when during the day everything lies in a dazzling white glow, and at night the icy heavens are resplendent with bright stars.

The sea coast of the Gilyak country is very picturesque, but hardly charming. From the foam of the breakers up to the peaks of the mountains everything is covered with dark forests, and even the picture of the summer landscape is often clouded with rain and fog which are almost continuous throughout the warmer season. (1) And during the other half

1. The cold arctic current travels past this coast and condenses with the moisture-laden southeast winds.

of the year everything is rigid with snow and ice, so that in winter one can travel with dogs from the mainland to Sakhalin.

This is the general picture of the native land of the Gilyak. There remains for us to add a few details,insofar as these have been ascertained.

135 With respect to geology, it may be said that argillite
312 seems to occur more extensively, but many igneous minerals also appear. Thus the shores of the De Kastri bay consist of trachyte and basalt. Limestone occurs only seldom, which accounts for the softness of the water. The mountains are rich in metals -at least in various localities gold, iron, and lead were found, and it is well known that on the island of Sakhalin there are large coal beds.

137 The flora is varied and abundant. The conifers are represented by the fir and the larch, but the pine is absent. Of deciduous trees [104] there are oaks, maple, alder, birch, aspen, elm, among others. There are many berries, especially cranberries, raspberries, and rubus chamae morus.

136

136 FAUNA--principal native species, especially mammals, reptiles, birds, fish and shellfish, insects, and disease-bearing micro-organisms; historical changes (e.g., introduced species); etc. See also:
Hunting, fowling, and fishing . . . . . 22 Ethnozoology 825
Animal husbandry 23

/23 cont./

13 elevated areas, where their natural inhabitants -- the bears -- wander; strong winds which create hellish snowstorms and destructive hurricanes; the sea, always stormy and teeming with giants and sea monsters; fogs, and the sky always covered with leaden-colored clouds -- such are the surrounding conditions which with powerful strokes have inscribed their features on the psychics and world view of the Gilyak, conditions which have inscribed the qualities of vitality and courage, along with the quality of sternness, in the spiritual make-up of the inhabitant of this rugged island.

●136 Of the animals surrounding the Gilyak, the bear, the strongest and most terrible inhabitant of his taiga, plays the most important role. In the chapter on religion, I shall discuss in detail the influence of this animal on the whole religious psychics of the Gilyak. Now I wish only to indicate the role of this animal in the natives' struggle for survival. If this animal were as aggressive as, say, the Bengal tiger, it would have been almost impossible, in the face of its extreme abundance, for primitive man to live in these areas. The northern bear, however, is distinguished for its gentleness, which seems almost unbelievable. During the first years of my stay on Sakhalin the flocks of the settlers grazed side by side with the bears, and while picking berries the women of the settlers more than once bumped sides with their clumsy competitors; and if the bear in such cases sometimes did not behave exactly like a gentleman, this expressed itself only in his pushing the woman if the latter accidentally brushed against him with her pot or bucket. During my travels I more than once had to put up for the night in areas abounding in bears, and more than once, while lying inside my tent, I could hear the heavy footsteps of Mikhail Potapych, curious to inspect our camp...

144 I have already said something about the physical type of the Gilyak. An average Gilyak type does not exist. He fluctuates between the sharp Mongoloid features of the Tungus type and the comely /24/ gentle features of the Ainu type. That is why among the Gilyak one so frequently encounters subjects whom it is difficult to distinguish from true Tungus, and, at the same time, others who impress one by their almost European features. The

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

• 136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

Sakhalin

/348 cont./

174 166 167 221 224 • [136] With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others to Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-verst sea voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Dué and the Tym' River, and at that time the Vaaz River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable hunting expeditions set out even farther [648] to the north. There must have been some reason which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center of their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural dams used by the sable for crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

Amur

/349 cont./

174 167 Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettli (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin procee In the first place, these were the places closest to the contin half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. M over, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakh • [136] the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living con tions completely identical with those on the continent: the abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kaluga /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of [175] irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it. [648] now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by t Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of cour still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to m to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts be tween clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have b 175 the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sabl 167 per person (we must remember that in the past sable was thre 648 or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur [435] sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak ther [173] selves about their former relations with the Manchu are of interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, " the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sabl per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak wer to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pa one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sabl [171] each. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually t

able and have no occasion to consult the tastes or smell of others. The first time I visited one of their fish-curing places I thought of the western city that had, after a freshet, 'forty-five distinct and different odors beside several wards to hear from.'

Above Mariensk the Amoor valley is often ten or twenty miles wide, enclosing whole labyrinths of islands, some of great extent. These islands are generally well out of water and not liable to overflow. Very few have the temporary appearance of the islands of the lower Mississippi. Here and there were small islands of slight elevation and covered with cottonwoods, precisely like those growing between Memphis and Cairo.

GILYAK WOMAN.

The banks of this part of the Amoor do not wash like the alluvial lands along the Mississippi and Missouri, but are more like the shores of the Ohio. They are generally covered with grass or bushes down to the edge of the water. There are no shifting sand-bars to perplex the pilot, but the channel remains with little change from year to year. I saw very little drift wood and heard no mention of snags. The general features of the scenery were much like those below Mihalofski.

The numerous islands and the labyrinth of channels often permit boats to pass each other without their captains knowing it. One day we saw a faint line of smoke across an island three or four miles wide; watching it closely I found it

was in motion and evidently came from a descending steamboat. On another occasion we missed in these channels a boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while General Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by a courier who was bringing him important despatches.

The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, and relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the delineated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are not navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable for descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is far more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not frequent.

The peasants always came to the bank where we stopped, no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wood at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thirty gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughing, smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of the fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them into strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow. Of the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack coats of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others Tartar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, black beards, and smooth faces were played upon by the dancing flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and held shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. The mountains on the south bank receded from the river and were more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowland covered with forest intervened between the mountains and the shore. On the north the general character of the country remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top and sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its summit. It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Monument, and rising from the highest point of the mountain; it appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a work of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half way down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttresses

22: Knox 1-2 (1865) 1870 Gilyak

133 that likened it to a cathedral. These formations were specially curious, as there were no more of the kind in the vicinity. Borasdine observed the rocks soon after I discovered them, and at first thought they were ancient monuments.

136 There were many birds along the shore. Very often we dispersed flocks of ducks and sent them flying over islands and forests to places of safety. Snipe were numerous, and so were several kinds of wading and swimming birds. Very often we saw high in air the wild geese of Siberia flying to the southward in those triangular squadrons that they form everywhere over the world. These birds winter in the south of China, Siam, and India, while they pass the summer north of the range of the Yablonoi mountains.

The birds of the Amoor belong generally to the species found in the same latitudes of Europe and America, but there are some birds of passage that are natives of Southern Asia, Japan, the Philippine Islands, and even South Africa and Australia. Seven-tenths of the birds of the Amoor are found in Europe, two-tenths in Siberia, and one-tenth in regions further south. Some birds belong more properly to America, such as the Canada woodcock and the water ouzel; and there are several birds common to the east and west coasts of the Pacific. The naturalists who came here at the Russian occupation found two Australian birds on the Amoor, two from tropical and sub-tropical Africa, and one from Southern Asia.

The number of stationary birds is not great, in consequence of the excessive cold in winter. Mr. Maack enumerates thirty-nine species that dwell here the entire year. They include eagles, hawks, jays, magpies, crows, grouse, owls, woodpeckers, and some others. The birds of passage generally arrive at the end of April or during May, and leave in September or October.

It is a curious fact that they come later to Nicolayevsk than to the town of Yakutsk, nine degrees further north. This is due to differences of climate and the configuration of the country. The lower Amoor is remarkable for its large quantities of snow, and at Nicolayevsk it remains on the ground

135

135 MINERAL RESOURCES--availability or significant lack of mineral deposits (e.g., metals, stone, coal, petroleum, clay, salt); quantity, quality, and distribution of minerals; etc. See also:

Exploitation of mineral resources 31
Salt manufacture 258
Metallurgy 325
Petroleum and coal products industries . . 382

/187 cont./

(5) 3. (cont.)
others. we know that it is a characteristic
(5) feature of the Gilyak language. Thus the Sea
(6) of Okhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II.
(7) p. 78b, and my "Anthropomythologica on
(8) Orchonischen und Japanischen Meere (Contents
(9) in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan."
(Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. Sci. St. Pétersb. Sér. VII. Tom.
(10) Pétersb. Sér. VII. Vol. XXI. No. 3).
(11) p. 1b.

(5) during which they lost their entire supply of food and amunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on for the space, living on the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seaking, nuts, and whatever else the ocean washed up (5). Then they built a new vessel. with which

(6) 3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 8b) also men-
(7) tions walruses, as being very common
(8) but it will lessen that there are none
(9) in the Sea of Okhotsk; this may be
(10) a reference to whales. which abound in
(11) this sea.

(12) in 14 days. by rowing they reached the Uschalski River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until
(13) December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland
(14) and after 14 days, or, according to other information. after
(15) four weeks. came to the Tugur River, on which they found a
(16) large Tungus population with abundant food. The following
(17) spring. 1855. Nagibk went down the Tugur to its mouth and
(18) from there, with five men, made his way through the Tatarski
(19) along the sea and then across the mountains. while he went
(20) back the other men under Iwan Dwoil in order to build among
(21) the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jasaschnoje Simowje." that is.
(22) a winter hut for collecting tribute (1).

/225 cont./

(1) some time in order to let not excessive moans or smoke. The
(2) [illegible] Gilyak would stong the dear alive all the time. Not only
(3) [illegible] the Jakuts beds, on the contrary, we often quite warm.
(4) The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, just like generally
(5) the Jakuts on plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
(6) came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
(7) [illegible] Tunus can become, when in January, 1854, I attended the hol-
(8) [illegible] festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the nomer-
(9) [illegible] people, a strong fire -are maintained uninterruptedly in both
(10) [illegible] huts, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank
(11) beds rose so much that I could hardly stand it. I was rather
(12) [illegible] without which I kept sent to me melted completely. The hast-
(13) [illegible] Gilyak benches, however, which have the great disadvanta-
(14) [illegible] that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of
(15) [illegible] insects. Under them, in inaccessible places, lurking the cockroach,
(16) [illegible] and other vermin (also decomposed) make their seen and
(17) [illegible] of night in search of the remains of the scanty food that
(18) [illegible] had and I was still with writing in my journals, I would see
(19) [illegible] dear on them their hiding places and go about their business
(20) [illegible] for their sins. They also infest the Gilyak huts, or at the
(21) [illegible] house of the house, when I once, in order to escape other
(22) [illegible] vermin, had a hammock put up, the dear Gilyak wanted me that
(23) [illegible] the cats could grow through the leather straps and the mat would
(24) [illegible] fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection
(25) [illegible] it even more annoying. the worm benches are alive with fleas,
(26) which find refuge in the cretices of the coarse mats. Wonder. In-
(27) [illegible] sectors, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is
(28) [illegible] literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that
(29) [illegible] it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, or the
(30) [illegible] swarmed with fleas and gnats. Undoubtedly /225/ the
(31) [illegible] Gilyak know why the Gilyak prefer to live in a winter house when
(32) [illegible] spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings
(33) [illegible] but in this instance the Gilyak have a reason of their, as well
(34) [illegible] as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/283 cont./

(1) (cont.)
(2) characters on it — no matter whether
(3) written or printed — I hoped that perhaps
(4) through him I would be able to obtain a
(5) possible diaries or other written notes of
(6) the Ainu. Unfortunately, however, the
(7) monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak
(8) for them, and, in case of need, even
(9) if superstition did not demand strict observance of the tradi-
(10) tional pattern, and delivered them to me, no matter by
(11) chance, as informous for all the inhabitants of the house.
(12) Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the
(13) Amur Ainu, gradually spreading northward, and, beginning on
(14) earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of
(15) Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. Perhaps, along the
(16) Pierstof and Naghin, who spent the winter among the Gilyak
(17) at the mouth of the Amur and along the coast of Liman in 1854-
(18) 45 and 1856 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

(19) 3. See pp. 216, 218 ff. above.

(20) permit conclusion about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that
(21) time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam-
(22) chadals, we see the original winter-house, which appeared
(23) before an imported, foreign type of house construction within
(24) the short space of not even 30 years. At the time of Krasheninnikof
(25) and Steller (in the further of the previous century), all the
(26) Kamchadali still lived in earth yurts of the type described above.
(27) Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the last voy-
(28) age, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the
(29) peninsula, between Petro-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolcheretsk (3).

(30) 4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach
(31) der Südküste in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter
(32) Capitän Cook, Clerke, und King, nach
(33) zwei Engl. Ausg. hg. R. Forster, Berlin,
(34) 1781, p. 203.

/319 cont./

(1) 1. I later saw something similar among the Dsur
(2) in the village of Tschumikan. The hair was
(3) shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left
(4) standing on the crown. Some more conservative-
(5) ly, either on the crown or on one side, which
(6) depended on the wishes of the parents. The
(7) Chinese presumably also do this.

(8) Gilyak bear bowl or beast hair cut. indeed, among the
(9) Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had
(10) his beard cut and his hair shave, it would bring him sickness and
(11) misfortune. The same applies to the bear, which is far more complicated
(12) and in many respects more unique. A Gilyak in his complete
(13) winter clothing and with his weapons. knows he is about to set out on
(14) a journey. The principal garment of the Gilyak in winter, which
(15) they make of soft, dressed, wrapped in fish skins, and impregnating over
(16) night on the heated sleeping benches of the yurt, underwent
(17) a special ceremony. The skin of the deceased, in the so-called /319/ which
(18) reaching down to the knees and made of a double layer of
(19) dog fur, the outer layer with the hair on the outside, the inner
(20) layer with the hair on the inside, was fastened and tassel-
(21) ed, the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality
(22) is obtained, depending on the wealth of the owner or, at times, per-
(23) formed. On the others intended for everyday use or for protection
(24) against rain, the skins of the bear, wolverine, and dog are combined
(25) with fur coats of mixed colors, and one sees such coats on chil-
(26) dren as a rule /320/. Nowadays, however, people have gone to the
(27) trouble to make their children fur coats with back parts made in
(28) the shape of a bear's head and with the skins of bears, dogs or
(29) fox. /320/ The fine and pliable fur of young animals is used
(30) preferably, particularly for the inner side of the fur coat.

(31) It can be stated as a general rule that the Gilyak only wear
(32) fur coats made of dog skins. Only on the Liman, where they
(33) are chiefly engaged in fishing, the Gilyak is distinguished
(34) who, also, in exceptions, wear coats of seahlion instead of dog fur,
(35) and the same applies to the Amur-Liman, where the coats of the Ainu
(36) of Okhotsk. The reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong
(37) [illegible] Capitäns Cook, Clerke, und King
(38) [illegible] Engl. Ausg. hg. R. Forster, Berlin,
(39) [illegible]

/284/

(1) The footgear of the Gilyak women is the same as among
(2) the men, except that they do not wear the tassel. The hair wo-
(3) men, the men only occasionally, have leg- likewise of fish
(4) skins, and, in winter, also of dog fur. The Gilyak make inconvenient-
(5) leggings, also from fawns protect Gilyak usual-shoes,
(6) which undoubtedly are adopted from the Tungus and which are
(7) very inconvenient and unsuitable for them in view of the considerable
(8) activity that the performance of their domestic duties requires.
(9) The Gilyak women do not have a head covering instead solely
(10) for the summer, corresponding to the hitch-back hat of the men.
(11) The winter cap and the hat of the men are, in the main, more complicated
(12) and in many respects more unique. A Gilyak in his complete
(13) winter clothing and with his weapons. knows he is about to set out on
(14) a journey. The principal garment of the Gilyak in winter, which
(15) they make of soft, dressed, wrapped in fish skins, and impregnating over
(16) night on the heated sleeping benches of the yurt, underwent
(17) a special ceremony. The skin of the deceased, in the so-called /319/ which
(18) reaching down to the knees and made of a double layer of
(19) dog fur, the outer layer with the hair on the outside, the inner
(20) layer with the hair on the inside, was fastened and tassel-
(21) ed, the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality
(22) is obtained, depending on the wealth of the owner or, at times, per-
(23) formed. On the others intended for everyday use or for protection
(24) against rain, the skins of the bear, wolverine, and dog are combined
(25) with fur coats of mixed colors, and one sees such coats on chil-
(26) dren as a rule /320/. Nowadays, however, people have gone to the
(27) trouble to make their children fur coats with back parts made in
(28) the shape of a bear's head and with the skins of bears, dogs or
(29) fox. /320/ The fine and pliable fur of young animals is used
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(35) and the same applies to the Amur-Liman, where the coats of the Ainu
(36) of Okhotsk. The reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong
(37) [illegible] Capitäns Cook, Clerke, und King
(38) [illegible] Engl. Ausg. hg. R. Forster, Berlin,
(39) [illegible]

/321 cont./

(1) [illegible] Gilyak, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the
(2) Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I
(3) [illegible]

(4) 3. See Vol. I. p. 191. of the present work.

(5) [illegible] learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it. too, is
(6) used by the Gilyak for the purpose of the bear festival, it is not
(7) [illegible]

(8) 4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem
(9) Lande Kamtschatka, p. 108), the fat of the
(10) [illegible] Kamchadal is not of any use at all and
(11) the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

(12) it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be dis-
(13) cussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be
(14) done for only one Gilyak at a time. Hence, only a few Gilyak in the
(15) river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful
(16) as the seal, which provides the Gilyak with valuable clothing
(17) materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale shells which
(18) one sees hanging on men's and women's clothing in the places along the
(19) banks of the Amur River indicate that /323/ the white whale is
(20) actually hunted and killed. Of the other animals hunted with
(21) its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

(22) 1. The Gilyak hunting the white whale, the Amur-Liman
(23) the so-called long (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is oc-
(24) casionally stranded within the range of their dwelling site on the
(25) Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of
(26) Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed
(27) their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat
(28) any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it
(29) is such that long fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may
(30) be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what
(31) the reasons for this very high degree of abhorrence are, however,
(32) since among the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and
(33) the same can be eaten without any trouble. The Ainu, for instance,
(34) do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

/327 cont./

(1) [illegible] generally known by tradition, may have given rise to the fear
(2) and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence.
(3) [illegible] of whale meat among the Gilyak. Perhaps, the Gilyak
(4) do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (8), /327/
(5) [illegible]

(6) 8. Winen, Noord en Oost Tartarye (North
(7) and Eastern Tartary), 1705, p. 47.

(8) for example, and the Kolyuchen (Kolosh) (1), with the sole

(9) 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise
(10) um die Welt in den Jahren 1803-1807 (Reise um die
(11) World), Vol. II, p. 115. Wenzelmissionar,
(12) Ethnol. Mitt. aus Ost-Asien, p. 57.

(13) exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and
(14) no whale blubber or oil.

(15) Dog skins the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue
(16) for-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts.
(17) The land mammals provide only a small part of their food in com-
(18) parison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally
(19) falls into their hands, one, not excepting the beasts of prey, is a
(20) [illegible] the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., is it eaten. Only one animal is
(21) [illegible] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken class at
(22) [illegible] the so-called long (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is oc-
(23) casionally stranded within the range of their dwelling site on the
(24) [illegible] Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of
(25) Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed
(26) their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat
(27) any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it
(28) is such that long fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may
(29) be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what
(30) the reasons for this very high degree of abhorrence are, however,
(31) since among the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and
(32) the same can be eaten without any trouble. The Ainu, for instance,
(33) do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

/328 cont./

(1) 3. (cont.)
(2) II. p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee
(3) of Kolyuchin Bay (Nordenskiöld) (1) refuse
(4) to eating a seal that had been shot.

(5) [illegible] Gilyak [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(6) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(7) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(8) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(9) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(10) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(11) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(12) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(13) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(14) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(15) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(16) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(17) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(18) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(19) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(20) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(21) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(22) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(23) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(24) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(25) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(26) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(27) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(28) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(29) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(30) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(31) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(32) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(33) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(34) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(35) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(36) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(37) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(38) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(39) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan

/419/

The dogs of the Gilyak are of the same breed as the draft dogs distributed throughout Siberia and over to North America — with the Eskimos, wolf-like, long-haired, with thick, erect ears, and of all possible colors, black, white, brown, fox-red, mottled, and especially often of a striking wolf-like yellowish-gray color. The Gilyak dogs are small in comparison with the dogs of the polar regions of eastern Siberia, of the Jana /Yana/ and Indigirka regions, or even with those of Kamchatka as they were formerly and still occur in isolated specimens (1). Nothing is done among the Gilyak to improve the breed; they neither convert especially large and strong individuals into breeding animals nor sort out and care for the whelps afterwards. A circumstance greatly contributing to the deterioration of their breed of dog is the bad treatment that they give the bitches. They do not use them for harnessing, and so they shortsightedly do not give them the same amount of food as the male dogs. Whereas the latter, insofar as they remain strong, must be fed with great regularity, daily in winter, every other day in summer, the former are excluded from these meals and in winter receive only a little food from time to time, just enough so they still not starve, but in summer no one concerns himself about them and they are left to find all of their food themselves. One therefore sees them, wretched and emaciated, slinking around the yurt and in them and greedily snapping at any scrap.

1. In the summer of 1854, in Peter-Paul Harbor, I saw two extremely large dogs which had been brought to the governor from the interior of the peninsula. I measured a still young, not quite fully grown animal likewise belonging to the large, old-Kamchatka stock, which was 11 decimeters long from the point of the snout to the root of the tail, four of which was the head and neck to the back, and at the latter seven and a half to eight centimeters high.

2. See p. 666.

/479 cont./

The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, consists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in the rivers in those at certain seasons on which the diet of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially light-necks and sockeye and tender-fleshed salmon, the Salmo pontegrin, and in winter along the seacoast the hanyi fish (Gadus macrocephalus), which, however, as account of its mediocre, stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (2).

1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 1-3), the Gilyak are being whatever bone pieces come from a kind of whale which the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably is balaena australis (Gray), but it is only the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera Sibaldi (Gilyak hanga), the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even when, as was sometimes in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sleds, especially the travel over ice which is covered with salt crystals that have separated out (Yukagir: Punesh, pl. xxxv, ser. Sib. I. po Lavod, mesto /journey along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, Vol. II, p. 238). According to the information given by A. Schrenck in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners, or sleds) as well as bone shakes, were formerly used in many regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut, Tyrolia, Switzerland, and in the Alps, and in a number of other places, and are still in use in some places. Bone sleds are also used in Lapland, Finland, and Scandinavia, and in Kamchatka, Siberia, and Alaska. In Siberia, the Yukagir, Tungus, Yakut, Samoyed, Ostyak, Lamut, Yenisei, Kamchatka, Chukchi, Eskimo, Aleut, and Kolyuzh use bone sleds, and in Kamchatka, Siberia, and Alaska, the Kolyuzh, Aleut, Eskimo, Chukchi, Kamchatka, Yakut, Yukagir, Lamut, Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Yenisei

116, 136, 225, 825

"In autumn a few seals ascend the river, a
low in the wake of the Salmo lagocephalus, c
grampus, or black killer (Orca atra). This t
family, is armed with a formidable dorsal fi
species attains to the enormous length of six
terrible wolves of the ocean will even attack
ing its throat and lips, and finally hauling it
great pieces of its flesh in their maws. Ever
with its young to be out of the way of these v
such as the smaller dolphins or seals are no
a meal for this hungry animal.

Hence, before it are driven ashore and up
etc., upon which the Gilyak lives. It is, ther
upon the 'sword dolphin,' as the Germans ca
successful catch. The grampus never meets
and if his lifeless carcase be cast up on shor

It is otherwise with the white fish or white
the mouths of rivers; for his flesh provides
SS: of the white whale.] I believe, and certa

and these are shot by the natives. They fol-
or are driven before the attack of the dreaded
terrible enemy, the largest of the dolphin
n, which in the case of the rectipinnia
feet. Not content with smaller fry, these
a large whale, gathering round it and gash-
to the bottom of the sea to rise thence with
the fierce walrus will crawl upon the rocks
oracious creatures; and when larger prey,
ot to be had, salmon and smaller fish furnish

the rivers the seals, salmon, smelt, trout,
refore, not unnatural that he should look
ll it, as a friend to whom he owes many a
with a hostile reception from the natives,
re, rightful honours are paid it.
whale Delphinapterus leucas) which haunts
a feast for the Gilyaks. From the skin, [L
inly from that of the rarer seal

116, 136, 226

"After the seals arrive the he
(Pleuronectes hippoglossus), in
large hook baited. The natives a
100 lbs., to drag the boat until,
Trout (Salmo fario) appear no
big catch is of the ide (1) (Idus n

1. The common ide (Leucisc

stream. Two lines of wattle are
point of meeting is a large, lon
and a Gilyak sitting near the ent
them in and preventing them fron
takes his catch ashore. The sm
it is caught with a hand-net, and
gorbusha (Salmo proteus) and k
the natives, has already been de

rrings (Clupea harengus), and then the halibut
Gilyak pilencho, which is caught from a boat with a
llow this powerful fish, which sometimes weighs ove
its strength exhausted, they haul it in and spear it.
w in the rivers, but not in large numbers, and the ne
nelanotus). A weir is formed in the river pointing up

us idus) is a species of roach (Leuciscus rutilus).

constructed so as to form an acute angle, and at the
g basket. The fish coming up stream find their way in
rance all night beats with a mallet or oar, frightening
n returning. In the morning he fastens up the basket, a
elt (Osmerus eperlanus) appears in such quantities th
d simply ladled out of the water. The spearing of the
ita (S. lagocephalus), the most important fish of all t
escribed."

'The tiger, larger and with longer fur tha
nders; and though I do not credit the Gily
nd on Sakhalin, it is met with every wint
osses the Amur on the ice, when wild boa
the Soluns are to be had. I have seen the
nmon among the mosques of India, in the
off the reindeer nibbling the lichen grow
y frozen waste.
t has been calculated that 15 per cent. of
e from the polar regions, and 12 per cent
m the south (Uragus sanguinolentus) and
gions are both found on [103] Sakhalin."

an his Bengal brother, is found where the elk
vak's reports to Dr. Schrenck, of traces of it
er between Khabarovsk and Nikolaevsk, and
ars are scarce, and the horses of the Russians
little striped ground-squirrel which is so
bushes of the interior of Sakhalin, and not
ving on the tundra, which in winter is a soli-

the species of birds observed on the island
. sub-tropical. The long-tailed rosefinch
the osprey (Pandion haliaetus) of the arctic

"The brown bear (Ursus arctos), i
great size in Sakhalin, in fact he gets
[167] Russia. In colour he varies fron
mon form. Writers have differed as t
writing of the Amur and Sakhalin bea

whose habitat we found ourselves, attains to a
bigger the further east one goes from European
black to brown, but the latter is the more com-
o the attitude he adopts towards man. Dr. Schre
s, speaks of their 'bös artiges Naturell.' "

"In the course of the afternoon we
fact before we reached the mouth of
distant. Here we were hailed in the
'Have the Lo-cha (Russians) any 'b
'Yes. Have you any seal-skins?'
Stepping ashore, haggling began a
tea, (1) some shot, and caps. These

1. Weighing one kilogramme, an
ruble, or, say, 5d. per lb.

ursinus), but from the common hair
seal (Histriophoca fusciata). The fur
we are familiar with in caps and jack
pulled out, a treatment more commo
seal has a bristly, silverish, straw-
commonly used on the [176] Continen
rare on Sakhalin, though in earlier y
Island, now known by its Russian na
little to the south of Cape Patience.

came to yet another Gilyak settlement, the last in
the river, [LSS: The Tim] some hundred miles
Gilyak tongue.
rick tea'?'

d finally a seal-skin was obtained for a brick of
seal-skins were not from the fur seals (Callorhinus

l costing us at Alexandrovsk half a

seal (Phoca vitulina), and in some cases the banded
seal has a thick, downy under-fur, which is what
kets after the longer and sparser hairs have been
nly known in connection with beaver skins. The hair
coloured skin, with dark-grey or black spots, and is
for children's satchels. The fur seal is now very
ears large numbers used to be caught off Robben
ne of Ostrova Tyuleniy, or Seal Island, and lying a
The latter [LSS: Erratum; this should read 'hair

"The sandy flats and curving shores of the
sea-birds. The commonest, and most frighte
(Larus canus niveus); which winter in Japan.
which the common (Totanus hypoleucus), the
and the terek species (T. terekia) have been
(T. calidris). Related to these, but earlier i
in Australia, are the stint (Tringa subminuta
ruficollis), the dunlin (T. cinclus) and the ea
made their departure, but what drew my par
footed oyster-catcher (Haematopus osculans)
In our forage for food we had shot one or two
was much more in evidence than the pintail w
Kamchatica and Aleutia) had not yet departed
ganser) and the smew (Mergellus albellus) w
these which had been taken at the mouth of th

Bay of Ni were alive with hundreds of
ened at our appraoch, were the gulls
. Much bolder were the sandpipers, of
green (T. ochropus), the wood (T. glareola),
shot in the bay, as well as the redshank
n migration, for it is said that they winter
.) and his red-throated brother (T.
stern knot (T. crassirostris). These had
ticular attention was the handsome orange-
and the turnstone (Strepsilas interpres).
common snipe (Scolopax gallinago), which
variety (S. stenura). The terns (Sterna
l, and though the goosander (Mergus mer-
ere not observable, I saw specimens of
ne Tim."

"If the human population of Sakhalin is small
are many. It was probably as a happy hunting-
Gilyak pioneers from the Amur, whose descend
west coasts and the banks of the river Tim.

The most striking of all the animals on Sakha
(Ursus arctos), which is found in great number
chiefly in the south, and even there not in any g
ever, prolific, and the skins of these, the reind
up the bulk of the fur trade to the mainland."

in number, the four-footed inhabitants
ground that the island appealed to the
ants are settled to-day on the east and

lin is, without doubt, the big brown bear
s. Wolves also haunt the forests, but
reat numbers to-day. Foxes are, how-
deer, the sable, and the otter, go to make

"[LSS: In Northern Sakhalin Island] The birds
scarcely have been reduced by migrations southv
white (Motacilla lugens) and the yellow wagtails (
(Garrulus brandtii) flitted before us from tree to
busied himself by the stream, or a gravelly cliff
of sand-martins (Cotyle riparia). Overhead a hav
his lonely way; underfoot, or under wheel rather
quarter of a mile or so our way was a floating la
and bumped and thumped."

appeared few in number, and could
vards yet. The commonest were the
M. taivana). Occasionally a jay
tree, a kingfisher (Alcedo bengalensis)
was passed, riddled with the homes
wk soared, or a crow cawed on [133]
, the track became a swamp. For a
yer of pine-logs, over which we rattled

(Arctocephalus monteriensis), thongs o
spirally. These are again cut into lengt
poons, dog harness, and straps general

f several hundred feet are obtained by cutting
ns of about 130 feet, and much prized for har-
ly."

: Hawes--287-289 T-3 (1901) 190
16, 136

y the Gilyaks rik. Having a long journey b
ever saw him, and indeed he is rather a r
ne earliest the snow bunting (Plectrophane
ween the two limits a variety of smaller bi
which had already set out. The sand martin
ur journey, the wagtails (Motacilla lugens
either the white-rumped swift (Cypselus p
Chaetura caudacuta), which are certainly u
illa montifringilla), the bullfinch (Pyrrhul
irds had left, including the Japanese lark
obin (Erithacus calliope), and the whistlin
ur return, the eastern turtle dove (Turtur
A few stragglers such as the Japanese w
itmouse (Acr edula caudata), the red-throa
ervinus and maculatus), and the dusky ouz
odies.

Comparatively speaking, the forests see
hite-tailed eagle (Haliëtus albicillus), sta
he Tim, a solitary owl (Syrnium uralense)
een or heard.

efore him to the Southern hemisphere, we
are visitor to Sakhalin. If the cuckoo was
s nivalis) is about the latest to leave. Be-
rds take their flight southwards, most of
s (Cotile riparia) had gone ere we commenced
and taivana) had flown since, and we saw
acificus) nor the needle-tailed variety
ncommon on the Tim. The brambling (Frin-
a rosacea), and many other of the smaller
(Alauda japonica), the Siberian ruby-throated
g robin (E. sibilans). We missed also, on
orientalis), which the Gilyaks call the tu tut.
en (Troglodytes fumigatus), the long-tailed
ted and the eastern tree pipits (Anthus
el (Merula fuscata) linger behind the main

ned birdless, and only a very occasional
ving behind to fish in the upper reaches of
or a passing crow (Corvus corone), was

: Hawes--287-289 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 136

Deep in the forest, if one ventured to follow
omads, rather than [289] migrants, as Mr. C
amily, were still to be found at home. We sa
apercailzie (T. urogallus), but not the willow
ound there."

up the tracks of some wild animal, those
Charles Dixon would call them, the grouse
w the hazel grouse (Tetrao bonasia), the
grouse (Lagopus albus) though it is also

9: Hawes--287-289 T-3 (1901)
116, 136

"The autumn migration of birds takes
mainland. Travellers, like Prjevalsky,
Harvie-Brown, have left us records of
from Siberia over the Mongolian sandy
their summer on Sakhalin have no vast
in order to keep track, where possible,
they winter for the most part in Japan o
of Sakhalin is an unfailing guide, and pr

But by this time—the end of Septembe
ready departed for southern climes. Th
quin duck (Clangula histrionica), and th
teal (Anas querquedula), the Baikal teal
falcota), which are to be shot in Ni Bay
and we sighted a few and shot a mallard
was the hooper swan (Cygnus musicus),
at night. Among the Gilyaks this feathe
of kikkik. The bean goose (Anser seget
flocks on our outward journey, had also
Japan or China.

Perhaps the earliest departing guest

place rather later on Sakhalin than it does on the
and observers, such as Mr. Seebohm and Mr.
the passage of birds in spring and autumn to and
wastes. The feathered inhabitants who spend
waterless plains to traverse, and no long detours
of river valleys. Their journey is short because
r China; and simple because the long backbone
ovides them with mountain torrents by the way.
r–the bulk of the avifaunal inhabitants had al-
e ducks, the mallard (Anas boschas), the harle-
e golden eye (C. glaucion); the teals, the garganey
(A. querq. formosa), and the crested teal (A.
and up the Tim, had been almost the last to go,
three or four days' journey up the river. Gone
whose cries had sometimes disturbed our rest
red friend goes by the [288] onomatopoetic name
um, Middendorfii), of which we had seen several
departed, for he, like the ducks, winters in

had been the cuckoo (Cuculus canorus), called

even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution; furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

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himself takes t
instinctive fear
terrible natural
ness. Even wi
enormous leaps
overcome a ma
supposed to ain
finishes it off.
gerous that bea
comparison, an
dire necessity
and cannot be g
with bayonets o
the place where
method of captu
up of rifles whi
The corpse of a
usually serves
returning the da

The wolf exis
and does no har

223 Birds, espe
grouse are now
for partridges
grouse are lure
openly hunted i
surrounding cou
Nikolayevsk-na

462 We mentione
handicraft and t
much more than
The man hunts,

-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

emember only two instances when
uropeans were assaulted by it
ithout having been the attackers.
he one case occurred in the year
78 in broad daylight on the ice near
post station. A post servant was
red by the tiger. The skull of this
imal which was itself killed the
xt day now belongs to me. It meas-
es seven and one-half vershok (33
ntimeters), the upper canines are
long as a finger.

he offensive, does the monster lose his
of him, and then suddenly shows all its
qualities, to which belong an amazing tough-
h five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes
, and even in its death throes it can still
n. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is
at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart
Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dan-
r hunting may be considered child's play in
d the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in
when the tiger breaks into their stables
ot in any other way. In that case 15-20 men
n their rifles and in closed ranks descend on
the animal was scented. But the regular
re is poisoning with strychnin or the setting
ch go off when the tiger approaches the bait.
n animal that was killed by the tiger himself
as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of
y after his assault.
ts on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself
m. It is seldom shot.
cially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel
usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set
n flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel
d in spring with whistles, in winter they are
spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the
ntry are the chief purveyors of wild game for
-Amure.
above the other occupations and embryonic
rades. Specialization [124] consists in not
a division of labor between men and women.
does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

133 that likened it to a cathedral. These formations were specially curious, as there were no more of the kind in the vicinity. Borasdine observed the rocks soon after I discovered them, and at first thought they were ancient monuments.

136 There were many birds along the shore. Very often we dispersed flocks of ducks and sent them flying over islands and forests to places of safety. Snipe were numerous, and so were several kinds of wading and swimming birds. Very often we saw high in air the wild geese of Siberia flying to the southward in those triangular squadrons that they form everywhere over the world. These birds winter in the south of China, Siam, and India, while they pass the summer north of the range of the Yablonoi mountains.

The birds of the Amoor belong generally to the species found in the same latitudes of Europe and America, but there are some birds of passage that are natives of Southern Asia, Japan, the Philippine Islands, and even South Africa and Australia. Seven-tenths of the birds of the Amoor are found in Europe, two-tenths in Siberia, and one-tenth in regions further south. Some birds belong more properly to America, such as the Canada woodcock and the water ouzel; and there are several birds common to the east and west coasts of the Pacific. The naturalists who came here at the Russian occupation found two Australian birds on the Amoor, two from tropical and sub-tropical Africa, and one from Southern Asia.

The number of stationary birds is not great, in consequence of the excessive cold in winter. Mr. Maack enumerates thirty-nine species that dwell here the entire year. They include eagles, hawks, jays, magpies, crows, grouse, owls, woodpeckers, and some others. The birds of passage generally arrive at the end of April or during May, and leave in September or October.

It is a curious fact that they come later to Nicolayevsk than to the town of Yakutsk, nine degrees further north. This is due to differences of climate and the configuration of the country. The lower Amoor is remarkable for its large quantities of snow, and at Nicolayevsk it remains on the ground

136 till the end of May. South of the lower Amoor are the Shanalin mountains, which arrest the progress of birds. On the upper Amoor and in Trans-Baikal very little snow falls, and there are no mountains of great height.

171 The day after leaving Sofyesk I observed a native propelling a boat by pulling both oars together. On my expressing surprise my companion said:

"We have passed the country of the Gilyaks who pull their oars alternately, and entered that of the Mangoons and Goldees. The manner of rowing distinguishes the Gilyaks from all others."

The Mangoons, Goldees, and Gilyaks differ in much the same way that the tribes of American Indians are different. They are all of Tungusian or Mongolian stock, and have many traits and words in common. Their features have the same general characteristics and their languages are as much alike as those of a Cheyenne and Comanche. Each people has its peculiar customs, such as the style of dress, the mode of constructing a house, or rowing a boat. All are pagans and indulge in Shamanism, but each tribe has forms of its own. All are fishers and hunters, their principal support being derived from the river.

The Goldee boat was so much like a Gilyak one that I could see no difference. There was no opportunity to examine it closely, as we passed at a distance of two or three hundred feet.

690 Besides their boats of wood the Goldees make canoes of birch bark, quite broad in the middle and coming to a point at both ends. In general appearance these canoes resemble those of the Penobscot and Canadian Indians. The native sits in the middle of his canoe and propels himself with a double-bladed oar, which he dips into the water with regular alternations from one side to the other. The canoes are flat bottomed and very easy to overturn. A canoe is designed to carry but one man, though two can be taken in an emergency. When a native sitting in one of them spears a fish he moves only his arm and keeps his body motionless.

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137 FLORA--general type of flora (e.g., jungle, equatorial forest, tropical scrub, savanna, desert, steppe, prairie, deciduous forest, coniferous forest, tundra); types of wood; important species of land and marine flora; historical changes (e.g., introduced species); etc. See also:

Cultivated plants 24
Collecting 222
Ethnobotany 824

/22 cont./

132 northern shores of Sakhalin and on the eastern coast even in July. In the mountains the snow begins to melt in June and in some places does not succeed in melting away all summer. Perpetual ice is encountered not infrequently at sea level. In 1893 on a small island opposite the settlement of Visk-vo, I discovered by sheer accident under a thin layer of sand exactly at sea level a gigantic strip of perpetual ice, which in structure and size resembled a gigantic glacier which could have been brought here by the cold current.

In winter northwestern hurricanes periodically rage for days on end, producing terrible snowstorms. In summer there is fog and rain ... A somber country! In the low areas, which are open to the wind and the icy breath of the cold currents, the subarctic or even more southerly flora of the elevated areas is replaced by real arctic flora. The climate of this country owes its severity to a cold current and to the devastating northwest winds, which, with the force of a hurricane, blow with periodic regularity, 132 killing and freezing everything in their path. This is why the 137 places which are protected from these winds and from the severe sea fogs offer such a striking contrast in richness of flora and mildness of scenery to the low and open areas. In the valleys which lie in the interior of the island or which are otherwise protected, one encounters mild scenery with poplars, elms, oaks, and even yew trees, walnuts, a very rich carpet of flowers, gigantic spiraea, umbrella-like plants, and on some slopes even grapes.

137 In the neighborhood of Vitis uvae Thunbergii one will find Cembra pumila and a carpet of alpine arctic flora.

133 /23/ In relief Sakhalin Island is an almost completely mountainous country with meridional chains which diverge into countless spurs in all directions, forming a continuous mass of peaks, cones, cliffs, and capes. Not rising, on the average, more [132] than 3,000-4,000 feet above sea level, these mountains, in many places covered with snow until late summer, have a tremendous 13 cooling effect on the climate of the country. The fantastic contours of the mountains, rugged and mighty, the capes and cliffs, which are kissed by the breakers and fanned by the hurricanes; the slumbering taiga of spruce and larch which cover all the

[The western Coast]

166 164 /386 cont./ To make some money,

115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make 183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and 433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is [244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the [162] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among 177 them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise [244] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev- 224 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point 433 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming 178 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the 648 vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be- 342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement 178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises 354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and [237] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially [184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by [171] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from [177] whom it may have been borrowed.

133 As to the character of the region, the maritime sections [137] of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta- [491] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./

33 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look 35 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The 37 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along 32 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous [33] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the 504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be 35 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the 391 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak 103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta 361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

324]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

61 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

14 61 03

2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

/438 cont./

*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits, tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods [252] are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccini [137] vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-als (7), or also /439/ simply calle

[104] 7. The s is soft in pronunciation in this word, like the French z.

als, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them wi

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or paghla(n)-als, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the 222 fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this [221] purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erecte in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, [251] birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house, where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil 252 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompanime *262 for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, t

hey do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream s torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not ave an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from oth sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low slands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland hey are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region s covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there he stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by he sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.

The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

136 the rustling of leaves, the cracking of branches, the murmur
137 of brooks, or the sound of falling rocks. Only [102] now and then are to be heard the twittering of a song-bird, the croaking of a raven or the hooting of an owl; in the early part of the summer that cosmopolite, the cuckoo, makes its call resound far and near. It is not often that one has an opportunity to hear the branches lying on the ground snap under the heavy step of the bear. Now and then the graceful burunduk (tammias striatus) slips out of the thicket and pauses inquisitively to gaze at man. The taiga (primeval forest) is beautiful and majestic, but at the same time wild and desolate. It is not easy to blaze a trail through such a forest. Quite apart from the tortures one suffers in damp places during the warm season from countless swarms of mosquitoes, the forest floor and the untouched vegetation present an almost insurmountable chaos. One minute one must squeeze through trees and shrubbery, the next, one must work one's way through a thicket of enormous wild roses, ferns or umbel-bearing plants, or make one's way around the roots of a fallen tree, that are almost as high as a house; or one sinks into swampy ground, or stumbles over the many stones that have been brought down by the spring freshets. The world of grasses, flowers, and berries of the forest offers a welcome change, for in spots one also encounters oases of lush grass or comes upon a pink, red or yellow carpet of flowers, such as the fire weed (epilobium), valerian, red and yellow lilies, chrysanthemums [chrysanthemum vulgare], among others, or thick patches of raspberries, cranberries, blueberries, etc.

132 It is especially the six-month-long winter, full of frost and snow, which gives the country its rugged character. In the first half of November (1) the mighty river ceases its roaring

1. According to the new style.

and wraps itself in a cloak of ice.

By means of the almost sudden and tumultuous adhesion of ice floes, the ice surface is studded with huge needles, planks, and mounds. This is the so-called toros; where it is large one is obliged to level the road for the winter season with the help of axes and crowbars. However, this toros remains bare within a certain distance of the sea, that is, where there is already less snow; between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyeskoye (300 versts) it causes difficulty only when there are no large snow storms [103]. Usually, however, as soon as the first

137 Among medicinal plants are to be noted especially the cheremsha (Allium victoriale) which has an anti-scorbutic effect; valeriana officinalis; several varieties of artemesia (except absinthium); menyonthes trifoliata; Achillea millefolium; cannabis sativa; sedum palustre; taraxacum-officinale; tilia cordeta; querus mongolica, etc.

136 The animal kingdom is varied and numerous. Fish, especially the salmon species, that is, salmo longocephalus (kita) and salmo gibbosus (gorbusha) are important for the Gilyak's existence. Besides, there are sturgeon, carp, pike, etc. Along the coasts are to be found codfish, flounder, white fish, etc. Of water animals the dolphin (1) as well as

1. It goes 150 versts up the Amur.

the seal are important There are many whales (2) in the

2. In the book entitled Sibirien und das Amurland by Albert Kohn and K. Andree (1876) we read that the whale even swims around in the lower Amur. This is definitely not true.

Sea of Okhotsk, but they are not hunted by the Gilyak; only occasionally if one of these monsters is cast ashore, it is used Of land mammals we must mention especially: sable, squirrel, red fox, reindeer, elk, and bear. The wolf is seldom seen, hardly oftener than the Bengal tiger. The latter does not actually live above the 50th parallel, but sometimes it extends its excursions farther northward, that is, into the Gilyak country. Thus it was supposed to have been seen on the De Kastri Bay and even at the Tyr, but it definitely occurs at De Kastri Bay.

Among birds, the partridge and the hazel grouse the wild goose and wild duck are of importance to the Gilyak.

132 The climate. With the proximity of the ocean, we should expect to find a mild sea climate, but actually this is not the case, as may have been gathered from our general description. Winter is more severe than in continental Europe between corresponding degrees of latitude (51-54) and the contrast between the seasons is very abrupt. The thermometer does not always fall to -40 degrees Reaumur, but temperatures of -20 to -25 occur very often. The summers are not hot. The distribution of atmospheric humidity is very

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

1. Sometimes young bears roam about so far from their mamas that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand close to the entrance with his pelt coat on backwards, and as soon as the bear appears he hurls himself with his chest against the bear's head. The others hurl themselves on their leader and thus the alarmed bear is felled by the combined impact and is soon bound. If he is strong and raging so that he cannot be handled, he is immediately killed. Sometimes a noose is also put around his neck as soon as he appears. If the prisoner was a female with cubs, they are all taken home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in the lower Amur region, that is, in
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat farther up at the Amgun river. It is usually hunted in winter because, like the horse, it can travel only with difficulty in the deep snow, and the Gilyak on his snow shoes can easily overtake it and kill it with his lance. In summer time the animal is killed with rifles. Its meat is very popular and its skin is used for shoes, straps, etc.

The reindeer is also hunted chiefly in winter in the same manner. Occasionally the lance is also thrust at some distance from the target.

The wild boar does not occur on Sakhalin and the lower Amur; however, it appears 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk. It is hunted with lances and with rifles. Its meat is very popular, its skin, among other things, is used for the shaman drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably poisoned with the vomic nut which
278 the Gilyak buy from the Chinese. But this poison is not very
439 strong; much faster, in fact almost instantaneous, is the effect of its alkoloid, i.e., strychnine, which Russian fox hunters use but which the Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

/439 cont./

are a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, among others, one of the most important of these, the so-called mossj. This is a mixture of ground fish-skins, or, lacking them, of chopped jukola, with fish oil and berries. For the preparation of mossj, the fish skins, from lyghi-tscho or tengi-tscho, are cut up in small pieces, well cooked, ground, and stirred with fish oil to a mush of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (sour

2. A quite similar dish, made out of cooked and ground fish-skins with an admixture of pounded cedar-nuts, was used by the Kuriles on the southern tip of Kamchatka, according to Steller (op. cit., p. 325).

cream). I saw mossj prepared for the bear festival in Tebach, for it is an essential part of it and is both eaten by the participants and given to the bear. At other times, however, I saw it made out of finely cut jukola that was cooked and mixed with fish oil and bilberries. If the substance is cooled sufficiently or freezes a little, it can be cut into slices with a knife. Depending on the kind of fish used, the Gilyak distinguish between lyghi-mossj and tengi-mossj, giving preference to the former. They like to take a small supply of it along on winter journeys. For the midday meal around the blazing fire I have seen them perfectly satisfied with a few strips of jukola warmed or slightly roasted at the flames, several slices of mossj, and a drink of snow-water. Next to the bilberry, Empetrum nigrum L. (Gilyak yghych) is the most commonly used and favorite berry among the Gilyak. Just like the former, indeed often in place of it, it is used both as an accompaniment and as an ingredient for mossj and other dishes, /440/ and is likewise collected and stored in great quantities. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin it is even more common and more frequently used than the bilberry. Elsewhere, for instance, near Tymi on the Liman, the cranberry, Vaccinium oxycoccus L.

/440 cont./

*262 (Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[137] does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] tityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-als, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there; see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[252] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs),
[142] a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[137]

[192] 2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[192] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/440 cont./

252 which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyp, on
262 Sakhalin kap. The kernels and shells of the cembra nuts are
[92] kneaded into a dough-like mass of a reddish-brown color, obtained from the ground bark of the black alder with the addition of seal oil, which is given the form of cakes or small loaves of bread about one span long and equally wide and decorated on the upper side with some figures.

The number of roots which the Gilyak use as food is not inconsiderable. Unfortunately, I am not in a position with regard to many of them to give the taxonomic names of the plants
[137] to which they belong (3). Most of the roots, especially those

[113]

3. The names given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Maximowicz in working up his "Primitiae florae amurensis," St. Petersburg, 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, Vol. IX), and Fr. Schmidt for the botanical part of his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria kamtschatkensis Gawl. (Gilyak kark) and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak nork), which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage chambers; likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. (Gilyak tschjurk), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ryghr), and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tuksj, udalak, /441/ mryu, plim, a(r)sj, etc. Some bulbs, such as those
263 called ngyfki by the Gilyak, which presumably belong to a species
252 of Allium, are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as
137 seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

/441 cont./

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103]

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general) by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak löllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214.

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
[264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-
stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

/441 cont./

252 prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe,
*262 finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The
•[137] Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially
[192] reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chitwyrk) (3), and

3. Among the Olcha: chity.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwalch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and piula (blue) tschwalch), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

[137] Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vegetable food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak putsch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, whereupon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white
[172] color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in
[171] small stocks for the winter, which they may have learned from
[251] the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

*262 While the natural vegetable products discussed above are
439 of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are avail-
177 able to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

*262 /442 cont./ As soon as The Russians settled in The
439 lower Amur region, in Petrofskoje Simowjo, Nikolayevsk, and
177 Mariinsk, the Gilyak began to obtain small quantities of various cereals from them. Buckwheat groats in particular found the greatest approval among them, and I saw it served in great quantities during the above-mentioned bear festival of 1856. They also greatly liked the inexpensive Russian rye flour (Gilyak (b) owa), since they /443/ could obtain from the Chinese only small quantities of wheat flour (Gilyak rhak) at a high price. All the above-mentioned
*262 cereals are cooked by the Gilyak to a thick dry mush and eaten
252 with fish oil, which, like melted butter among us, is poured with
439 a spoon or a small stick into a depression made in the groats. Flour
177 has a variety of uses among them. The principal one is in the preparation of a kind of cake or small loaf of bread. For this purpose, it has fish oil poured over it and is kneaded into a dough -- a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of water and, while kneading the dough, let as much of it as is needed run into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the hearth, and, finally, broken into pieces and sprinkled with fish oil. They obtain
•[137] another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing the flour with fish oil and partly crushed bilberries or cranberries (Empetrum nigrum /crowberry/) and stirring this to a mush. Only one garden vegetable is used among them, and this almost solely on festive occasions. It is the common white or yellowish beans
[137] (Phaseolus vulgaris L., Gilyak tursch), which they obtain from the Chinese living farther up along the Amur and Sungari. They are first cooked and then mixed with fish oil, chopped kyp (see above) and finely chopped dried leeks (hagi), and sometimes also berries from Empetrum nigrum -- a truly peculiar culinary achievement owing to its curious composition.

*262 Thus, not merely the various native vegetable foods, which serve more as supplements, but also the few really nutritious exotic ones which the Gilyak use as food are not eaten by them other than with a more or less strong addition of fish oil. The ichthyophagous nature of the Gilyak remains true even here. And, thus, in spite of the not inconsiderable vegetable foods listed above,

9: Hawes--105-106 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 137

"The commonest trees in the forests [LSS
larch (Larix daurica) and birch (Betula alba
and fir (Abies sachalinensis). In addition to
elm, maple, nut, Swiss pine, mountain ash,

The forests naturally change their person
side, and down in swampy places, where co
the sparse vegetation, the hoary moss-hung
sprinkled ground, the home of the reindeer,

In sheltered valleys, on the other hand, I
nearly as I could tell by pacing a fallen gian
mentioned, are found the spindle- and cork-
heracleum.

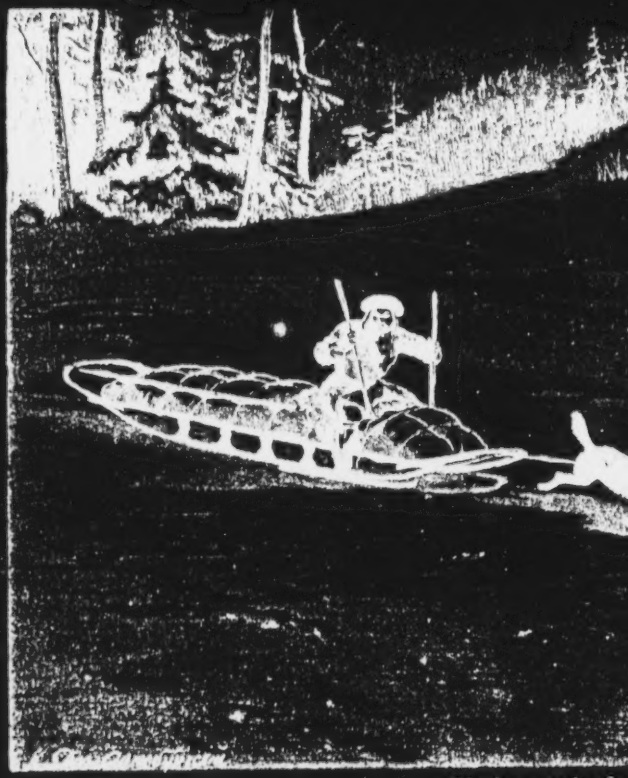
The thick undergrowth was chiefly compo
berried bushes, including the cloudberry (R
palustris), crowberry (Empetrum nigrum),
(Vaccinium vitis idaea).

On the whole it is the tariga, the Siberian
larch, and spruce that prevails on Sakhalin;
covered with dank grass, gnarled and stunte

: of Sakhalin Island] in the northern half ar
), and in the south spruce (Picaea ajanensis
these are the less common aspen, willow,
, etc.
nel with their situation. On the mountain-
ld winds prevail, the flora is limited, and
trees, and the almost snow-white lichen-
hint of approaching arctic conditions.
have found lofty larch trees measuring, as
t, 145 feet, and in the south, as already
-trees, the bamboo, hydrangea, and the

sed of wild rose, spiraea (betulaefolia?) and
ubus chamaemorus), cranberry (Oxycoccus
and the red whortleberry or cowberry

'jungle' or belt of trackless forests of birc
and the tundra, with its meres and swamp
ed larch and birch, low clusters of



Sled travel of t

2: Schrenck--1017 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Rx2

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93
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XXXVII

he Gilyak.

Ci.yak winter houses, decora

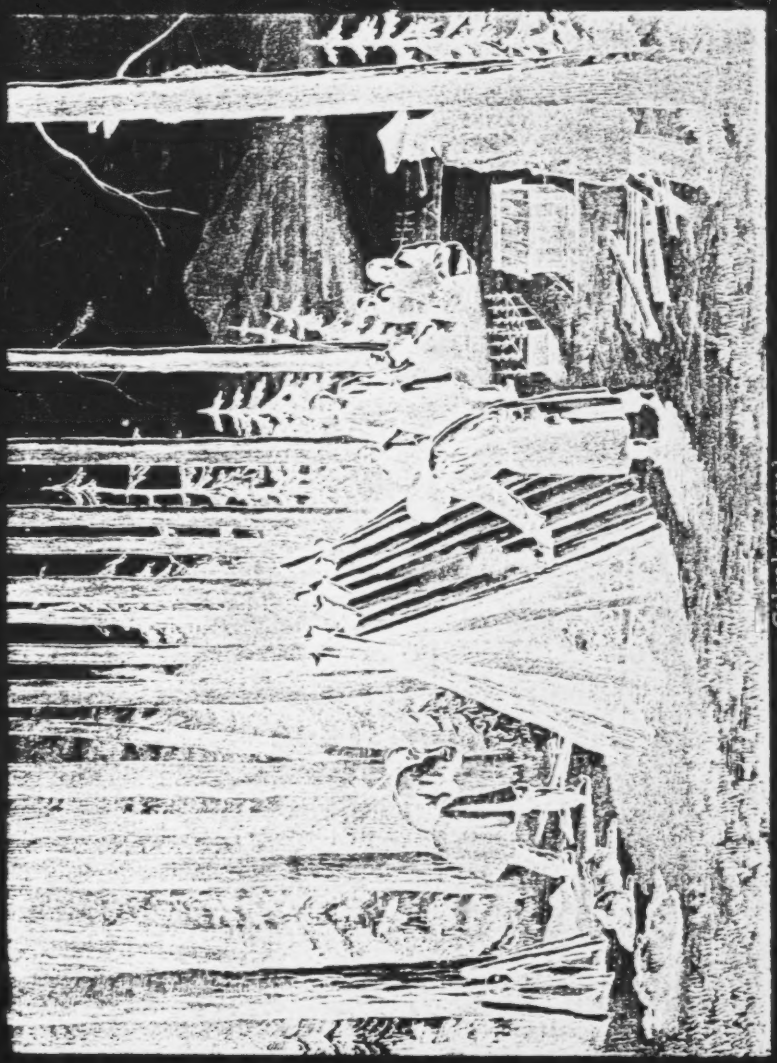
2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XI.

ted for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

Gilyak funeral.

2: Schrenck--1265 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Gilyak funeral.

LXV 4 J 7

"The land [LSS: of Sakhalin Islan
forest. So dense is this, that the na
traverse in summer in canoes dug o
sledges over the frozen surfaces."

d] if for the greater part covered with primeval
tives depend for highway upon the rivers, which th
out of tree-trunks, and in winter in dog-or reindee

"The flora exhibits as great a diver
kurilensis) and Swiss pines (Pinus c
amureuse) [LSS: Erratum; should r
macropterus) are here, with the Be
and birch, and the berry-laden bush

sity. [LSS: as the fauna] Bamboos (Arundinaria
:embra pumila), hydrangeas, the cork-(Phellodendr
read amurense] and spindle-trees (Euonymus
tula ermani, and the gnarled larch (Larix daurica),
es of the Siberian tundra."

HM.

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1, 2, -- Gilya

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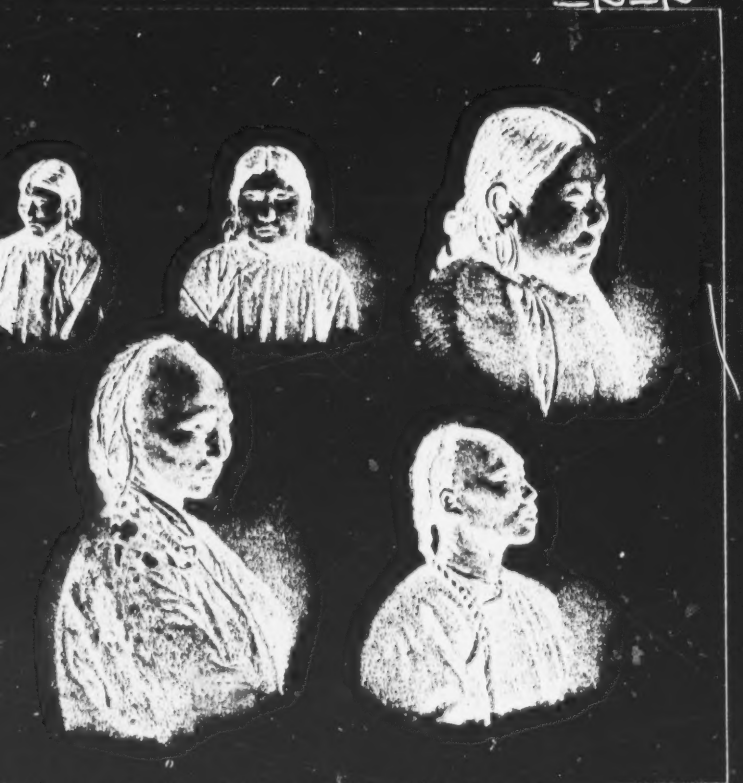
III.



k Women; 2, 4 -- Gilyak Girls; 5, 6, 7 --
Gilyak Men

[LSS: On northern Sakhalin Island] The fore
spicuous trees were birch, larch, elm, and
ick undergrowth of spiraea (Betulae folia?),
dle-trees, but keeps company with the larch
ry (Vaccinium vitisidaea), wild rose, and gr

st was continuous and dense. The most
nut (Panax ricinifolia), while below was
which refuses to grow beneath the
, wild raspberry, elder, the red whortle-
eat horse-tails (Equisetum sylvaticum)."

Amur
Sakhalin

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Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

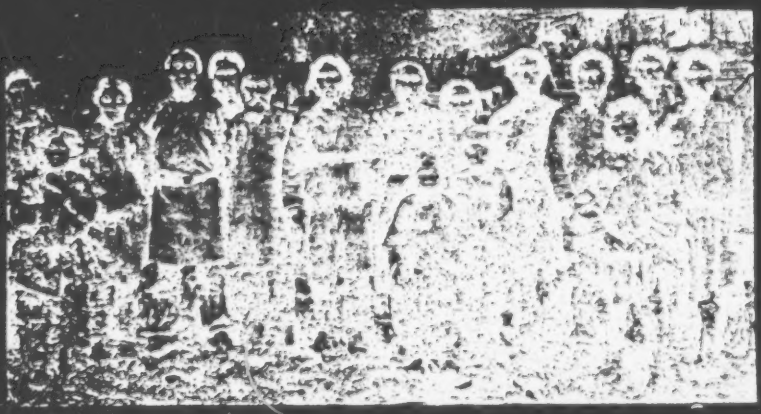

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

CHAPTER XII.

I HAD a curiosity to examine the ancient monuments at Tyr, opposite the mouth of the Amgoon river, but we passed them in the night without stopping. There are several traditions concerning their origin. The most authentic story gives them an age of six or seven hundred years. They are ascribed to an emperor of the Yuen dynasty who visited the mouth of the Amoor and commemorated his journey by building the 'Monastery of Eternal Repose.' The ruined walls of this monastery are visible, and the shape of the building can be easily traced. In some places the walls are eight or ten feet high.

Mr. Collins visited the spot in 1857 and made sketches of the monuments. He describes them situated on a cliff a hundred and fifty feet high, from which there is a magnificent view east and west of the Amoor and the mountains around it. Toward the south there are dark forests and mountain ridges, some of them rough and broken. To the north is the mouth of the Amgoon, with a delta of numerous islands covered with forest, while in the northwest the valley of the river is visible for a long distance. Back from the cliff is a table-land several miles in width.

This table-land is covered with oak, aspen, and fir trees, and has a rich undergrowth of grass and flowers. On a point of the cliff there are two monuments. A third is about four hundred yards away. One is a marble shaft on a granite pedestal; a second is entirely granite, and the third partly granite and partly porphyry. The first and third bear inscriptions in Chinese, Mongol, and Thibetan. One inscription

141

141 ANTHROPOMETRY--mean, range, and sex distribution of physical measu
ments (e.g., stature, weight, span, length of limbs); indices (e.g., ceph
nasal); etc. See also:

Postures . . . . . 516 Conception of ideal bodily proportions . . . 826

132 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

132 The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
164 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

141 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

142 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
516 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
732 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

1

142 DESCRIPTIVE S
and distribution
somatotype data

42

SOMATOLOGY--color of skin, hair, and eyes; form, length, of hair; musculature; secondary sexual characteristics; , etc.

Tungus R45
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TAG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

they do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream is torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not have an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from both sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low islands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland they are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region is covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there the stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by the sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.

The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

136 the rustling of leaves, the cracking of branches, the murmur
137 of brooks, or the sound of falling rocks. Only [102] now and then are to be heard the twittering of a song-bird, the croaking of a raven or the hooting of an owl; in the early part of the summer that cosmopolite, the cuckoo, makes its call resound far and near. It is not often that one has an opportunity to hear the branches lying on the ground snap under the heavy step of the bear. Now and then the graceful burunduk (tammias striatus) slips out of the thicket and pauses inquisitively to gaze at man. The taiga (primeval forest) is beautiful and majestic, but at the same time wild and desolate. It is not easy to blaze a trail through such a forest. Quite apart from the tortures one suffers in damp places during the warm season from countless swarms of mosquitoes, the forest floor and the untouched vegetation present an almost insurmountable chaos. One minute one must squeeze through trees and shrubbery, the next, one must work one's way through a thicket of enormous wild roses, ferns or umbel-bearing plants, or make one's way around the roots of a fallen tree, that are almost as high as a house; or one sinks into swampy ground, or stumbles over the many stones that have been brought down by the spring freshets. The world of grasses, flowers, and berries of the forest offers a welcome change, for in spots one also encounters oases of lush grass or comes upon a pink, red or yellow carpet of flowers, such as the fire weed (epilobium), valerian, red and yellow lilies, chrysanthemums [chrysanthemum vulgare], among others, or thick patches of raspberries, cranberries, blueberries, etc.

132 It is especially the six-month-long winter, full of frost and snow, which gives the country its rugged character. In the first half of November (1) the mighty river ceases its roaring

1. According to the new style.

and wraps itself in a cloak of ice.

By means of the almost sudden and tumultuous adhesion of ice floes, the ice surface is studded with huge needles, planks, and mounds. This is the so-called toros; where it is large one is obliged to level the road for the winter season with the help of axes and crowbars. However, this toros remains bare within a certain distance of the sea, that is, where there is already less snow; between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyeskoye (300 versts) it causes difficulty only when there are no large snow storms [103]. Usually, however, as soon as the first

132 purga (snow-storm) blows up everything is so completely buried that only those trees can be seen which, at the beginning of winter when the post roads are being laid, are pounded into the ice at regular intervals. Then everything is buried under an enormously thick covering of snow which lies immovable for half a year. During this time the forests are accessible to man only with the help of snow-shoes and dog sleds. Through the stillness of this white solitude the unlovely but energetic voice of the raven is heard; or the stillness is broken by the rapid ringing of a Russian post bell or by the "takh", "takh" which is the Gilyak's signal to his dogs. The raging purgas which last for several days are followed by weeks of cloudless skies when during the day everything lies in a dazzling white glow, and at night the icy heavens are resplendent with bright stars.

The sea coast of the Gilyak country is very picturesque, but hardly charming. From the foam of the breakers up to the peaks of the mountains everything is covered with dark forests, and even the picture of the summer landscape is often clouded with rain and fog which are almost continuous throughout the warmer season. (1) And during the other half

1. The cold arctic current travels past this coast and condenses with the moisture-laden southeast winds.

of the year everything is rigid with snow and ice, so that in winter one can travel with dogs from the mainland to Sakhalin.

This is the general picture of the native land of the Gilyak. There remains for us to add a few details, insofar as these have been ascertained.

135 With respect to geology, it may be said that argillite
812 seems to occur more extensively, but many igneous minerals also appear. Thus the shores of the De Kastri bay consist of trachyte and basalt. Limestone occurs only seldom, which accounts for the softness of the water. The mountains are rich in metals -at least in various localities gold, iron, and lead were found, and it is well known that on the island of Sakhalin there are large coal beds.

137 The flora is varied and abundant. The conifers are represented by the fir and the larch, but the pine is absent. Of deciduous trees [104] there are oaks, maple, alder, birch, aspen, elm, among others. There are many berries, especially cranberries, raspberries, and rubus chamae morus.

137 Among medicinal plants are to be noted especially the cheremsha (Allium victoriale) which has an anti-scorbutic effect; valeriana officinalis; several varieties of artemesia (except absinthium); menyonthes trifoliata; Achillea millefolium; cannabis sativa; sedum palustre; taraxacum-officinale; tilia cordeta; querus mongolica, etc.

136 The animal kingdom is varied and numerous. Fish, especially the salmon species, that is, salmo longocephalus (kita) and salmo gibbosus (gorbusha) are important for the Gilyak's existence. Besides, there are sturgeon, carp, pike, etc. Along the coasts are to be found codfish, flounder, white fish, etc. Of water animals the dolphin (1) as well as

1. It goes 150 versts up the Amur.

the seal are important There are many whales (2) in the

2. In the book entitled Sibirien und das Amurland by Albert Kohn and K. Andree (1876) we read that the whale even swims around in the lower Amur. This is definitely not true.

Sea of Okhotsk, but they are not hunted by the Gilyak; only occasionally if one of these monsters is cast ashore, it is used Of land mammals we must mention especially: sable, squirrel, red fox, reindeer, elk, and bear. The wolf is seldom seen, hardly oftener than the Bengal tiger. The latter does not actually live above the 50th parallel, but sometimes it extends its excursions farther northward, that is, into the Gilyak country. Thus it was supposed to have been seen on the De Kastri Bay and even at the Tyr, but it definitely occurs at De Kastri Bay.

Among birds, the partridge and the hazel grouse the wild goose and wild duck are of importance to the Gilyak.

132 The climate. With the proximity of the ocean, we should expect to find a mild sea climate, but actually this is not the case, as may have been gathered from our general description. Winter is more severe than in continental Europe between corresponding degrees of latitude (51-54) and the contrast between the seasons is very abrupt. The thermometer does not always fall to -40 degrees Reaumur, but temperatures of -20 to -25 occur very often. The summers are not hot. The distribution of atmospheric humidity is very

/24 cont./

144 latter, however, are encountered considerably less often. Only in women and children are the Mongoloid features expressed with particular distinctness.

142 The Gilyak are generally of medium stature (much taller than the Tungus), although one finds subjects who are above medium height, they are stocky and solidly built, but one never meets fat ones among them. The head is proportionately large; its platy-brachycephalic skull is overgrown with black hair, which descends down the backs of the men in one braid, of the women in two. The color of the face is dark and muddy. In youth the red of the cheeks is of a pink-brick shade. Their lips are thick; their teeth are a dark-yellowish color (from smoking). The extremities of their arms and legs are strikingly small.

157 The Gilyak have always been depicted as morose, gloomy, and unsociable and are always contrasted with the gentle expression of the face of the Ainu. I find this opinion unjust. If there are features of moroseness in the Gilyak, these are purely of external origin and caused by the justified distrust of foreigners, who have caused them no little harm. I personally have had many contacts with this tribe and have carried away the conviction that the moroseness of the Gilyak is a purely external trait. Under this morose exterior there hides a gentle nature capable of deep attachments, expansiveness, and trust. Due to his expansiveness, the Gilyak is capable of swift changes of mood. The morose expression of his face, moved from concentration by the slightest stimulus from without, in one second beams with an expression of the most naïve good-nature, or becomes inflamed with a terrible fire of anger. The Gilyak is usually slow in his movements and restrained at home when he plays the role of host, but he is agitated and active in periods of gaiety and excitement, when his speech flows in a stormy current from his overfull breast.

The woman is gloomier in appearance than the man. With her eyes constantly lowered and slow in her movements, she immediately gives the impression of a frightened creature. In reality she is not. It is sufficient for her to begin to speak with you, and, in her artificially-muil'irovannyy accent, in the ingratiating, flattering intonation and timbre of her voice, in her smile and roguish, laughing look, you will recognize a true daughter of Eve,

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1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
Sakhalin
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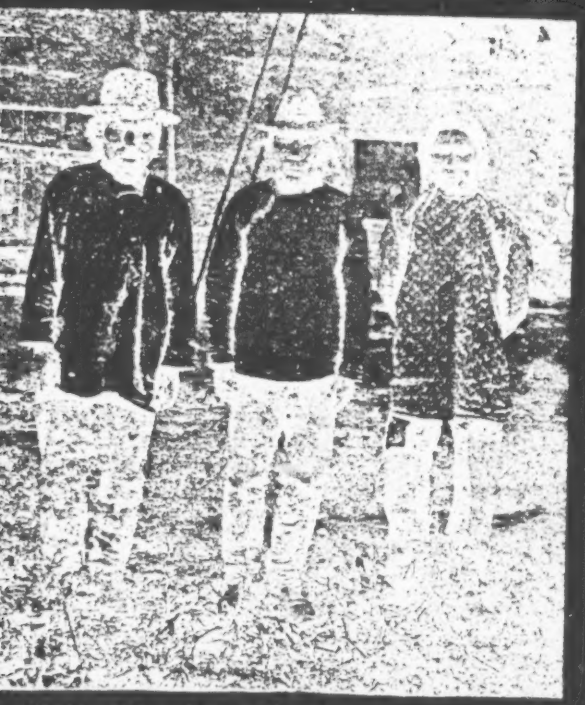

Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

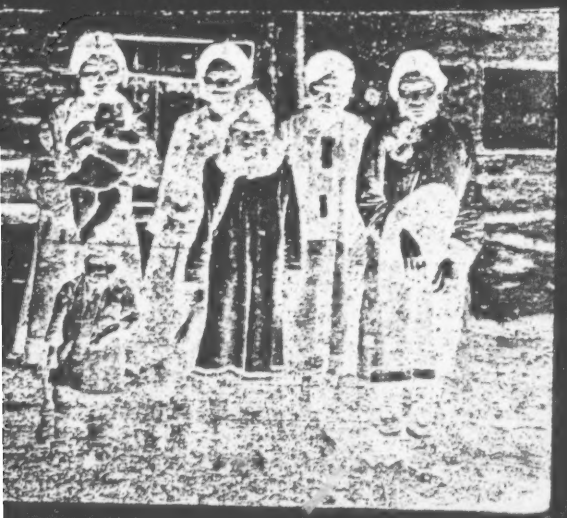

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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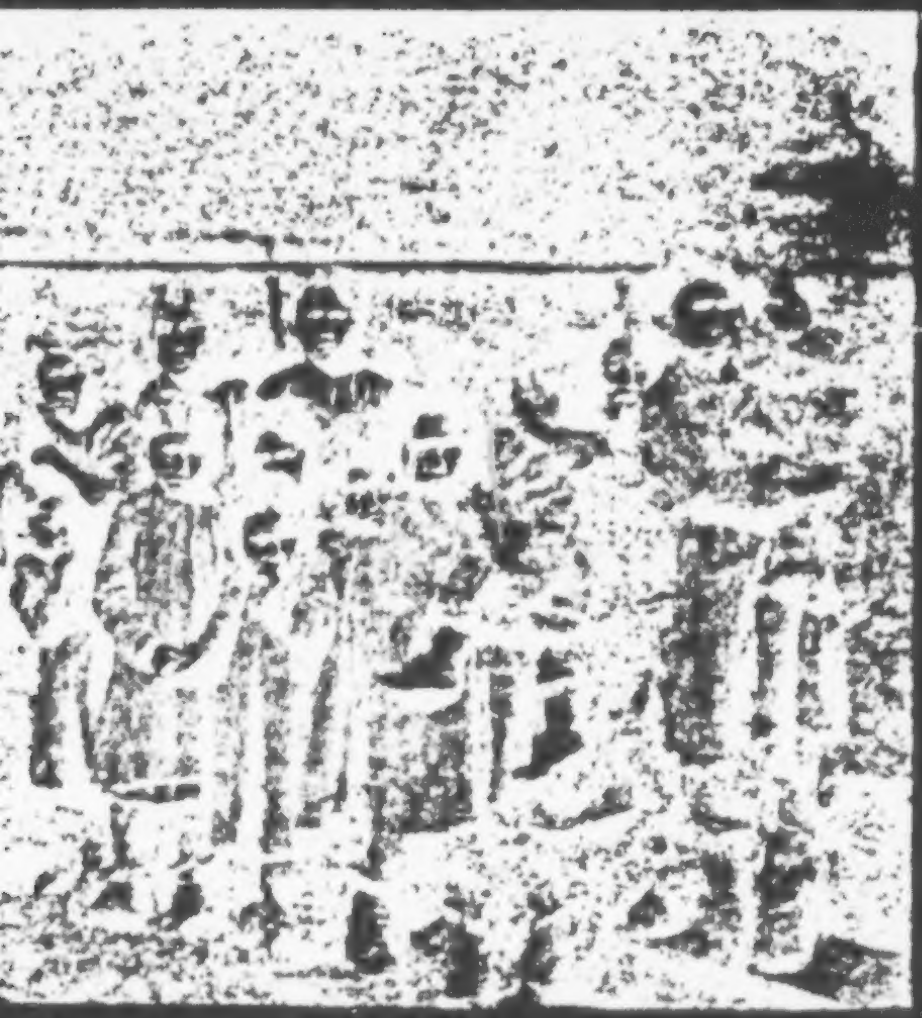
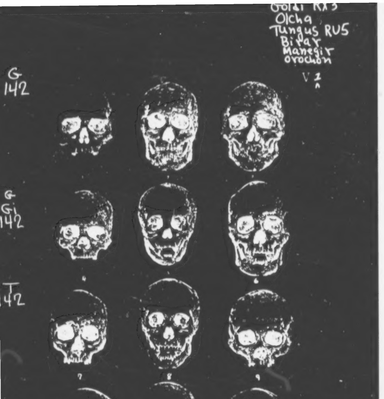
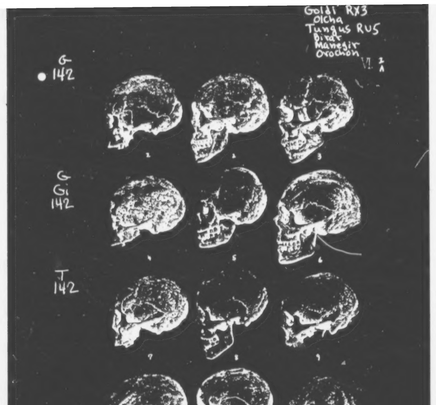
Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gil



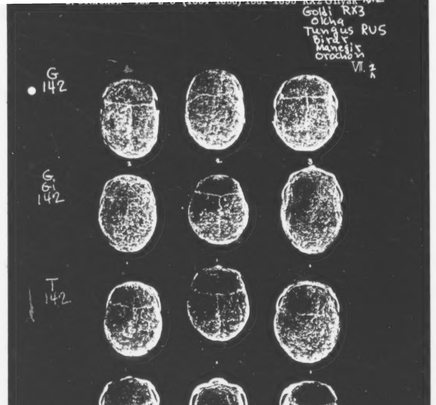
yak. Group of children.



2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]



2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]



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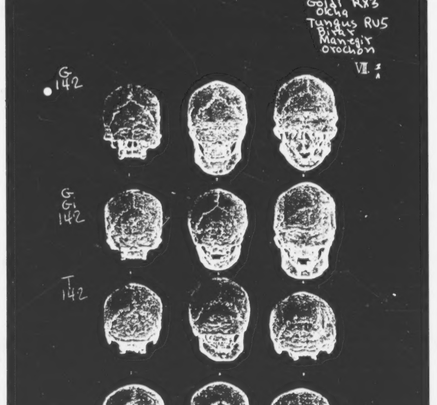
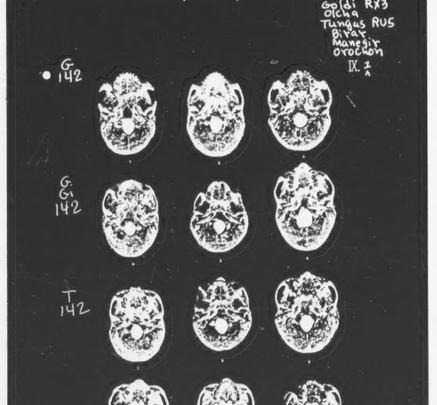


2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]



2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]

/387 cont./

291 and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under
• [142] it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecessary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against
[324] [531] rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-bak, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII, 2/3 and Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2/3 (2).

[386] 2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

291 The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer
301 shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ pro-
177 vided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made either of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of
2/3 [See Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
2/3 [See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Southwest Siberia RX1

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/409 cont./

As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

G
SS
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This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

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The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting

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in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/440 cont./

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[139]

(Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

[192]

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called itityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-ali, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113]

1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there, see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251]
[252]

Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

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The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs), a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by

[192]

2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is likewise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this

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connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

IVII.

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Gilyak in summer clothing.

IVIII.

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

III.

•142
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Gilyak in winter clothing.

142

Ch. Takasami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

Today the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse medical institutions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most remote collective-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet government was to bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy among the adults. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years after the establishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi young people were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at centers for the liquidation of illiteracy.

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(801)

A Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbooks were published. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children were already at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Nivkhi children of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only after the establishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In the village of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Nogliki there is a ten-year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade schools in Komosol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

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132 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

132 The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
164 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

141 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

142 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
516 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
732 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
und, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
es are much less often found among these savages
ong civilized peoples. Their features are not beau-
though the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race
Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephal-
eir thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down
ck in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and
istly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are
but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some
ces. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

l. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the
Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak
are like slits.

d outward. Their color is without exception dark.
ek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short
ally flat. In women the column of the nose is not
as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings.
not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red.
equently hold their mouths open, showing two complete
strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths
one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn
om their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are
ut thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are
for earrings.
complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
friendly faces are less often found among them than
he Goldi. However, the women have a gentler ex-
, although their type is very similar to that of the
hey wear two braids which are often tied together at
m.
ing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
e not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not
o be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but
dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usu-
free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak
ture of smoke and fish, with the former predominat-

as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
at of Europeans, but they have more physical endur-
e women, moreover, are relatively strong. One
ay that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of
ovement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

116, 142, 302

"The Gilyak is short of stature, about 5 feet 3
though often wiry, scarcely robust. His wome
His complexion is tawny, gipsy-like, but not y
pigtail, is raven black. Altogether his feature
the brachycephalic (round) head, the broad fac
[158] yet the slight brow ridges, big mouth, p
of the latter are considerably modified in his
hairless faces of the Mongol, and perhaps the
descendants of Ainu and Gilyak ancestors."

inches in height, spare of limb, and,
n-folk scarcely exceed 4 feet 6 inches.
ellow, and his hair, which he wears in a
s betoken a mixed race. Though he has
e, and high cheek-bones of the Mongol,
rominent lips, and flattened nasal bridge
case. The majority of Gilyaks possess the
exceptions who have bushy beards are

"Coming upon an encampment of Gily
eir resemblance to the North-Americ
nes, raven hair and mocassined legs,
ddling a dug-out canoe. From the hut
ort and stunted, and some black-hair
."

ak natives for the first time, I was struck with
an Indians; their swarthy figures, high cheek-
the impression being heightened by their
s emerged one or two of their women-folk,
ed, gipsy-looking children, who stared shyly at

20: Bush--125 T-2 (1865) 1871
116, 142, 221, 461

"These people might with propriety be called an aquatic tribe
months they almost live upon the water, paddling here and there
continually. For their food, likewise, both during summer and
this source nearly exclusively. What traveling they do in winter
dogs; but this is very little, their preference being decidedly to
dingy, smoky habitations during the cold weather, waiting for th
before renewing their out-of-door exercises.

These exercises, rowing and fishing principally, are only pa
the muscles of the upper portion of the body. Owing to this fact,
see men among them powerful and robust about the chest and arm
limbs are comparatively so small and puny as to convey the imp

. During the summer
in their lotkas
winter, they rely upon
is accomplished with
lie and vegetate in their
e advent of spring

rtial, benefiting merely
, it is not uncommon to
ms, while their lower
ression of deformity."

20: Bush--76-77 T-2 (18

116, 142

[LSS: Upon arrival at Tederovsk on L
wet and tired out, so much so that even t
resolved to take informal possession, wh
was seen approaching from the distance,
water's edge. These last were evidently
appearance, were objects of a good deal
means preposessing in their looks, or c al
to classify them we did not know, except

From small patches of skin that were
they were clothed, we judged their compl
and the American Indians. There feature
eyes, flattish noses, and coarse black ha
cheek-bones, which were exceedingly lar
rest of the face in profile view."

ake Kidzi]"By this time all of us were perfectly
ne hovel was a welcome sight, and we had just
en a small, box-like boat, containing two men,
while two other beings approa ched along the
natives of the country, and, from their
of interest and curiousity to us, though by no
culated to inspire one with admiration. How
as under the general head of tartars. [77]
in a few places visible through the dirt in which
exion to be midway between those of the Chinese
s were decidedly Mongolian--almond-shaped
ir; but most prominent of all were their
ge, so much so as to completely obscure the

Knox 1-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

31 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs, white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not altogether certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka, but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he made no response to a question which Borasdine asked. Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon. The women did not look up from their work, and were not 42 inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complexion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

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143 GENETICS--blood groupings; incidence of sex-linked characteristics (e.g., color blindness, hemophilia); other data of specific genetic significance (e.g., unusual response potentialities or limitations); etc. See also:

Notions about heredity 827

/255 cont./
832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
597 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for [158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

• 143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and [588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/256 cont./
• 143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often confused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak, Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum virile was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing. Later the membrum virile attained the proper development, and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.
143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
588 met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter very much resembled a man in the face. My companions explained that only a year ago she had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against [538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given [534] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which would sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

/257 cont./
• 143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.
881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who [302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos con-
881 nected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,
585 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
833 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

/319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year) [782] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: [776] "Pkhys'kyr ururungja! -- do good for us with your risk!"
731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
758 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.
731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
753 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.
538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.
158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
• [143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

144

* 144 RACIAL AFFINITIES--indicated affiliation with established races and sub-races; supporting evidence; extent of race mixture; etc. See also:

Distribution of ethnic groups . . . . . 162 Ideas about race 829
Ethnic stratification and status of racial hybrids 563

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

T 8 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

A 8 101 102 182 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

G 101 144

/1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T 131 197

T 8 101 102 182 184

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

S 8 121

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S 121 433

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

/13 cont./

175 131

Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

131 102 162

The greatest density of population is found in the areas of the most abundant fishing, such as the banks of the Amur and its estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184), Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkyvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

101

The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

144 [194]

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

/19 cont./

174 124 829

In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same race. It turned out that the well-known seaman, Orlov, who served in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an Aleut, with whom my Gilyak informant had a chance to talk at great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the way, about the bear festival, they both came to the conclusion that the Gilyak and the Aleut are kal'nyakhr (one people). Taken by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course, have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, characteristic.

144 [194]

Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possible for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus, and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

/20 cont./

144

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/21 cont./

174 144 197

out, what remained of the indigenous type of the original Gilyak tribe? Yes, that original type irretrievably disappeared. The body of the Gilyak tribe died forever, but its spirit is alive, alive in its language, a language which, as we have said, stands completely alone in the assemblage of languages of the Asiatic continent, and in its peculiar customs and institutions which, together with the language, have survived all the vicissitudes of its physical transformation. The persistent preservation of the language is striking. It has not only protected itself against distortion by roots and forms from other tribes, but, in spite of the small membership of the tribe has preserved two large dialects and no fewer than five or six subdialects, which testify to the fact that there was a time when the Gilyak language was spoken by many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals scattered over a vast territory, who left us numerous idioms as proof of their existence.

174

But not only the language of the Gilyak tribe continues to testify to its isolated position among the surrounding nationalities: its social institutions, clan organization, religion, and especially /22/ the institution of marriage, amazingly peculiar norms of sexual intercourse, and equally amazing kinship nomenclature clearly testify to this. Before we proceed to this aspect of their life, however, we shall first touch upon, within the briefest limits, the external conditions of their life, the nature which surrounds them, and the outward appearance of the Gilyak.

II.

132

Environment. Type. External Life.

[31]

The nature amidst which these people live at the present time is full of the greatest contrasts. In spite of the southerly latitude (between 46° and 54 1/2° north latitude), the average yearly temperature falls in some places to -1.2°. The freezing of mercury in the middle of the island is a common phenomenon. Even in July there are minimums of 7.7°. Ice floats off the

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526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swim-
mers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, can-
not swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent
and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble
Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the
sight and hearing of these people, but in general these
senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors
well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of
the European could be deducted from a number of experi-
ments. When I was taking their head measurements, I
occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our
conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not
mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related
to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They
have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than
the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the
Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Fur-
thermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings.
Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like
that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide,
pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be
fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made
of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or
pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear
shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they
use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of
of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden
clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have
shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn
much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more
durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to
scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot
often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used,
but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of
longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots
and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

Otto Genest (Gymnasium Teacher)

Jakobsen's first sojourn in the land of the Goldi (compare umber 10 of the current volume of the periodical, p. 153 see Goldi Source 18: Genest--Analyst] was followed by a rip into the territory of the Gilyak through which he had o pass in order to reach Nikolayevsk. He touched the same erritory for a second time when on his return from Sakhalin sland, he started his journey up the Amur River towards he Ussuri and North Korea at the end of January 1885. Both imes he had only a little time at his disposal: in September f 1884 he had to rush to get to Nikolayevsk as soon as pos-ible in order to take advantage of an opportunity to cross ver to Sakhalin; January 1885 he was pressing with all his ower to conclude his activities since by force of circum-tances he had lost so much time on Sakhalin that he was fraid of having to extend his travels too much if he should top for a detailed study of the Gilyak. It is therefore nderstandable that his collections made in the territory of he Gilyak are far inferior to those made in the land of the Goldi as regards copiousness and variety. Also the infor-nation he was able to gather from his own observation or hrough his inquiries understandably gives only a hazy icture of the life and activities of this people. Unfortunately e only had little opportunity to become acquainted with the epresentatives of the Gilyak people living on Sakhalin sland and thus to fill the gaps of his account of this people. Nevertheless the entries in his diary present several things f interest, but expecially valuable is the fact that he was ermitted to observe a bear festival in the Gilyak village aida above Nikolayevsk, the procedure of which he has escribed in great detail.

The Gilyak have been designated as Hyperboreans or Arctics by Rittich (1), as Northern Asiatics of uncertain

1. Die Ethnographie Russlands, supplementary issue 54 to Petermann's Mittheilungen, p. 19.

osition within the system by Peschel (2). They are

2. Peschel-Kirchoff, Völkerkunde (5th

Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
563 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
226 had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

/23 cont./

levated areas, where their natural inhabitants -- the bears -- vander; strong winds which create hellish snowstorms and destruc-ive hurricanes; the sea, always stormy and teeming with giants nd sea monsters; fogs, and the sky always covered with leaden-olored clouds -- such are the surrounding conditions which with owerful strokes have inscribed their features on the psychics and orld view of the Gilyak, conditions which have inscribed the ualities of vitality and courage, along with the quality of stern-ess, in the spiritual make-up of the inhabitant of this rugged sland.

Of the animals surrounding the Gilyak, the bear, the trongest and most terrible inhabitant of his taiga, plays the most mportant role. In the chapter on religion, I shall discuss in de-ail the influence of this animal on the whole religious psychics f the Gilyak. Now I wish only to indicate the role of this animal n the natives' struggle for survival. If this animal were as aggres-ive as, say, the Bengal tiger, it would have been almost im-ossible, in the face of its extreme abundance, for primitive man o live in these areas. The northern bear, however, is distinguished or its gentleness, which seems almost unbelievable. During the irst years of my stay on Sakhalin the flocks of the settlers grazed ide by side with the bears, and while picking berries the women f the settlers more than once bumped sides with their clumsy ompetitors; and if the bear in such cases sometimes did not be-ave exactly like a gentleman, this expressed itself only in his ushing the woman if the latter accidentally brushed against him ith her pot or bucket. During my travels I more than once had o put up for the night in areas abounding in bears, and more han once, while lying inside my tent, I could hear the heavy otsteps of Mikhail Potapych, curious to inspect our camp...

I have already said something about the physical type of the ilyak. An average Gilyak type does not exist. He fluctuates etween the sharp Mongoloid features of the Tungus type and the omely /24/ gentle features of the Ainu type. That is why among e Gilyak one so frequently encounters subjects whom it is diffi-ult to distinguish from true Tungus, and, at the same time, hers who impress one by their almost European features. The

/24 cont./

144 latter, however, are encountered considerably less often. Only in women and children are the Mongoloid features expressed with particular distinctness.

142 The Gilyak are generally of medium stature (much taller than the Tungus), although one finds subjects who are above medium height, they are stocky and solidly built, but one never meets fat ones among them. The head is proportionately large; its platy-brachycephalic skull is overgrown with black hair, which descends down the backs of the men in one braid, of the women in two. The color of the face is dark and muddy. In youth the red of the cheeks is of a pink-brick shade. Their lips are thick; their teeth are a dark-yellowish color (from smoking). The extremities of their arms and legs are strikingly small.

157 The Gilyak have always been depicted as morose, gloomy, and unsociable and are always contrasted with the gentle expression of the face of the Ainu. I find this opinion unjust. If there are features of moroseness in the Gilyak, these are purely of external origin and caused by the justified distrust of foreigners, who have caused them no little harm. I personally have had many contacts with this tribe and have carried away the conviction that the moroseness of the Gilyak is a purely external trait. Under this morose exterior there hides a gentle nature capable of deep attachments, expansiveness, and trust. Due to his expansiveness, the Gilyak is capable of swift changes of mood. The morose expression of his face, moved from concentration by the slightest stimulus from without, in one second beams with an expression of the most naïve good-nature, or becomes inflamed with a terrible fire of anger. The Gilyak is usually slow in his movements and restrained at home when he plays the role of host, but he is agitated and active in periods of gaiety and excitement, when his speech flows in a stormy current from his overfull breast.

The woman is gloomier in appearance than the man. With her eyes constantly lowered and slow in her movements, she immediately gives the impression of a frightened creature. In reality she is not. It is sufficient for her to begin to speak with you, and, in her artificially-muil'irovannyy accent, in the ingratiating, flattering intonation and timbre of her voice, in her smile and roguish, laughing look, you will recognize a true daughter of Eve,

145

145 ONTOGENETIC DATA--evidence as to physical growth and mental development during infancy and childhood; eruption of teeth; age at puberty for each sex; age at menopause and onset of senile impotence; characteristics of menstruation and menopause; physical senescence; etc. See also:
Adolescence, adulthood, and old age. . . . 88 Development and maturation during infancy and childhood 856

/644 cont./

855 862 113 1. (cont.)
Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

855 862 145 Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is un-

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

doubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

855 Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

1

146 NUTRITION--ev
the diet of subgr
native foods; et
. Morbidity . . . . .
Customary diets . .

46

idences of malnutrition and dietary deficiencies; adequacy of
oups and of the population as a whole; chemical analyses of
c. See also:

. . . . .	164	Research in nutrition.	742
. . . . .	262	Infant feeding	863

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
● 146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

147

147 PHYSIOLOGICAL DATA--evidence bearing upon physiological systems and their functions (e.g., cardio-vascular, respiratory, gastro-intestinal, genito-urinary, nervous, endocrine); metabolism; salt and water balance; indications of physiological stamina (e.g., strength and endurance); characteristic body odor; etc. See also:

Sexual behavior	83	Incidence of disease.	164
Occurrence of genetic traits.	143	Physical deformities.	732
Sensation and perception	151	Native ideas about physiology.	827
Drives and emotions	152		

13: Seeland--32 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
● 147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco: this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

tc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may onverse with the more intelligent of them for a short time. s an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

ith a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed othing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion e Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that e earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly e opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the riest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat nbarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes alking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but at your head is standing still. And yet your head, meanme, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not ply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little ther.

XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. eir endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go thout food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the ga, or to standfor hours up to their chests in the coldest ter - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in dy structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, c. are seldom found among them Hermaphroditism was only deformity that was known to me. Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have ny representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis d scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military sts. In any case this disease does not have the significance ong the Gilyak that it has gained among the native mchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened tord wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from eumatism. Toothache is rare.

151

151 SENSATION AND PERCEPTION--acuity of vision, hearing, taste, smell, and touch (e.g., uncontrolled observations, reports of tests); evidence on sensory discrimination and perception (e.g., form configurations, color perception, optical illusions, tone discrimination); data on the cultural patterning of perception; etc. See also:

Food preferences 262
Use of perfumes 302
Notions about heat and cold perception . . . 374
Optical instruments 416
Appreciation of form and perspective in art . 532
Musical appreciation 533
Rhythm in dancing 535
Defectives 732
Ideas about form, color, and sound 822
Standards of sensory pleasantness and unpleasantness 828

526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

151 XIV Amusements and Festivities. Burial Ceremonies.

Among such peoples physical pleasures, naturally, take a most important place, and foremost among the e are the joys of eating and smoking. They are not very sensitive to odors, for fish, smoke, and seal blubber to them have an indifferent, or even an agreeable odor. But they abhor the odor of decay, and conversely, they like a nice fragrance. Whenever I experimentally held a bottle of eau-de-cologne up to their noses, they always made a pretty face.

822 Among colors, the Gilyak prefer red and blue, but they definitely do not belong to those peoples who go in for bright colors. For instance, many of them could acquire a red shirt or caftan instead of the dirty-blue ones, but it would never occur to them to do this. The colored borders and curlicues on the caps and petticoats of the women suffice; otherwise clothes, houses, weapons, and tools are dark-colored. A black dog pelt as a coat is, as I have said, regarded as particularly beautiful.

534 The Gilyak love music. If neighboring Russian peasants strum their balalaikas or play the accordian, the natives who are present like to listen. Their own music is very primitive. It consists of a sort of jew's harp which looks somewhat like a longish horseshoe. The broad end of the instrument is grasped with one hand, the narrow end is placed on the lips, the tongue of the player is placed forward somewhat, while one finger of the other hand alternately pulls and releases the little hook connected with the tongue of the instrument. The tongue vibrates and a low buzzing tone results, which can be modified by the tongue of the player. Not everybody knows how to play on this "harmonica".

Other quite embryonic music, or rather, clinking noise, is produced as follows: a thin dry tree trunk is suspended parallel to the ground by ropes, and on this they beat rhythmically with a stick. During the bear festival the audience is edified with this sort of "music": some woman who has a talent for this, calls together a troupe of children and, as though under the baton of a conductor, lets them hit
533 the limb with sticks. In winter time on a journey, the Gilyak often sings a monotonous song which actually consists only of all kinds of unrelated sentences about anything that happens to occur to him [235] or that he sees. Actual songs that are handed down from father to son the Gilyak do not possess, and in general they are stingy with their singing. I never heard them sing in the village, their houses, or on their

152

152 DRIVES AND EMOTIONS--evidence bearing upon the nature and intensity of basic impulses or drives (e.g., hunger, thirst, need for oxygen, sex, urination, defecation, pain, heat and cold discomfort, fatigue); information pertaining to the incidence and quality of derived drives and emotions (e.g., aggression, anger, hate, jealousy, fear, anxiety, depression, grief, disgust, homesickness, love, sympathy, elation, excitement, mirth, curiosity, greed, ambition, vanity, inferiority); expression and control of emotions (e.g., stoicism); etc. See also:

Thirst and narcotic cravings	27	Patterned expressions of emotions	201
Ornament and mutilation	30	Hunger	261
Sleep and elimination	51	Labor and leisure	461
Recreation	52	Leisure time activities	517
Legal offenses	68	Ingroup antagonisms	578
Socialization of impulses	86	Motives for waging war	721
Recurrent personality traits	157	Emotional reactions in religion	781
Profanity	196	Sexuality	831

/34 cont./

835 829 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at one another.

835 ●152 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not violating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters. [848] [847] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become involved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 577 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing. The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her husband and she likes him.

I: Shternberg--266 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/178 cont./

*835 828 829 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often and so persistently about these relations; they considered them so commonplace that they should not, according to their way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you? Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The ●152 *835 578 684 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns /179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirtations of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between [182] brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical. [602] [584] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for the purchase of wives.

*835 182 578 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

/180 cont./

35 male virtues. Nevertheless, his older tuvn in no way reacted to
38 even this breach of etiquette. Only at the instigation of his associates did he resolve to challenge him to a duel, but Lokhmatka absolutely rejected this flattering proposal. Then his rival hit him with a cudgel, but Lokhmatka did not react even to that, and since, according to Gilyak custom, it is prohibited to beat a man who does not defend himself, his rival had to let the matter rest, while Lokhmatka continued his public relationship with the man's wife just as before.
35 Never once among the Gilyak did I chance to observe how
38 an individual husband reacted upon finding his wife in flagrante
91 delicto with one of his brothers. But one may get an idea from a scene which I observed among the Orochi where the same rule operates with respect to the wives of brothers. Once I happened to be spending the night in the tent of the richest and most respected Orochi, Ivan Kuznets. In the tent, besides Ivan and his wife, there chanced to be spending the night a very distant kinsman of Ivan's, the youth Timoshka, who was a very poor and thriftless lad, but a great lover of women, preferring to go visiting and lovemaking to any economic cares. In the evening our host left to look for elks, and Timoshka, without any ceremony, got under the covers of his young hostess. They did not expect the old man until morning. But meanwhile an unfavorable wind had interfered with the hunting, and Ivan returned earlier than might have been expected. Entering the balagan, Ivan lit a splinter and caught sight of Timoshka, taking his place in the conjugal bed. From
[2] the proud and hot-tempered Ivan one might have expected -- especially against poor Timoshka -- the most furious outburst of jealousy, the more so because his wife was considered a prize beauty, and he was already at an age when jealousy shows itself particularly strongly. Nevertheless, Ivan limited himself to swearing a strong Russian curse-word, after which Timoshka, smiling embarrassedly, moved over to his own place, while Ivan, groaning, lay down beside his frivolous wife.

/246 cont./

595 Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described
171 in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

• 152 The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with
224 such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves
831 a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual
433 sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor.
[226] The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake
[221] distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
• 152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
694 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/327 cont./

764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
[372] pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- chkhach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a
[152] sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of an elder brother, but not of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband, oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go; another man now; (those who are) poorer than I will grow rich, (be) richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

[152] When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long
[763] sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
177 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

/557 cont./

411 5. (cont.)
177 Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, trans-
439 lated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna,
113 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 The Gilyak also have their
192 own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is calle mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," sho matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small a
000 and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It w

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 It was
surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a
177 whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at
152 sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At th

/558 cont./

ame time, however, they did not show any particular timidity or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

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1. (cont.)
the same thing
times later with
various villages
Liman, so that
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Bay in the Sea o
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was repeated several
other Gilyak from the
along the Amur and
never once succeeded
stick in front of them,
n gave it up completely,
think of a reason for
ghly excited, and fear-
ard an object as harm-
rod. How great, there-
rprise when, already in
fter my return, I once
ar Mr. v. Middendorff,
the Gilyak ten years
nd, to be sure, in their
elling sites along Ulban
of Okhotsk, relate how
yed the following joke
stood in their company
ite-tailed eagle which,
erched on one of the fish-
a very common sight
, which will be dis-
the following -- in
es he cut off a thin
stuck its point, un-
little bottle of prussic
arried with him, and
of the beak of the
mal immediately col-
, but the Gilyak were
or and fear and from
d our traveler as a
er. To me there now
ubt obviously the news

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1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

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[192]
[824]
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In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

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531

In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

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3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

[222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

The quiet way in which several families live in one house, or more accurately, in one room, already points to peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

15

153 MODIFICATION OF BEHAVIOR--specific evide
of conditioning and habit formation (e.g., condi
configurations, response hierarchy, random be
reinforcement, generalization, discrimination,
problem solution (e.g., trial and error, insight
evidence as to special mechanisms in verbal or
aptitude and intelligence-tests; data bearing up
(e.g., memory, judgment, reasoning, conation
etc. See also:

Culture change	17	Ethnopsych
Attitudes	208	Technique
Logic	811	Educationa

3

ce concerning the mechanisms
ioned and unconditioned stimuli,
avior, positive and negative
anticipation); data on types of
or intelligence, imitation);
symbolic learning; results of
on-conscious mental processes
reactions in emergencie);

logy 828
of inculcation 861
methods 876

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may converse with the more intelligent them for a short time.
[2] As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

[3] In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

/362 cont./

614 182 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan.

No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become [109] completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net: he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, tastes and intellectual development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of [155] entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed in him a communal, loquacious, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 351 521 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent in the north, enter one of these amthills on a winter's evening, and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

155 PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT--evidences and inferences concerning the influence of constitutional factors, of physiological strains, and of social pressures and physical environment on the development of personality; psychological and psychoanalytic interpretations of personality formation under particular sociocultural conditions; evidence as to levels of personality development (e.g., anal, oral), etc. See also:

Ids	85	Social control	150
Infancy and childhood	95	Legal sanctions	163
Socialization	99	Adolescent problems	192
Family relationships	155		

156 SOCIAL PERSONALITY--conception of the self in relation to others; enhancement and defense of the self; social participation and isolation; individual roles in relation to culturally defined statuses; interpretations of personality as reflecting social norms; conformity; etc. See also:

Social status and mobility	26	Kinship system	102
Social stratification	31	Social control	150
Occupational specialization	102	Cultural definition of the self	158
Social relationships and groups	171		

/114 cont./

614 183 Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first of all at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the most meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs that he wishes in /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, but the clan gods give only to some and not all the members of the clan? .The same is true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, but ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without any help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master departs to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting balagan and from there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

156 555 Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

555 556 556 Ill. And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, as a consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dissension and social differences, does not show its thorns here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal talents and virtues. His accumulations cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

/115 cont./

555 556 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on his advantages (1).

156 ●

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibi' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

614 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the 156 fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard 555 one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be 556 [183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to "inlay his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Thus, the relations between the individual and his personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual likewise in order the person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio- 777 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/116 cont./

156 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods 777 must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gain- 614 777 ing the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to 182 carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It 156 is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they 556 sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction 183 of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed per- 614 sonality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating 182 a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving force of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan relations functions.

Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to 614 provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs 156 reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, 182 to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

/710 cont./

[776] amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the
[824] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated
[776] around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Their
[824] Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolg) made of
[829] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks
[823] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice. In separate fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as strict as the others their banners. While everything now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there running around again, and, finally, planted each of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadlas.

[776] After a short rest, during which time the bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear
[824] this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order
[829] on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and
[823] stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experiment. Chuzian, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of gouging the

[154]

*796 bears, volunteered to do this. The day before he had already per-
231 formed a feat on the large bear that /711/ brilliantly proved his
• 156 bold and resolute courage. When this bear was led out of the
house, it seized to firmly with its claws the front Gilyak goading
it that the latter could not free himself any more and was pulled
close to the furious animal. At this moment, Chusisin, who
stood immediately behind the bear, jumped over the animal's
back and landed directly in front of its snout; the startled bear,
infuriated anew, dropped its first prey and bit at the second, but
fortunately without success. Now, for the small bear, Chusisin
took the precaution of wearing his dog's coat reversed, with the
fur on the inside, and over it he put on a reindeer-fur coat with the
fur on the outside and the back part turned to the front, at the
same time tying his belt around himself in such a manner that the
fur coat projected out in front of him hump-like and stuck out far
from his body. So equipped, he waited for the moment when the
bear, goaded with sticks, showed its teeth in a rear, now he
stepped up to it with chest thrust forward and let it bite into the
puffed-out fur-coat over it. Then he threw himself around the
animal's neck, seized its head at the ears, and bent it down.
The men standing around were ready at this moment to muzzle
it, to press its paws down, etc., as I have already described above.
After this was taken care of, the bear set out on their
*796 last walk; in the same order as before, the procession, accom-
231 panied by the loud drumming of the women, went down the high
bank to the river. Having reached there, it circled at a distance
of several steps the hole in the ice where the women scoop water
(see Plate XLVIII /p.1248 /), and returned up the hill. The bears
passed close to Judin's house and the one where the owner of the
third animal lived: the doors were open, and the procession in-
voluntarily came to a halt because the bears made the greatest
effort to get back in. But they were no longer permitted to do
[859] this. The procession halted at the entrance to the kudhra. Boys
came running from all sides in order to shoot their small, but
not always harmless arrows at the animal, which the leaders
WERE BY OMASKA PROVIDED THEM TO DO.

157

157 PERSONALITY TRAITS--occurrence of idiosyncratic habits (e.g., biting of lips or nails; twiddling of thumbs, wringing of hands); prevalence of cooperativeness and competitiveness; incidence and distribution of recurrent personality traits (e.g., leadership; submissiveness, aggressiveness); incidence and distribution of recognized types of personality (e.g., introvert, extrovert, obsessional, manic, paranoid, hypochondriac); generalized results of personality tests; indications of cultural selectivity with reference to personality traits and types, evidence bearing upon the existence of a model or basic personality; etc. See also:

Mutual aid and competition	47	Humor	522
Social mobility	50	Statues adapted to particular	
Derived drives and aversions	180	personality types	664
National character and ethos	181	Burial immortal stick	875
Patterned expression of emotion	211	Types of religious experience	921
Attitudes	228	Ethnopsychology	928
Postures	316		

144 latter, however, are encountered considerably less often. Only
in women and children are the Mongoloid features expressed with
particular distinctness.

142 The Gilyak are generally of medium stature (much taller
than the Tungus), although one finds subjects who are above
medium height, they are stocky and solidly built, but one never
meets fat ones among them. The head is proportionately large;
its platy-brachycephalic skull is overgrown with black hair, which
descends down the backs of the men in one braid, of the women in
two. The color of the face is dark and muddy. In youth the red
of the cheeks is of a pink-brick shade. Their lips are thick; their
teeth are a dark-yellowish color (from smoking). The extremities
of their arms and legs are striking small.

• 157 The Gilyak have always been depicted as morose, gloomy,
and unsociable and are always contrasted with the gentle expres-
sion of the face of the Ainu. I find this opinion unjust. If there are
features of moroseness in the Gilyak, these are purely of external
origin and caused by the justified distrust of foreigners, who have
caused them no little harm. I personally have had many contacts
with this tribe and have carried away the conviction that the
moroseness of the Gilyak is a purely external trait. Under this
morose exterior there hides a gentle nature capable of deep
attachments, expansiveness, and trust. Due to his expansiveness,
the Gilyak is capable of swift changes of mood. The morose ex-
pression of his face, moved from concentration by the slightest
stimulus from without, in one second beams with an expression of
the most naïve good-nature, or becomes inflamed with a terrible
fire of anger. The Gilyak is usually slow in his movements and
restrained at home when he plays the role of host, but he is agitated
and active in period of gaiety and excitement, when his speech
flows in a stormy current from his overfull breast.

The woman is gloomier in appearance than the man. With
her eyes constantly lowered and slow in her movements, she im-
mediately gives the impression of a frightened creature. In reality
she is not. It is sufficient for her to begin to speak with you, and,
in her artifically-mui'tonanny accent, in the ingratiating,
flattering intonation and timbre of her voice, in her smile and
roguish, laughing look, you will recognize a true daughter of Eve,

• 157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature
that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and
women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and
fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion.
Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the
belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect
the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in
the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black
coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background
the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in
gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat
of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves --
the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling
[198] completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak,
made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In
recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel'
has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more
imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported
materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along
the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which
sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely
disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly
stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of
the figure of the women, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the
Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a
[133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold
northern current, this unknown condition has made the Ainu are the
[226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons
and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other
fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and
streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount
by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I
myself resorted during my journeys in my travels. This
[192] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the
strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made elo-
quently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive
MAN WAS POSSIBLE AT A VERY REMOTE TIME.

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym')
the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hun-
dred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only
to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
314 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
[464] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
• [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in
society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness,
which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave
the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its in-
ternal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly
to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence
171 on the Family-Clan Structure.
114

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so
characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nation-
alities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that
regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the
Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu,
and from the Tungus, who surround them. The Ainu are the
only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group
marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the
Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison
of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak
leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

*614 BUT THESE TIES PROVE OF
615 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
621 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
628 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the
same selfishness as they show toward their own clansmen.
Only in the payment of tshusind may the pandf'y not partici-
pate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties
in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when
the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently
happens, and we have already expressed in the section on re-
venge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself,
in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence
of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the
matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
609 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign
clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of
benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social
good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits
and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan
ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and
finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the
members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding
generations give to each other, has finally become the cus-
tomary appellation with which any member of another clan or
stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than
the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward
members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
594 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
• [159] crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not
only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the
Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers,
the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have
done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts
slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

832 complaint against a local woman,
*835 who the evening before had seized
834 him by the leg, on the grounds
834 of which he was demanding
607 "ransom." They summoned the
114 culprit. She confessed and by the
decision of the assembly she was
obliged to hand over publicly to
her accuser an adjudged ransom,
namely, a puppy and a birch-
bark dish. Why the fine was limited
to such insignificant objects (if
they were not merely symbols of
especially female labor) I explain
only by the fact that the guilty
woman was entirely alone and did
not possess anything more valuable.

834 /171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak
*835 are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous
[104] opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip
• [159] by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom
as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien wo
was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarde
is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this
meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen
punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and in-
evitable banishment. Such a relationship between even quest
of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as
the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the
persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons
of forbidden categories has become converted into that same
respect which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or
own sister. All the more reprehensible is the idea of illegal
intercourse between the categories of pu and an'ge; realized.
In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in th

/463 cont./

preservation and augmentation of their property, which is peculiar to the Gilyak to a high degree; for with the large number of participants at such festivals the host's expensive supply of arak(a) would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore, thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak and the rare energy of their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their relations with the Russians a phenomenon which may hardly be doubted in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and long everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small supplies of Chinese liquor. Their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels from Kapchatka and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikalia were added to the previous garrison of the lower Amur region.

the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolayevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /466/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyak were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the sixties one could read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyak, especially during their bear festivals and other celebrations (1).

1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

2; Schrenck--721 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southwest Siberia RX/
Historical Manchuria AG2

/466 cont./

G 157 / 204 / 648 / 439 / 648 / 113

1. (cont.)
"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bulletin de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 284); also Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

SS 204 / 19

Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and even the children are given the opportunity to become accustomed to it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-known, Manchuria is the country from which China, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ascended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction of tobacco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

HM 204 / 19

2. Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Poussielgue. Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wamtief ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the the Manchu Dynasty.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

HM [113]

3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

2; Schrenck--785 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/503 cont./

501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the Olcha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen in my boat always became mentally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind; in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

114 / 157

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sharp-edges (Gilyak ardach) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

G 157 / 204 / 648 / 439 / 648 / 113

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

2; Schrenck--926 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/591 cont./

439 / 123 / 123 / 439 / 123 / 439 / 439 / 439

/656 conj./
grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No nach of the person slain will be ready to accept this substitute if it is too. On the other hand, if the person slain was wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, the carrying out of the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but he may then ask the injured party to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping him in such a way as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the nach of the injured party in the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponent and to protect their relative from the revenge coming upon him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and mutual assistance in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily reachable distances, and that also those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, have moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the nach among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little significance in view of the easily wounded, vindictive temper of the Gilyak, treacherously reserved, but quickly resolved on an act of bloodshed at a favorable moment. Most of their blood feuds, however, arise from urgent motives, especially from the abduction of women so common among them and the conflicts brought about by this. Often, however, only petty motives, as imagined insult or antipathism damage to property or profit, or, for

/655 conj./
and that after their return home he once traveled from Aliof to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His hort and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten their meal offered him, a nlag lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly drew a knife out of his side. Returning to Aliof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Lange the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the place to find out what had happened to him, and he could not go to Lange itself, because he is a stranger there, whereas his blood enemy could count on the protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the obligation for blood revenge weighing upon him. /658/ And he said, sadly shaking his head, "I must do it. I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, and I have never heard about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death pers primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on the mind of the man who is the hunted in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally prevalent logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge it constantly nourished and spread.

/659 conj./
Not only that, however, but the fear of death pure made other people and a part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the nach, the paternal relatives. Without any qualification and with all the consequences, they are bound with the obligation of blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or after a period of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

/654 conj./
in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only the bear-head and the bear-paws are left in the house and remain there in their nlaga as provisions for the trip.

/655/ Bear-festivals are also given during of the dogs and the dog races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon, however, for the first and only time the women actively participate, in the inspire entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At my request, they danced in their ceremonial dress, hairy in her hands either fir branches or cantaser-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the occasion postures and contortions of the body and the rhythmic beat of the drum. It is vividly reminiscent Dittmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of enertirment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because the women, living in the tents in complete seclusion, are not social and are always much better than the latter at all sorts of work and entertainment. But it could not have been that such outbursts of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as they say, introduced by Cz, amongst by coal running

2: See p. 719 above.

and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of the Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festival and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

/653 conj./
nowhere had set out from Tkyl merely on ski, continued on his way without further delay, and in the 10th day of reaching his nearby native village of Kuli? before nightfall. Not did he spend the night there, but he set out for the village of Tyrmy-Lake. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lake-wo, named Enpit, who had guided the through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he forgot to stop at the night in Tulk-wo in a small inter-year, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the content, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for their word and their sense of time are not to be trusted, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Time is only roughly determined as day (mas) and night (nik), morning (ut) and evening (nek), the time of day is determined only roughly and very inaccurately bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very difficult to determine the time of day. Thus I once had to wait for two days and fearful to give up their freedom and cut their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening hours, their ability to find their way unmistakenly and circumvent. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deceived me. And this happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad weather. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf birch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. He vonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/652 conj./
theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks etc. Not other Tribes statistic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great skill in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /653/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected for the purpose, and, in the Northwest, even with a roof.

2. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular Veniaminov's "Zap. obl. oper. Unalash. ord. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/". St. Petersburg, 1840. Part II, pp. 68. 80. With regard to the Eskimo, see above, pp. 1056 ff.

of mind that they are not in a state of illusion.

Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill. Feasting with drinking is a very rare and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for this very rare occasion, are prevented from participating. I play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors. I shall also discuss the entertainments on the bear festival and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese: I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Russian traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2). And this into the bands of the Gilyak.

2. Maack (Petrah na Amur, p. 198) also for example, these Chinese playing

/651 conj./
Gilyak family customs and organization are constantly being changed by the Orthodox and by the Russian laws which were sent and spread in much the same form among them. Of course, they were bound to undergo certain modifications in their general character, in that they were transplanted in the soil of a very different people with respect to their natural disposition. The Orthodox, a branch of the large Tungus tribe spread over all of Siberia and the Amur region, are by nature much more kind-hearted, gentler, more pliable, more carefree, and more easy going than the Gilyak. They do not have the perseverance and energy of the latter, but, on the other hand, they are free from having their avariciousness, treachroousness, and vindictiveness. These original character traits of the Olcha, however, are likewise undergoing change in consequence of the mixture of the people by the Gilyak -- and this has in part already taken place -- but they appear time and time again, and, among other things, also in their family relations.

Among the Olcha, for instance, in addition to the generally customary purchase of wives, there is also the abduction of women, though by far not as frequent and usually, as among the Gilyak, primarily for the sexual satisfaction, with more moderate demands, they more readily come to terms in dealing with one another and with their neighbors of the Tungus tribe, and that for absolutely quick and decisive action in case of need, which is not in their nature, and, finally, probably also out of a natural love of peace and fear of the evil and bloody consequences that usually follow the abduction of a woman. Strangely enough, however, they most often carry it out exactly in the direction from Gilyak to Olcha, and, in the Gilyak, they have a strong revenge, namely, among the Gilyak, either because they have the most active intercourse with these neighbors of theirs or because the Gilyak women have a special attraction for them, and, on the other hand, the high demands of the Gilyak for their daughter, especially if they are to go out of the country, often make a peaceful settlement impossible. In such cases, which the Gilyak often told me about, bloody conflicts are unavoidable. Although, when

/650 conj./
cigar running. I had even greater confidence in the latter. Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical weaving shop erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that I must constantly draw upon them in emergency over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Sabakh for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak headman. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

/651/ Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national principle. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me. They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /652/ too cunning, too shoot their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in the yurt and to have me spend the night in the open. Later, on the other hand, I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. Later, I was treated very polite to my first journey to Sakhalin the runner had spread among the Gilyak that a Russian wanted to stand for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which I could be too friendly, I was treated and was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there was always a great difference according to whether it was a Tungus (tenchu) or a other Gilyaks who was to be given lodging: as soon as the cry "nilach pilnak" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak wirwin) was used to scrape and heat the stove from the person entering, a bowl of fish and ma was offered as a welcome, and, the meal being late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/649 conj./
took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, sometimes also tea drunk. Very early in the morning, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that one should be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather taken him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after dark, unnecessarily be waken of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

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/648 conj./
advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who has attracted his attention, and, finally, he had married for a long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companionship, but this was because the companion was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall of the house, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "Let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night creeps over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a very significant look, a gesture, a slapping on the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is regarded as given. Even the symbolism of amnesty proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a strong intimation of the rite of conferring /649/amnesty/. The matching of the leg or the breast, although it does not figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ko, who enjoyed great fame among the Gilyak because of his reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the golden time, he spoke boastfully on a par with the young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/647 conj./
customs may have taken in consequence of the long trade relations of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Santa-Kai, on a certain place, carried on a brisk trade in the same manner, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that one should be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

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/646 conj./
grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No nach of the person slain will be ready to accept this substitute if it is too. On the other hand, if the person slain was wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, the carrying out of the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but he may then ask the injured party to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping him in such a way as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the nach of the injured party in the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponent and to protect their relative from the revenge coming upon him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and mutual assistance in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily reachable distances, and that also those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, have moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the nach among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little significance in view of the easily wounded, vindictive temper of the Gilyak, treacherously reserved, but quickly resolved on an act of bloodshed at a favorable moment. Most of their blood feuds, however, arise from urgent motives, especially from the abduction of women so common among them and the conflicts brought about by this. Often, however, only petty motives, as imagined insult or antipathism damage to property or profit, or, for

/645 conj./
theatrical presentations. Not fantastic costumes. No masks etc. Not other Tribes statistic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great skill in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /646/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected for the purpose, and, in the Northwest, even with a roof.

2. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular Veniaminov's "Zap. obl. oper. Unalash. ord. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/". St. Petersburg, 1840. Part II, pp. 68. 80. With regard to the Eskimo, see above, pp. 1056 ff.

of mind that they are not in a state of illusion.

Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill. Feasting with drinking is a very rare and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for this very rare occasion, are prevented from participating. I play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors. I shall also discuss the entertainments on the bear festival and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese: I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Russian traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2). And this into the bands of the Gilyak.

2. Maack (Petrah na Amur, p. 198) also for example, these Chinese playing

/644 conj./
Gilyak Charta (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw

1. L. L. Stiernberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt so ashamed because the Gilyak ate the dog bit one in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog and gave it to me. Now I eat -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from Ichm'ad'ad.

/643 conj./
instance of such amusing heroism in the village of Nyaiwo. The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time he believed was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was amnesd and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the father of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, dripping with water, he sat down in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his last wife had time to wait for him four fin-for costs and four fur coats out of table tails).

The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers (1) in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here the tribal community. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves or hide in one of two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond. Often one, when no one is looking, hides the lovers. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, among the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is the duty preserve for poverty /644/ his crying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago. Two Gilyak maidens became enamored of a Gilyak man, a brother. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trip to Sakhalin. The girl, meanwhile, became ill and began to show signs of pregnancy, it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he hurried on her grave all

/642 conj./
and the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and wash would not come. Since I would not desist from demanding various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /643/ "Your sake, bad yet I must die soon." This though seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following. Ko-ni-ya-ko-ni-ya-ko-ni-ya-

/77 cont./

756 the furies and all the frenzied shrieks of the shamans. When the paroxysm was over, the face of the poor boy was terribly exhausted /78/ and seemed like the face of an old man. In a dream two kekhn appeared to him, one a man, the other a woman; they were the kekhn of his deceased father. They said to him: "We used to play with your father, now let us play with you." Another Gilyak boy, Indyn, also present there, observed the phenomenon of the paroxysm with profound amazement. "Well, now Koynyt will not be a man," he said "The kekhn want to force him to conform to their law."

In this remark is clearly expressed the Gilyak view of the shaman as a special being, as one chosen by the gods. But, as we see, even among the Gilyak selection is not easily attained.

756 Thus, the shaman is a chosen one, a person who believes
• 158 in his power and selection. This conviction could not correspond more to his entire physical make-up, for real shamans are almost always people who suffer from various kinds of hysteria, acquired or inherited. And, as is well known, hysteria is that fertile soil which produces the gift of clairvoyance, hallucination, delirium, and obsessions. They are the individuals who most easily yield to hypnosis and autohypnosis. From childhood, the future shaman is hypnotized by the idea of the protection of the kekhn, and during seances of kamlaniye he uses any means necessary for autosuggestion. The study of the psychics of shamanism, in my opinion, amounts to the study of autohypnosis due to hysteria, and, of course, against a gen-
756 eral background of an animistic world-view. Apart from the
774 gift of being chosen, the shaman has another enviable advantage over the common mortal. An ordinary mortal has only one soul, a rich man has two, while a shaman may have twice as many as they. Thus, the Ady-Tymovskiy shaman, Chamkh, the father of the boy-shaman, Koynyt, about whom I spoke earlier, had all of four souls. One of these souls was given to him by the mountain, another by the sea, a third by the sky, a fourth by the underground kingdom. During my stay on the

50 cont./

Such instances must not be regarded as a general enomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened uality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors also acting. Among the married women, such factors maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both rried and unmarried women, such feelings as love and shfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an eco-mic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or, they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp proaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for ziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And thermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of ssoluteness on the psychics. A whole series of nervous sorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among th men and women, and diseases connected with the full ss of psychic composure (self-control /given in English/) e the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among omen, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the pearance of hysteria.

Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom escribed above, the feeling of love still plays a great role the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term r love, es'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in eneral, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term r reciprocal love -- os'mund; for marriage for love, 'mur:kir, vavynd. There are also some other terms for ve, for example, hyvnd and others, but there are no special rms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although 251/ one can say es'mula nig:yvyn, i.e., "man whom they ve," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate ch other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melo
597 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appeara
867

A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talen
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridi
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the n of the undesired one is compared to open patches of wate a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his d his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, ap parently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As f
● [158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, a then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to thes
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and e the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the v of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude towa
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij - in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they appa see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them an
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriage hermaphrodites are a common event.

Amur

XI.

Miscellanea

The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year) they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring firewood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field: the wind blows and it is out.

Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
84 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
754 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

• 158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
[774] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
774 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand), or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/367 cont./

000 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
771 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[754] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
• [158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, abo
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and doe not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

/176 cont./

000 such situations also in the richest and most respected families.
● 159 My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, the
* 835 aforementioned resident of the settlement Tangi, the richest Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, Pleun. The latter was himself a no less capable person than his older brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his older brother. It had evidently come about in this way: as a youth, he had enjoyed the wife of Gibel'ka with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attraction had arisen between them, and he preferred, instead of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his older brother, whom in fact, he loved. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Gibel'ka himself, regarded this as an entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gibel'ka himself with a question about this, a slight shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how the Russians regarded such relations, but in general my question did not produce any particular impression on him.

[593] He spoke enthusiastically about his own wife, loved his children tenderly, although he could not have any confidence whatsoever that they were his, and his son, a boy of 14, felt a greater affection for the younger brother of his father than for him himself. It goes without saying that nothing prevented
[595] Gibel' from removing his younger brother from his house, or
[583] him together with his wife, and buying himself another, and not one but several, of the most beautiful and distinguished wives. With his extreme ambition, with his excessive love of popularity, he would not have failed to undertake the most drastic steps for the /177/ restoration of his marital reputation, if he had felt anything shocking in the regular and well-known cohabiting of this brother with his wife. As luck would have it, Gibel' outlived his younger brother, who perished tragically in solitude in his hunting balagan

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● 159 body was laid on the funeral platform amidst a huge and
764 solemn crowd of Gilyak who had assembled from all directions,
* 835 a few minutes before the cremation the wife of the older brother, with her hair undone as a sign of mourning, climbed up on it, seated herself beside the deceased, and in everyone's hearing began to mourn for her "younger husband" and "beloved" in the same pathetic and tender terms as if she had been his individual wife.

* 835 This public act is better evidence than any description as to how the Gilyak understand relations between men and the wives of their brothers.

The custom of the common, continual cohabitation of brothers with a common wife is not always easy to notice. In the first place, sexual relations are carefully guarded from publicity; furthermore, the Gilyak usually live in large yurts, with several brothers with families together, and for a stranger it is very difficult to figure out their secret relations, the more so because they are very unwilling to speak about such things; finally, any young Gilyak rarely has the desire to attach himself to the wife of an own brother; he prefers irregular relations with the wives of many of his tuvn.

595 Besides the group-marriage relations between brothers and
* 835 their wives, however, other purely communal forms are also encountered among the Gilyak -- true, not often -- namely, when two or several brothers are quite openly and admittedly married to one woman. I encountered such cases in 1910 even on the Amur, where the Gilyak distinguish themselves by a particular individualism. Two or three brothers formally seek in marriage a common wife from the akhmalk clan or buy an alien woman and then continue to live with her in a communal marriage. Of course, at the same time both the husbands and their wives are joined in group-marriage relations with a large number of their class pu and an'g-ej.

[538] In olden times such cases were evidently common phenomena. The so-called n'astund (heroic tales) and fairy

/247 cont./

000 amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
834 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.

[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lilloet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
● 159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

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836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
● 159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gynd --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous

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831 The importance of the role of love in the life of the
533 Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

831 An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
584 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
513 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
762 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
831 woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides
58 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
513 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
762 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.
[847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
58 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
● 159 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
[582] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/253 cont./

831 instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo.
58 The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at
• 159 this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

835 The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers
762 in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solu-
831 tion. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily
533 in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his

835 dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has
762 become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago.
831 A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of
533 her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a
538 long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

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753 The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw
• 159
[122]

1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmäs"ind.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

752 Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face
[182] is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

952 A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was
789 rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrä --

/655 cont./

614 and then in swift flight to reach a safe hiding place offering pro-
602 tection, in order not merely to escape immediate revenge in
628 this way, but also to make it more difficult or even impossible for the opponent to carry it out in the future and thus expose him to the unavoidable evil consequences of neglected blood-revenge. The Gilyak therefore usually executes an act of bloodshed resolved upon in his heart in the most treacherous manner with the ngawla-dshakko, the large knife which, always worn at the belt, arouses the least suspicion and which he can most easily and inconspicuously plunge into his opponent's side while he is sitting beside him in apparent peace and eating a meal or smoking a pipe. Having fled to his native village, he will henceforth avoid setting foot in the village where he committed the act of bloodshed and will also carefully avoid its inhabitants elsewhere. The victim, however, if he has escaped with his life, henceforth thinks only of how he can take revenge on his enemy without delay, for the more time is wasted, the worse he can expect the consequences of his neglect to be and the more fraught with danger the future
• 159 looms before him. The power which this constantly nourished
628 superstitious fear can exercise over the mind and the entire being of a primitive man was vividly brought to my attention in one case. The Gilyak Nenjdan, a respected man in his village (Allof), who visited me occasionally in Nikolayevsk and to whom I owe many an interesting bit of information concerning his people, was one day, when he appeared before me again after a long interval, in a strikingly downcast and depressed mood: his otherwise erect and quite stately figure, such as I seldom found among the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and words would not come. Since I would not desist from directing various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /656/ "Not sick, and yet I must die soon." This thought seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following. On a trip to the Manchu, while trading with them, he quarreled with a Gilyak from Kaki. The matter finally ended peacefully, however, and he regarded it as closed and forgot it to such an

/656 cont./

• 159 extent that after their return home he once traveled from Allof
628 to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His host and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten the meal offered him, a man lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly thrust his knife into his side. Returning to Allof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Langr the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the greatest trouble to find any trace of him, but he could not go to Langr itself, because he is a stranger there, whereas his blood enemy would have the secure protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the obligation for blood revenge weighing upon him, "and therefore," he concluded, "I must die soon." I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, nor did I hear anything about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death puts primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on his physical condition and his behavior in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally practiced logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge is constantly nourished and spread.

614 Carrying out blood revenge is in part made easier and in
602 part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted
628 to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the ngafk, the paternal relatives. Without any qualifications and with all the consequences, they are faced with the obligation for blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or as a result of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

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16 DEMOGRAPHY--general statements covering several distinct ty
tion on population, including vital statistics.

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settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In connection with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

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with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

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From this one can draw the following conclusions: here there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

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1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

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161 POPULATION--enumerations and estimates (with dates); density (e.g., metical, for arable land); population trends; etc. See also:

Population policy . . . . . 168 Census taking . . . . . .

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

64 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
58 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

64 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

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159 LIFE HISTORY MATERIALS--observations and interpretations of individual behavior, character, and personality; clinical analyses; case records; biographical materials; collections and interpretations of individual dreams; results of tests designed to measure acquired behavior or personality (e.g., tests of motor or verbal skills, projective tests); etc. Generalizations or conclusions relating to groups or classes of individuals will be filed elsewhere under appropriate headings. For specific professional or occupational biographies, see also under appropriate headings. See also:

Offenses and sanctions 68
Sex 83
Socialization 86
Data on informants 115
Unclassified field data 117
Description of tests and schedules 125
Avenues of individual achievement 554
Dependency 736
Types of religious experience 781
Interpretations of dreams 787

/xiii cont./

*114 121 127 [212] revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

> 2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminolo and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and th famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theo and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' w on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization o the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single fa or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed question as to what different members of the clan and family call one an and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/

• [161]

> 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coa there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethn [125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin la in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892 [125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along w the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

/11/

The Gilyak

The Gilyak. -- The Social Organization of the Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak. -- The Sakhalin Gilyak. /Page 12 is blank./

/13/

The Gilyak

I.

Territory. Linguistic Isolation. Origin.

The small tribe of Gilyak, whose number at the present time does not exceed four and a half thousand persons, is scattered over the vast territory of the entire northern half of Sakhalin Island and the neighboring continental shore, being distributed almost equally between the two regions.

On Sakhalin they occupy the entire shore-line of the western coast from Cape Sakhkotan to the northern extremity of Cape Marii, then on the eastern shore -- from Cape Levenshtern to Cape Delil'-de-lya-Kroyer, and finally, in the interior the island, they occupy the upper and middle reaches of the Tym' River, which is the only significant river of northern Sakhalin.

In southern Sakhalin in the lower reaches of the Poronai River and on the shore of Terpeniye Gulf a few dozen representatives of the Gilyak tribe, who migrated to this alien territory due to fortuitous circumstances only very recently (in the last 30 years), have become lost among the alien Ainu and Orok.

On the continent the Gilyak occupy both banks of the lower reaches of the Amur River to the settlement of Geri, and then the banks of the Amur estuary and the seashore: to the north, from the mouth of the Amur to the Kol' River, and to the south to the Choma River. The northernmost boundary of the spread of the Gilyak may be regarded as the mouth of the Tugur River, to which, by the way, the Gilyak only very rarely go on business, not having a permanent place of residence there.

/155 cont./

835 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new class of wives -- an'g:ej. Nevertheless, the extension of [198] prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree [161] has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men, called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man gives this name to two completely different classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of wives of his og:la (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited character of the second category is not so absolute. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced [184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation (an'g:ej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as an'g:ej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

/201 cont./

161 199 614 231 * 174 Still-more destructive is the process of depopulation. We are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families, but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an immediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

161 614 72 * 194 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and various other causes. Although according to the interclan rules the women are spared and the number of men who are killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

* 194 199 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The [582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

[The Western Coast]

162 592 128 /385 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 595 [161] The total population is 1,041, of whom 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolesce number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individu who have only one wife each (3). The number of children wh

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3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

[128] [184]

163 165 The number of chil survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

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4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
Gi The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated

SS by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
162 and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
A northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
648 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
160 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
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1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased considerably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other

SS hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
162 that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
G Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
131 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
161 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
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ooo

2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

SS /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak
162 population on the island in former times is indicated, among
G other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two
174 villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village,
161 the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of
361 the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

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3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

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162 Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the
[132] continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks con-
161 cerning the more or less large population of the various parts of
114 the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find state-

SS ments concerning the total number of individuals for particular
[175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

SS /318 cont./
161 Gilyak . . . . . in 39 villages (26 on the
175 right bank and 13 on the left) 1400 souls
114 Manguntsen
G (Olcha) . . . . . in 40 villages (36 on the
Gi right bank and 4 on the left) 1300 souls (3)
161 Goldi . . . . . in 114 villages (77 on the
361 right bank and 37 on the left) 3200 souls
Nomadic and dispersed tribes . . . . . 2000 souls

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3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

Gi
161 In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda,
on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja
ooo /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

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4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

A on the basis of notes taken
161 in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

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5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

ooo Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

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6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

SS /319 cont./
161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
361 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

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3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

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3. (cont.)
not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satisfaction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

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3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the Liman.

A few years later
(1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they

4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's. This depopulation which took place after my time is fully explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely, and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself collected.

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1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/364 cont./

principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the

1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

342 /365 cont./ Just as the
161 Gilyak houses are not erected by individuals, but rather are erected
592 more or less with the help and participation of all the fellow-
[476] members or people belonging to a place, so also as a rule, in accordance with the communistic spirit which characterizes primitive peoples, are they not inhabited by a single family, but by several together. As may be seen from the above description, a winter yurt of the Gilyak, built following the Chinese pattern with its four long sleeping benches, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 occupants for each Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, as I myself have repeatedly seen, and occasionally one even comes across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire winter. On the other hand, over and above the family members mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of kinship or in return for certain services, find fixed and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family assumed above is undoubtedly not any too large. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 persons for a Chinese winter-yurt, and for an earth yurt, since it contains only three sleeping benches, and much shorter ones at that, and in general provides considerably less space, only half as many, that is, only eight persons on the average. On this basis, approximate counts of the population for the individual parts of the Gilyak area mentioned above can be ascertained without difficulty. The available data are inadequate for this for only one part, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, for the number of the winter dwellings of the Gilyak along this coast, with the exception of the small stretch between the Amur-Liman and the village of Kulj, is still unknown to us. Hence
161 estimates must be made here in another way. The part of this coast which is unfamiliar to us, from Kulj to Tugur Bay, is about six to seven times the size of the stretch between Kulj and the Liman, and one therefore only needs to multiply by six or seven the population figure ascertained for the latter according to the

G /365 cont./
161 number of their yurts to obtain the approximate size of the population of the entire /366/ coast up to Tugur Bay. Since, however, it is not unlikely that the size of the Gilyak population along this coast increases as one approaches the mouth of the Amur, the Amur-Liman, and Sakhalin, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there is no second Kulj farther westward along it, I believe that it would be more correct and again not reckoning too high if I take, not six or seven, but only five times the number ascertained for the stretch between Kulj and the Amur-Liman for determining the total Gilyak population along this coast.

Accordingly, the following minimum population figures are given for the individual parts of the area and for the whole area of the Gilyak:

Mainland		Sakhalin Island	
Amur River	1904	West Coast	1016
Amur-Liman	568	Tymy River	256
Coast of Sea of Okhotsk	1040	East Coast	432
Total	3512	Total	1704

Thus the total number of Gilyak on the continent and on the island of Sakhalin amounts to at least 5,216, or, in round figures, some five thousand souls.

Gi 342
[361] In going from the Gilyak to the Tungusic Amur-peoples, a glance must first be cast at the Orok roaming in Gilyak territory. As reindeer nomads they do not have permanent dwellings, but pitch tents, which are of very simple construction, when they stay at a place temporarily or even for a longer period. Long wooden poles arranged in conical fashion, form the framework of the tent, over which a covering stitched together out of fish skins is spread in such a way that only at the top, where the poles come together, does an opening remain to let the smoke escape when a
Gi [361] fire is made inside the tent. Since the migrations of the Orok

"The total number of natives on the island [LSS: Sakhalin] is between 4000 and 5000, of whom about 1300 are Ainus, more than 2000 Gilyaks, at least 750 Orotchons [LSS: Erratum; it should read Orochon] and perhaps 200 Tungus.

The island is therefore very sparsely populated; and how sparsely may be judged from the fact that during more than three days' journeying on the river Tim, the native highway to the east coast, I saw not a solitary person or dwelling."

9: Hawes--261 [2] T-3 (1901) 19
116, 161, 178, 595

"A greater witness to the wealth of this
Very few Gilyaks on Sakhalin, perhaps two
have bought more than one wife. Polygamy
probably for two reasons—the decline in th
of the people. There are no adequate stati
first, but evidence of the latter is met wit
ever taken were the inquiries of Mr. Stern
on the west coast of Sakhalin; where he fou
1041 to 1049 in 3 1/3 years, of which the in

'Lord Mayor' was the possession of two wives.
or three others, were wealthy enough to
is no longer as common as it was, and this
e number of women, and the growing poverty
stics to which I can appeal in support of the
at every turn. The only censuses (informal)
berg in 1891 and 1895, among certain villages
und that the population had increased from
crease of females was two and of males six."

9: Hawes--229 T

116, 161, 177, 621,
636.62

"The Gilyak on Sakhalin. . .
European. The chief causes
narrowing limits of their hu
inability to adapt themselve
being forced upon them. Th
recognizes them as Russian
organization, and prohibits
but hardly to be expected fr
is a patriarchal government
conditions."

-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
Russia

. . . . . will surely die out with the further inroad of the
of the dying out of the natives is [LSS: sic] disease, the
nting-ground, the decay of the spirit of the race, and thei
s to another mode of living which is gradually but surely
e Government's attitude towards them is a 'correct' one.
subjects, interferes as little as possible with their scant
the sale of intoxicants to them. What is really required no
om officials whose function is the safeguarding of criminal
which shall interest itself in the race and its changing

174 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as th language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legen which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascer tain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

161 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de
177 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk].

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
61 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearan they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assum that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

frequent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England hardwoods. Hills and low mountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beautiful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to summit, shelved gently to the water's edge or retreated and there lobbed bits of green meadow. In the distance was a background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark in shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly down. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or the motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier I descended the Saint Lawrence rapids from Lake Ontario to Quebec. I saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the scenery of my first day's voyage on the Amour.

Soon after leaving Nikolayevk we met several loads of hay floating with the current to a market at the town. On the meadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and I hay requires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day we passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the short scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it was dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like carts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished twice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, and is delicious food for six or eight dollars a ton, delivered. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the condition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flat-bottomed boats are employed, and hold about twelve tons apiece. A floor on these timbers and over the hatchways is made to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both ends of the boats, and when once in the stream they have only to do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one of these boats appears like a haystack which an accident has set adrift.

We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the current or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the native population in this region and occupy thirty-one villages at intervals with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are on both banks from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and contain in the aggregate about one hundred huts exclusive of the view of their houses, which will not bear close inspection.

Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of ordinary size, and were well adapted to the climate. While we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity to visit the aboriginals. The village contained a dozen dwellings and several fish-houses. The buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thatch of long grass to exclude rain and cold. Because of the cold, building houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

The store houses were elevated on posts like those of an American "corn barn," and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each storehouse had a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language almost without any accent.[29] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number about 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying between the mouth of the Amur. There are two large towns Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established fish-fry, fish-meal, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited only by Nivkhi.

The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. According to the Soviet administration, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on the north of Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fled out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin Godless.[30]

In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western National District' and the 'Eastern National District', and the 'Northern National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

162 COMPOSITION OF POPULATION—distribution of population by age, sex, locality, marital status, mode of life (e.g. rural and urban, nomadic and sedentary), and by social groupings (e.g., occupation, religion, class, ethnic group), size of families, etc. See text.

Locality	101	Sex distribution	105
Urban	102	Age at marriage	106
Urban as a percentage of rural	103	Incidence of plural marriages	107
Urban and rural differentiation	104	Number of wives	108
Urban and rural differentiation	105	Age-sex statistics	109

Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

The greatest density of population is found in the areas of the most abundant fishing, such as the banks of the Amur and its estuary (villages Kal' (168 persons), Lange (705), Vayda (184), Mago (154), and others) on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkeyve (144 persons), Vlakvo (116), Nyun (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. [184] It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Russian Far East to understand that the Gilyak ethnic stock or tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. And even very lonely Gilyak live in the settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus neighbors. The Ainu resemble the Gilyak in their mode of life and in a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives a clear and unmistakable indication in the opposite direction. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout vast spaces, the static continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

/13 cont./

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/284 cont./

from an Amur Gilyak named Tyr', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mdyjr, another Gilyak, from the Amur region, made the wife and went with her to the missionary Monvvtin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor pressured his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife and fiddles soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak

(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an elder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Dse (Kugi Amur) -- 35 people. Some find them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came there, they found one house of an Olcha khal'y. Mongol -- Tyr -- Djabkoj came down from the Goldi village of Chol'cha (1896).

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Settlement of Pilavo-khan' (five kilometers from Chil'ni). In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khan'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

Settlement of Tebakh (Tevsh in Gilyak). Three yurts in all, about 30 persons. The Arabong clan -- Alim; came from Komsuya on the Pronga and set up tents -- a shaman stands from behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of bisi. The Arabong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Aldach, Chal'ni (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Igim together with the Arkhong who live in Aldcha constitute one clan; in Aldcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

Settlement of Madkhal. Dse (Kugi Madkhal). Negdal (1910). In 1896 the Khen'-ping and the Negdal (Ky) lived here.

Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Ulgyf. In it, the Ulam (1) Tva-ning (Tva was the surname from Ulam, Ning' near Fat). 2) Alimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Marinsk. They used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the land -- "ting rodda" -- "to make a fire." There they became Onyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Kopakov to Tevsh and Kal'vo. There, the Sol (of Sulting here, and also one in each of the following places: Kakl, Mago, Vanin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Fyn-ling-clan (two yurts, an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Angun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tusu; in Uhita -- the Olcha (1916).

Settlement of Nykikh Khes'bin (one from Pilavo), on the channel Iky Mackalf. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Angun (Mackalf), who in Gilyak are called Mrkhlam. Two from Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

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117 Settlement of Kalpa (the Gilyak Kalwo). Two clans:
119 1) Four yurts Lezing-yau-tva-hug (from lezing = tan, -- master).
614 The Lezing-tau are a Tva-bing generation (hyulalyvh nyzi).
They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarrelled while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlivo. Now they are in Egila (Yaii) and in Mago. 2) Pyrfing, three Lezing and three Ugiryf (1910). One woman, Sy -- umgu -- female Negidal. 3) Lezgzang from the Sashalin Tamivo. 4) The Pyrfing Omyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5) Nartmang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Moskaya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Nartmang (Omyr); -- Pyrfling (Ygdymyi from Kuf, where there are many). There, three houses of them; they have lived here for four generations. 2) Lezgzang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gilyak seem to have come from the Amgun (hymh) and settled down on the Amur. One Ugiryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mof-tan (Omyr); 2) Lezgzang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three families (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgzang, 2) Pyrfing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyvish, from the Tym' River, 5) Nartmang, 6) Hurling (1896).

Yoom-ba' -- a mountain tax and a half kilometers above Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, there is a small bay; and beyond it a high bank with bare white kamen'sh daif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy); in 1896 there were three clans:
1) Kegin, 2) Hirlung (Hurlung and Shafpung), 3) Lumr-ping. Now only 12 Omyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 15 Shafping, and 7 Lumr-ping are left. The Kegin -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were three brothers; the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was followed

/290 cont./

Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896). Vas', Cape Vastu. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to Bilkovo; 2) Derbir-vun (1896).

Kuktya and Meo. The first master of the village before the
● [162] Russians was the Kegin clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Vas'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvmit); the Ali is a river that separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun, 123 Elevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor pingg. A man sailed on a horykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the
582 Pyshdvung. 3. Kedzung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkivung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chinivokh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Lang. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the or -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her. They have an Aimu dagger with a silver handle. Take women
582 from the Shantung. 7. The Snarning take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvlling -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Omyr). Takes women from the Perkhrung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age); his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- Nashdaji. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyr River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

/299 cont./

calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
601 replies quietly: "Pilavon kshkal purark hokhagim on" krygyr" (1).
683
614

1. Krygyr -- an Aimu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
[195] slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygyr bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygyr, impure. Every krygyr was considered a kshkal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygyr is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the
[192] incoihe and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beating.

A krygyr woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygyr.
682 A free one is kistyjgyr n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
614 is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a human, we have an elder beast (gal). Kill him -- big mountain bear, mer edr; -- tiger), fight with him; it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage
● [162] in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the krygyrs are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of
[582] former slaves still stood in Takhta.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Aimu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/353 cont./

This form of family-kin relationship serves as the basis for the social organization of the Gilyak and is the basis of their clan organization ("khal" -- clan, also clansmen).

From what has been said of the primitive family of the Gilyak, it is obvious who constituted their clan. All of the brothers (of all degrees of kinship) of the father of some Gilyak NN are his fathers (ytk), their fathers are his grandfathers (ate), their children are his brothers ("nvun"), their grandchildren are his children ("ulu", and mutually. It is this huge family of grandfathers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that constitutes the clan of the Gilyak. It is understandable that a clan so constituted
● [162] may be composed of a great number of people. In one clan in northern Sakhalin, I counted 150 people, and this is only a branch of a clan which lives on the mainland.

But the clan of the Gilyak is organized on the male basis. Even though the children of a sister of NN's wife are his children (ola) and they are considered brothers of his own children, if these sisters of the wife are married to Gilyak of a different khal; then they, i.e., the children of these sisters, will be alien to the clan of NN. Similarly, only the wives of clansmen and their unmarried daughters belong to the clan, and, conversely, when married, a woman passes over to the clan of her husband, while the dissolution of the marriage brings her back into her father's clan. Here are the principles which regulate the life of a clan:

1. The clan has only four degrees of kinship: grandfather and grandmother (atk and ytk), fathers and mothers (ytk and ymk), brothers and sisters (nvun), and children (ola). Clansmen call one another "khal" in contrast to aliens. To distinguish own brothers from own clansmen of the first degree of kinship, the word khal' is added, so that clan brothers are /354/ khal'-nvun, clan fathers -- khal'-ytk, etc. The elder of the clan, whose role will be described below, is called "khal'-geymar." Clansmen are thinking and acting social units bear the name of "khal'-nivush."

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
121 merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1897 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Matii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

1. The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak settlements between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Matii. They are located in the following order: Arkyvvo, Tamy, Mangiuay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Vlakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyvde (1), Noksy,

[167]

1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigyro (2), Marulvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491]

2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkivo, Kimidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkyvvo, Vivkvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygyvo,
[491]

1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

● 162 which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 345 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

128
121

2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

● 162 /385 cont./
586 or adolescent, living apart from their
128 parents or not, and therefore "house-
128 holds" are counted separately, and,
secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

The total population is 1,041, of whom
162 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[167] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[491]

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have a correct comparison figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

The number of children who
162 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth
is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 30% (4); the

[124]

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

/385 cont./

179 many of his children had died between
162 the beginning of his marriage and the
165 date of the census. In this way, we ob-
tained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

/ actual one,
163 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one,
162 for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although
● 162 592 there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of
163 these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkyvvo (144 persons each),
162 Vivkvo (116). Nyur (103), Arkyvvo (87), Tal'votigyro and Tengi
(64 each), Kimidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the
smallest settlements are Tamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9).
In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.
Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season,
[182] 1,026; rabbits killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk
[183] post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[182]

5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . .

/386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
[182] to every five persons), and 2,106 dogs. To make some money,
[183]

/386 cont./

To make some mo
166 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, m
163 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals an
[182] dolphins are Tamlyvo, Vivkvo, Pomr, and Tengi; the
[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by
[182] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
[244] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement amon
[244] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could sow
[244] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for s
[648] eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this pol
[244] the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwh
[244] competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their rein
Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very
[244] careful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second plac
[244] glazing at this settlement one notices a progressive improve
[244] in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout
[244] little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin,
[244] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instea
[244] of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a
Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one en
enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly
plex heating system which resembles our steam heating. T
horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stre
along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat the
latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a
high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk espe
[244] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is use
the Amur Gilyak and in the fanzs /houses/ of the Manchu,
[244] whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sect
[137] of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with grass vege
[137] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
[244] taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the
settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and,
ginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.
61 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
77 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

33 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
12 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

116, 161, 174

"The pair [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were m
8000 souls, called Gilaks, a branch of the Tungusians
found, a very different people from the Tungusians wh
journeys. The Gilaks were the original inhabitants of
at the time of the first visit of whites to that section,
previously."

Gilyak

embers of a tribe numbering about
s--so stated, though,as we afterward
nome we encountered in our
f the country of the Lower Amoor
and for an unknown period

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
In connection with this settlement of
361 Mos'bvo, the author makes the follow-
821 ing comment: "It is inhabited only in
autumn and winter. In spring and sum-
mer the inhabitants pass on to the west-
ern coast, mainly to the village of
Arkyvo, where in the early spring they
hunt seals and during the summer catch
fish which are not to be found in the
Tym' at this time of the year. At the
beginning of August, before the Siberian
salmon run, the population returns to
their winter dwellings." Editor of the
journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416
are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133
households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polyga-
mists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
882 died. Gunn -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
361 During the last season 888 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
162 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average
597 family has /388/ four to five members: there are 11 married
males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589]

1. The word bachelor is applied only
to older, so to speak, inveterate
bachelors.

/388 cont./

• 162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there
are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 35.7%.
031 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
917 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
417 guns, on the whole.

G1 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (?),
101 882
[126]

2. The property of each person has been
registered to this or that clan, the figures
on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-goy in the testi-
ment of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons),
Nymyri in Nyvvo (94 persons), Uilandzh in Chayvo (65 persons).
The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Rekhtvo (90 persons), Nyvvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
and the neighboring Khomvro and Pivvo (106 persons, not counting
the immigrant population from the western coast, Mos'bvo
(Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
difficult, aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long
stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is
communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of
Pomr and the western shore.

North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
133 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible
484 along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer
makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear
how difficult and slow such a journey is.

G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the
coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on
the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a
considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons
that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
G1 separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
101 Orok, there is reported, and in part to an even greater degree,
G1 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
101 mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
162 boundary. For example, it was said, at the Gilyak in Arkai nad
361 me, that of the villagers south of Dul', Adngi was still purely
Gilyak, Khbiu contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too,
met the first Ainu in Khbiu, which, more-
over, at that time consisted of only two
miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj
an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Bet.," etc.,
op. cit., pp. 65, 68). Again, however, I
cannot agree, with the version of the Ainu
for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi,"
"Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's
map.

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
361 the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
A "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
114 [113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vortochnoe Pomor'e
/Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls
Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first
Gilyak village as one approaches from the

G1 /136 cont./ A Gilyak from YEKYTUN in the
101 Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography
G of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading
[131] voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu
[162] and Olcha language, mentioned to me, among other peoples on
the continent already known to me, the "K'kkal," who were
said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-
G Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times
[134] Kalbovo a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at
G present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which,
[162] according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of
"K'kkr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

G [192]

10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If,
however, we first continue to discuss the names K'kkal or K'kh(a)r,
we would see that the Gilyak name for the Olcha, whose living
Gilyak is sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with
G1 minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first
101 borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the
177 entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Usuri, the
Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all
kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have
repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the
Gilyak and the Goldi, on the other hand, there is a large
[139] stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two
[184] peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the
interests of trade often come down along the west coast of
G1 Sakhalin as far as Sirarumi, the deserted mainland coast, only
101 very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown
361 to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and
A not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact be-
[133] tween the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them --
[162] and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging
by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first
become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

SS /316 cont./
114 of their possessions, of the danger of losing them at any time --
101 an awareness that had a paralyzing effect upon the joy of acquisi-
698 tion and could only increase the innate laziness and indolence.
If one adds to the impoverishment and dejection the many wrongs
to their family life committed by the foreigners, the many kinds
of sickness and vice brought by them, then one must grant that
these evils, working like a slow poison continually over a long
period of time, must have considerably reduced the numerical
growth of these peoples. The more the latter were exposed, or still
are, to Manchu-Chinese influence, the less one can expect to
find among them a relatively numerous, dense, prosperous, and
vigorous population. Suffering under this the most, of course,
must have been those peoples whose territories lie closest to
the main seats of the Manchu and Chinese, to the Sungari, to
the upper Usuri region, and to their culture area along the upper
Amur, that is, all the peoples of the upper Amur region, such as the
Goldi and the Ta-ches, or southern Orochi, whereas those living
farther away were better off, such as the Olcha and Negda, whose
territory remained untouched by the Manchu, and even more
the Gilyak, who denied entry into their territory not only to the
Manchu officials, but also to the Chinese merchants.
Thus, the two facts discussed above, the acute conflict
G1 of the Amur peoples with the Russians in the seventeenth century
101 and the chronic one, in part still going on, with the Manchu and
Chinese, explain the phenomenon, surprising at first glance, that
the lowermost part of the Amur region, in spite of its harsher and
more unfavorable climate, nevertheless has most of the indigenous
population, but upstream and to the south, where the climate is
milder, the vegetation more varied and richer, and the wealth
of fish smaller, to be sure, but the wealth of game is in part even
larger, the population is nevertheless sparser and the country more
G1 and more desolate. The Gilyak seem to me to be relatively the
101 most numerous and the densest, though still sparse, /317/ espe-
162 cially along the Amur River, while along the Liman and the Sea
of Okhotsk they are more greatly scattered. Next come the Olcha,

SS /317 cont./ NEXT COME THE OLCHA,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most densely between the mouths of the
Usuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River,
between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/
Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without
people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only
temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for
the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, im-
mediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.
In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
• 162 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
137 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this
phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
698 and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
137 northward more and found a homeland on Sakhalin, where
[139] where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
[184] life; unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe/
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
[131] Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
G Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
[162] coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

2. See p. 214 above /untransliated/.

SS /318 cont./
114 recorded in the older Chinese population-tables, which in any
101 case consist of view of the ignorance about the individual peoples at
195 that time, could only be very general and vague, are of little
value is obvious (1). Possible statements by European travelers

T 1. Iakinf, following the Chinese population-
• [162] tables of 1812, gives the number of Tungus of
the lower Amur region, east and northeast from
the Usuri down to the mouth of the Amur, and
therefore the Gilyak among them, as 1,000 families
(Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersburg,
1840, p. 19; the same, Statist. Opis. Kitaisk.
Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese
Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 30),

who visited the country at the time of its occupation by the Rus-
sians or shortly afterwards, before the conditions of the native
population were sharply shifted or changed by the Russian colonis-
ation, might be more valuable. There are a few statements of
this kind. Thus, Collins, who in 1857 navigated the entire Amur
downstream, estimated the number of natives of the valley
G [113] population in the immediate vicinity of the river bank as fol-
low (2):

2. Peterman's Geogr. Mittheil., 1859, p. 25.
From the report which Perry McD. Collins sent
to the government of the United States (35th Con-
gress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 98. Explor. of
Amoor River. Letter from the Secret. of State,
in answer to a resolution of the House, calling
for inform. relat. to the explorat. of Amoor
River, April 7, 1858).

• [162]

SS /319 cont./
161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
36 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only
one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

G 3. Although all the later statements concerning
101 the number of persons of the indigenous peoples
114 of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of
the Russian occupation and colonization of it,
must have undergone great changes, lie outside
the scope of this work, I should like to mention
one of these statements here in passing, because
it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to
the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my consid-
erations. I am referring to the estimate of their
number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr.
G [113] N. Seeland in his article, "Die Gilyaken, eine
ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed.
by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg,
1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax
figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs)
for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin
questioned traveling fur traders, he came to
the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people
amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this to-
• [162] tal number, given according to the individual
districts, explain its exceedingly large size,
but at the same time make it absolutely unten-
able. For the number of the Gilyak of the
Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the
Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and
Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000,
the Gilyak in the Sofiisk District (from Mariinsk
to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the
number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. Ac-
• [101] cording to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

2: Schrenck--137 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

/363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschibei with six yurts.

4) The Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidzi-Much among its houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pattach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Nikolaievskiy among the Gilyak on Tchen Bay and made available to me.

7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Limun and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with him, especially on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be desired if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some great changes in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the 1861 point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data contained by me personally are considered in this list.

8) Sawar-ski village and Fija-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Aino, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/371 cont./

vases, and consequently also the wish to it for a cure. The corpse of a person killed by an aff (tiger and leopard) is taken to a similar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a remedy. (Rm. 1, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokh and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), T'pmod on the bank the north of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by bench-bark mortet and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (beats, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (L. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.127 /.

59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kak, Hokh, and Tschilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the other, including those of Tau-ako and the village up to Chiara (incl.), cremate them and erect aff for them. I personally saw many aff in Chiara. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p. 9.)

60. Gilyak. Near Ny (on the Amur-Limun) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. Here an aff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with bast vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there wat wood shavings (ceri). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise (this village) cremated, but no aff is erected over the ashes (in the text: instead, a wagon is set up (**)). It is made out of a

** See Appendix 22 /p. 1306/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various rear-watches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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THE NIVKHI

S. V. IVANOV, M. G. LEVIN and A. V. SMOLYAK

(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin Island. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tungusic-Manchurian group, and belong to the Mongoloid physical type (Nikolskiy 1928).

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." The name known to Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks," This word evidently derives from "Giolee" and "Giliyami," as the Nivkh are called among Tungusic-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Sakhalin Island and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin.

The Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the lower stream and along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjacent areas along the Tatar Strait and the lies of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Nagiba villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and on the Amur Estuary. In the estuary, the Nivkhi live in the villages of Tchnyr, Kenal, and Kenyr; in the estuary is Kul (18), Iu (now Khabarovsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live along the Ulchi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Sea of Okhotsk. In 1850, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living along the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Region, in the Aleksandrovsky and Shirokopadsky Rayons there are only small groups (Ivanov 1954). The Sakhalin Nivkhi live in villages from Cape Lopatin to the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is almost ground entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unal. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyvro-Sartar; north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residence of the tiny Samarkin aboriginal along the coast have

1: Shternberg--543 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX3 Gilyak RX3
[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "housefuals" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters). In the second sample, the total population is 1,084, of whom 541 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents) number 678: there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 92 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each). For each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each. Thus, there are 92 polygamists who have 184 wives.

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the fecundity and sterility, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interpretively, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Chibonk Island a single polygamist during the last season, than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

The number of children who survived birth is 518, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 32% (4). The

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the question: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down by one) and how many were absent, (2) how

many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the survey. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. There is an average of 1.5 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Ivan-ako accounted dated 42 persons of the same clan.

6. On the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Likteyvo (144 persons each), Vinkvo (116), Nyur (103), Arkyvo (87), Tal'vontgro and Tengi (64-each), Kimidvo and Potro (59 each), Nyamivo (58); the smallest settlements are Tymy (4 persons), Vase (8), Nobey (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo. Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 2,036; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (8). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual one. The reason is the village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to Shternberg, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

/386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat for every five persons), and 2,109 dogs. To make some money,

1: Shternberg--544 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX3 Gilyak RX3
[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt in trade along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Gilimi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution concerned, there seems to be a great many children, but also not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of the tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example, one third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the number existing in Western Europe.

Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering Yegular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are confronted. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [Kill on category 1.6, p.249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the Sikhote-Alin' Range, which extends from Sakhalin, from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual one. The reason is the village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to Shternberg, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

1: Pilsudski--7 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the only during the most severe spells of frosty weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in the edge of the forest, if the weather is fine. In case she herself in the housewife, if she cannot expect to be taken into the house 846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women 776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these spirits out of the "house of birth", in which she of the most important and mysterious natural events takes place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the hut, but designed to banish the evil spirits. But this convenient and easy way of protection is not always sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who was complied to do all the work in the narrow and disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood, had, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's hand. On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire when she had started a fire in order to warm her chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur as frequently as one should expect is due to the admirable strength of character and fortitude of the Gilyak women who, even worn out and sick, never loses her presence of mind and her ability to work. Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 2,036; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (8). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

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1: Pilsudski--7 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to have found it in the snow.
845 Twin birth.
863 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.
Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these cases both children are of the same sex. I personally cannot know of any living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions where I well known to me, there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all three twins died immediately after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month old twins living in the family of a Gilyak named
845 Mimo. Only one of the single-born old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
863 brother is in love with his sister and, in the song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.
The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pelmen (Tamin mang), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child the pel-mi-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak; one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

roots, should be given back to his father right away. But in my opinion which of the twins is sent to offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.
845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

"The older Gilyaks say that during their time, and their fathers' before them, but one famine had occurred before the Russians came, about eighty years ago, but since then there have been many repetitions. In the winter and early spring of 1896, and again of 1897, there were successive bad times, and around Rikovsk special assistance had to be given to the natives by the authorities. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumulation of the usual stores of dried fish, and was followed by another very bad winter. The worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in whose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim during that year. So terrible was the state of things that he found 'one or more dying in every hut,' and in the hope of stemming the tide of disease following on the ravages of famine, he took upon himself the responsibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in most cases it was already too late, and large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy [275] condition of the huts, and the accumulations of winter, aggravated the effects of the ravages of disease and the exposure to the severities of the climate.

Such a state of things presses hardly on the children, and accounts for the high rate of mortality among them. There being no statistics of the early years of Russian occupation, we can only gather from tradition and the shrinking of villages and from isolated statistics of recent years, the gradual diminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.

The figures already quoted show, for the population of the Gilyak villages lying between Arkovo and Cape Maria on the west coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy accounted for most of the deaths among the older people, but four died from accident, of whom one was frozen, another drowned, one already mentioned hanged herself, and another was beaten to death by her husband."

2: Schrenck--659 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/432 cont./
*262 preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the fear
171 and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence,
[165] of whale meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilyak do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433/

[113] 9. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Weniaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and no whale blubber or oil.

224 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue
*262 fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts, the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in comparison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such as
*262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal is
[136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close at hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus Pall., Gilyak njagrsch), which is present in such extraordinary numbers in their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without doubt,
[171] the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is well

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherwise are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Could it be that the

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

2: Schrenck--1044 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/641 cont./
844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
[343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[132] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[763] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

"The older Gilyaks say that during their time, and their fathers' before them, but one famine had occurred before the Russians came, about eighty years ago, but since then there have been many repetitions. In the winter and early spring of 1896, and again of 1897, there were successive bad times, and around Rikovsk special assistance had to be given to the natives by the authorities. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumulation of the usual stores of dried fish, and was followed by another very bad winter. The worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in whose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim during that year. So terrible was the state of things that he found 'one or more dying in every hut,' and in the hope of stemming the tide of disease following on the ravages of famine, he took upon himself the responsibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in most cases it was already too late, and large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy [275] condition of the huts, and the accumulations of winter, aggravated the effects of the ravages of disease and the exposure to the severities of the climate.

Such a state of things presses hardly on the children, and accounts for the high rate of mortality among them. There being no statistics of the early years of Russian occupation, we can only gather from tradition and the shrinking of villages and from isolated statistics of recent years, the gradual diminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.

The figures already quoted show, for the population of the Gilyak villages lying between Arkovo and Cape Maria on the west coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

2 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the
relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter,
but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference
between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity
is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga,
it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases
again so considerably that the winter air may in general be
said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and to-
bacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs,
but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate
more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer,
however, there are many rainy days.

The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
2 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses
and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food
and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate
among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and
Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more
than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur
more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia
and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic
origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connec-
tion.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

1 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people
of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men
who are more often tall. The women are considerably short-
er and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of
12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and
that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people
had, of course, been picked at random.

2 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
6 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
2 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs)
as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time.
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak,
I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed
nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion
the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that
the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly
the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the
priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat
embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them.
"Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits
in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes
walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but
that your head is standing still. And yet your head, mean-
time, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even
so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and
we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not
reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little
father.

147 838 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people.
Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go
without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the
taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest
water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in
body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth,
etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was
the only deformity that was known to me.

● 164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have
many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis
and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son
in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs,
but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military
posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance
among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native
Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened to-
ward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from
rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

● 164 The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
563 Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have
342 spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe
362

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particular-
ly to external causes. Rising up from the extensive marshes
and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the
natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit,
(for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive)
and especially to the functional construction of the houses.
Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work
which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood
and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The
houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite
odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of
pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate;
it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose
disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems
to be only a limited factor in this question.

164 Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal
catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom
and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbear-
able colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.

In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers
from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come
mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.

Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia
seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the
Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered
from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during
my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect,
for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently
suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind
cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to
be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these
diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the
eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a
Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain
calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
164 a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
293 unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

● 164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in
February and March because at that time, in the mid-day
sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the
surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must
go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair,
which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do
a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly
connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infec-
tious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer
rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse
population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infec-
tious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the
Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a
veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were
known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say,
but one may assume that they were less frequent and
permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they
suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and
measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily
filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease
in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism
etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of
epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy.
I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However,
diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking
should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains,
breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which
resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude
that the primitive methods of healing combined with the
power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief
cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

● 164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a
contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a
skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points
to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians
of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the soft-
ness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was
that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary.
They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans,
since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural
healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very
few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks,
splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and
washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of
agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases
of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs,
especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of
violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the
Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatic
bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and
these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the in-different thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate
into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment.
They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme
cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but
they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the
native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal,
the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes
wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has
occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be
related to the fact that among natives as well as among many
Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is,
for draft purposes.

756 The shamans possess great power over their superstitious
subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of
an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved
the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill.
The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit
commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself.
The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian
traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in
the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely
told that the spirit had taken it.

756 In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on
● 164 the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous.
The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the
spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after
new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be
appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe.
This chief was so generally loved and respected that the peo-
ple refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made
new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and
was stabbed by his own son.

756 In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that
should they abuse their power they will be long and severely
punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur
in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good sha-
man who has performed wonderful cures receives after death
a magnificent tomb to his memory.

757 The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can
563 succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when
the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life.
Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded
well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak
children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony,
and there was every indication of good feeling between na-
tives and settlers.

165

165 MORTALITY--death rates (crude and corrected); infant and maternal mortality; distribution of deaths (e.g., by cause, season, age, occupation, locality); life expectancy; authentic cases of extreme longevity; prevalent causes of death (e.g., illness, accident, old age), etc. See also:

Homicide . . . . . 682 Suicide 762
Mortality in warfare . . . . . 727 Infanticide and abortion 847

/88 cont./

614 1175 sought by the deities, were prematurely torn from life in more natural ways, /89/ for example, those who died from longing for the mountain, sea, and such people who were enamored of them.

The beloved and chosen ones of the "master" of one or another element, upon whose bounty depends the entire welfare of the Gilyak, pass immediately after death into the clan of the corresponding "master" for a fairly long time (in the case of the mountain people, for example, up to their second death, i.e., for two generations, and during all this time, of course, they especially shower benefits upon their kinsmen, sending them forest beasts (the mountain man), or fish and sea animals (the water or sea man). And when the Gilyak speaks of some "mountain" man or some such man who feeds him, he has in mind his kinsman, who, within his recollection or at the most that of his father or grandfather, found himself, in the ways indicated above, among the host of the "masters." The time span of such

[165] a chosen one is not long (two generations at most) and frequently one clansman has barely joined the gods when he is followed by a second, third, etc.; cases of death from an attack by a wild beast or on the water are not rare. Thus, the bond between the living generation of clansmen and their divine clansmen-benefactors is profoundly alive and real. Many of them were known to everyone, either personally or through the vivid recollections of their contemporaries; special monuments (1) erected by their grateful

[166] 1. The monument of a man slain by a bear is the frame of a bear hunter, in which the remains of the slain man are kept in accordance with a special ritual (see below, subsection 6 /p.551 ff./). As for those who drowned, a boat with all the appurtenances of sea and river pursuits is put on the site of their

/313 cont./

796 782 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-nĭvukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-nĭvukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 787 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,

[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzĭgr. This old man remembers four big takh.

796 782 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz˝ (the master of the mountains), but they are not made to Pila-yz˝ (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz˝. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a

392 354 white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur. If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

798 782 224 225 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtĭs˝, is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos˝ and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, agĭa (akhydz˝) -- a bunch, yukola -- pyz˝ and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/385 cont./

162 582 576 128 or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 582 576 [167] The total population is 1,041, of whom 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents) number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[398] 3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the

[128] [184] married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

The number of children who

163 165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124] 4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wive

162 582 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons ea Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Ten (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9 In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamly

224 225 433 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last seaso 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksand post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 467 467 231 /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money

164

IDITY--incidence, nature, and distribution of various diseases and acci-
(e.g., by location, season, sex, age, occupation); occurrence of epi-
s; evidence of immunity or susceptibility to disease; dental ailments; etc.

so:

bidity, as a social problem . . . . . .
ory and treatment of disease . . . . . .
of infants and children . . . . . .
73 Malnutrition and dietary deficiencies . . . 146
75 Incidence of neuroses and psychoses 158
85 Public health 744

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond, [262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the [574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and [196] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February, [538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the [261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance [164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

Sakhalin

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
224 The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
164 (Slyavo).
782 Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

165 /432 cont./
* 262 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For
171

[825] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to
[113] see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

[225] 7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) wit-
[411] nessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

[164] 8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

9: Hawes--275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 164, 278, 757

"Coughs, colds, and pulmonary complanints are very prevalent, and the methods of healing scarcely adequate. For a sore throat, a concoction of moshun-tomash (field camo mile) is swallowed, and for inflammation of the lungs, a diluted exusion from the gungi of trees is drunk in place of tea.

Whether these herbal remedies are dictated by experience and the Gilyak knowledge of medicinal herbs, which is said to be considerable, or is anything more than Shamanistic lore and a series of charms, I cannot say. The treatment adopted for other ailments, such as toothache, swellings, earache, and ulcer, is certainly of the latter kind. For the first they apply some of the down of a hazel-grouse (Tetrao bonasia) to the cheek; for the second and third, the squirrel's tail (olf-rega) and a piece of its ear (tul-noss) are respectively tied to the parts affected; and for the last, gazhu, i. e. a piece of a wasp's nest, is placed on the ulcer."

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy accounted for most of the deaths among the older people, but four died from accident, of whom one was frozen, another drowned, one already mentioned hanged herself, and another was beaten to death by her husband."

9: Hawes--274-275 I-3 (1901)
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

"The older Gilyaks say that during the
famine had occurred before the Russian
there have been many repetitions. In the
1897, there were successive bad times,
be given to the natives by the authorities
tion of the usual stores of dried fish, an
worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in who
during that year. So terrible was the sta
every hut,' and in the hope of stemming
famine, he took upon himself the respon
most cases it was already too late, and
[275] condition of the huts, and the accu
the ravages of disease and the exposure

Such a state of things presses hardly
of mortality among them. There being n
tion, we can only gather from tradition
statistics of recent years, the gradual d

The figures already quoted show, for
tween Arkovo and Cape Maria on the we

eir time, and their fathers' before them, but one
s came, about eighty years ago, but since then
e winter and early spring of 1896, and again of
and around Rikovsk special assistance had to
s. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumula-
d was followed by another very bad winter. The
ose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim
ate of things that he found 'one or more dying in
the tide of disease following on the ravages of
sibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in
large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy
mulations of winter, aggravated the effects of
to the severities of the climate.
on the children, and accounts for the high rate
o statistics of the early years of Russian occupa-
and the shrinking of villages and from isolated
liminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.
the population of the Gilyak villages lying be-
st coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

1: Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%. Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak, three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially guns, on the whole.

The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),

2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons). The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 persons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

2: Schrenck--437 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Historical Manchuria A
Goldi RX3

G.
H.M. /314 cont./
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731
113

2. (cont.)

(Goldi) on the Ussuri. Smallpox is said to cause heavy devastation there at times, even attacking old people 70-80 years of age and recurring among some persons four and five times (De la Brunière, "Excurs. en Mandchourie, en 1845." -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XVI, 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 113).

SS.
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731

course in the opposite direction, from the Sungari down the Amur, but found extremely fertile soil in the lower river area and on Sakhalin, where the natives in many instances had already emerged from their natural condition as a result of the Russian colonization. Toward the end of December 1856, the epidemic, proceeding down the Sungari, was at its mouth (3). In June,

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3. Just at the time when the merchant Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/, traveling up the Amur, passed this place.

1857, following the lower Amur, it reached Kidsi, in July Uchtr, in September Nikolayevsk, and during the winter months of 1857/58 it raged at the Amur mouth, along the Liman, on the Sea of Okhotsk to beyond Kulj, and on Sakhalin. According to the description, which I owe to Dr. Pfeiffer, an eyewitness of these events, the disease throughout bore the character of a devastating epidemic appearing on new ground. Whereas individual Gilyak villages, such as Tebach and Allof, remained completely untouched in a curious fashion, others, such as Kulj and Langr, lost half of their inhabitants, and many yurts died out completely. The number of victims was all the larger, because the sick, still completely unfamiliar with their uncanny visitor, often sought cooling, half-naked, in the snow and wind, in order to escape the heat of the fever. Dr. Pfeiffer thinks, on the basis of the statistics collected by him, that this epidemic killed about 20 per cent of the Gilyak population. A few years later, in the

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[731]
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G
[731]
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*262 171 /432 cont./
been consumed (1). Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3) describe

[113] 1. According to a written communication from Rudanofskij. Cf. also Dobrotworskij /Dobrotvorskii/, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37.

2. Op. cit., pp. 98-105.

[113] 3. "Opis. Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. 1, pp. 420 ff.).

in detail the tremendous importance that the whale has in the diet and the entire economy of the Kuriles, Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Chukchee. It is the same among the Aleut (4) and

[113] 4. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. I, pp. 81, 82.

among the Eskimo in different parts of their broad area of distribu-
•[165] tion (5). Experience has taught these peoples to distinguish between

[113] 5. For instance, at the two ends of their territory, on Kadjak /Kodiak/ in the east (Davydov", Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitserov" Khvostova i Dav. /The Repeated Journey to America of the Two Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1812, Pt. II, p. 72) and on Greenland in the west (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 189).

the species of whale suitable for food and the harmful or "poisonous" ones and not to use dead animals cast up by the ocean until

•165 *262 171 /432 cont./
they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For

[825] [113] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animal is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the peo ple concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole vil lages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

[225] [411] 7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

[164] 8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

9. Hawes--202 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 165, 562, 595, 855

"The Gilyaks treat their children remarkably well
wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding price,' the boy as a
fish-winner, is naturally of more account. The death
course, very high. In the villages on the west coast,
gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 130, out of which th
88 deaths among the older persons), i.e. an average
chief reason, however, of the decline in polygamy is
A wife has to be bought, and she is a moderately exp
unremunerative investment, but few Gilyaks are in a
expenditure."

, and though a girl is potential
an early bread-winner, or rather
n-rate among young children is, of
north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg
here were 34 deaths (in addition to
of more than 26 per cent. The
more probably growing poverty.
pensive article. Not that she is an
position to make the capital

/200 cont./

614 178 166 174 clan to change residence and to withdraw more and more from their kinsmen. Before my eyes, in the course of a few years, whole clans -- family after family -- in search of more advantageous hunting and fishing sites, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tym' to Taraika (in the territory of the Ainu), to the Amur, etc. Discord between clansmen and wars play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we saw what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the Pilavo clan that we introduced; from /201/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyak territory, bordering on the Ainu, they migrated first to the northernmost part of the western shore, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they became completely Goldified. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any ties among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old phratral marital relations has been completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place even now. This is precisely the reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyak must travel hundreds of versts to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and willy-nilly there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is [597] obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and to marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old phratry.

If it is not just unmarried individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-nilly begin to enter into marital unions with the nearer clans.

Sakhalin

/348 cont./

174 166 167 22 224 [136] With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others to Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-verst sea voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Dué and the Tym' River, and at that time the Vaaz River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther to the north. There must have been some reason which com- [648] pelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center of their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural dams used by the sable for crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

/377/

423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize [185] [648] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares 423 428 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in 423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others. 166 423 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

/377 cont./

166 423 permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the of snares for sable.

342 592 423 /378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak li alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives wi brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of n Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 frequently all clansmen. The economic advantage of such munal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which co a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the un factory construction of the stoves, is not so costly for each ual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarante curity from abduction for the women. The summer yurts smaller and ordinarily house from one to three families. yurts are built through the joint efforts of several brothers clansmen, the summer ones -- frequently by one person. those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabi clansmen or members of other clans who had no part in bu it, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the bu and it is doubtful whether the latter enjoy any special priv in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, the will always be found a pair of persons who on their own ini will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which builders themselves move and gladly welcome co-dwellers the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common prop several families who participated in its construction, but a same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clans [174] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vesti the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts o clan and was an object of collective property.

422 The views of the Gilyak concerning movable prope are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary arti movable property among them are boats, nets, kettles, ar dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens t boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or th

16

6

/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

/110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the composition of the population is mixed. In the above-mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

/110 cont./

in its original site that the indigenous village ca
everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it
selecting the nearest possible sites in order that
clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to
involves an actual division of the "fire" and bra
clan. A no less important cause of the mixture
custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /zya
clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we sh
in its place. Territory is in any case an indefin

The Gilyak do not even possess a conscious
property, not only with respect to themselves, b
to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus app
50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordia
Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest aga
the Tungus came in small groups and could hard
the numerous aborigines with force.

Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. I
primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the cla
of the very sharpest external signs of the unity o
name is a real object of nature, animal or plant
resented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.

Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this so
clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for ex
living in the settlement of Tangakh considers its
the bear on the grounds that a woman of that cla
birth to a monstrosity with features resembling th
Similar legends exist in other clans. Neverthele
typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan name
sense are absent. There are only territorial nam
wants to name the people of such and such a cla
dwellers of such and such a settlement," which s
sponds with the actual place of habitation of the
frequently only indicates the village which was o
abode of one or another clan.

n no longer feed
to other places,
the ties between the
very distant points
nching out of the
of population is the
t'ya/ moving to the
all speak in detail
ite sign of the clan.
ness of the right to
ut also with respect
peared on Sakhalin
l territories of the
inst this, although
ly have withstood

n the mass of
an name is one
f a clan. A totemistic
, which is rep-

ort. In some
xample, a clan
elf kindred with
an had given
nose of a bear.
ess, not only
s in the proper
es. If a Gilyak
n, he says "the
ometimes corre-
clan, but most
once the primordial

*835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
578 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by
such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there
only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak
companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was in-
vulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
*835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an ob-
servance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when
an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds
of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her
sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and com-
pletely disregards her obligations to her individual husband.
In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to
move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
*835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences.
Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a
great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy.
I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I
happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski,
but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A
certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to
me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual
success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too
openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all.
Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in
debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/200 cont./

347 124 171 murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-known among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the number of males is greater there than the number of females.

583 174 10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of bride price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen among the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother.

582 174 In order that such an essentially exogamous system might be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating themselves the various families of the phratry should be able to maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on the other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the families, and that there should be no cases of extinction of entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore, some degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor. Finally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic conditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the members of the phratry would remain more or less the usual phenomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the influence of new economic conditions there should not be engendered one or another temptation to make woman the object of purchase and sale.

74 14 78 66 582 The preservation of all these conditions among primitive peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a whole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial abode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individ-

1: Shternberg--545 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The western Coast]

/386 cont./ To make some money,
115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

9: Hawes--274 T
116, 166, 177, 231, 433

"An example of the way in
the conditions of life harder
ways be allowed their libert
the cattle of Russian neighb
the dogs have now to be fed,
To avoid this the natives mi

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a
official Sakhalin Kalend

which the proximity of the Russians incidentally renders
is seen in the feeding of the Gilyak dogs. These cannot al-
y, and the fiercer ones are tied up, lest they should attack
ours—a certain casus belli. Accustomed to feed themselves
and their master's winter stores naturally give out sooner.
grate further afield to less favourable fishing-grounds. (1)

report on the food of the Gilyak, in the local and
ar, 1899."

/13/

The Gilyak

The Gilyak. -- The Social Organization of the Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak. -- The Sakhalin Gilyak.
/Page 12 is blank./

/13/ The Gilyak

I.

Territory. Linguistic Isolation. Origin.

The small tribe of Gilyak, whose number at the present time does not exceed four and a half thousand persons, is scattered over the vast territory of the entire northern half of Sakhalin Island and the neighboring continental shore, being distributed almost equally between the two regions.

On Sakhalin they occupy the entire shore-line of the western coast from Cape Sakhotoan to the northern extremity of Cape Marii. On the eastern shore -- from Cape Levenshtern to Cape Belil'-de-lya-Vrokyer, and finally, in the interior the island, they occupy the upper and middle reaches of the Tym' River, which is the only significant river of northern Sakhalin.

In southern Sakhalin in the lower reaches of the Poronai River and on the shore of Terpenije Gulf a few dozen representatives of the Gilyak tribe, who migrated to this alien territory due to fortuitous circumstances only very recently (in the last 30 years), have become inert among the Ainu and Oro.

On the continent the Gilyak occupy both banks of the lower reaches of the Amur River to the settlement of Gerl, and then the bank of the Amur and the seashore to the mouth of the Amur to the Kol' River, and to the south to the Chona River. The northernmost boundary of the spread of the Gilyak may be regarded as the mouth of the Tugur River, from which, by the way, the Gilyak only very rarely go on business, not having a permanent place of residence there.

167 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION--extent and sources of immigration, extent and destination of emigration; reasons of migration; trends; restrictive legislation, colonization, etc. See also:
Population ..... 176 Colonization 436
Population, Russian ..... 436 Resettlement 437
Ethnic distribution ..... 315 Transplantation of conquered populations 128
Race tests 867

/20 cont./

observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us, at the same time, other facts and conclusions provide us with a full basis for thinking that the ancient Gilyak type has completely perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes. This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of interbreeding marriages, which would be not at all so surprising, but in quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected all information and legends about the origin of each particular clan. The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that all the founders of the great majority of the clan now in existence were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes.

How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into the clan of that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has bestowed on them the protection of such unknown normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans, in spite of their small number, have flourished by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not other than it was and is not only among the Gilyak.

As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in perplexity. If in the course of a great number of centuries there has been a constant inflow of fresh elements from other tribes, an inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female slaves from the Ainu and the Golds, and if these new elements flourished and grew, why, then, the Gilyak should have died

/110 cont./

in its original size that the indigenous village can no longer feed the inhabitants, and they gradually degree depart from it to other places, selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points involves an actual division of the "fire" and breaking up of the clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the custom, in some instances, of son-in-law /yaa'ya/ moving to the clan of his father-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.

The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to property, not only with respect to others, but even with respect to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin Island, they, as they relate, had no representatives of the neighboring tribes. How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into the clan of that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has bestowed on them the protection of such unknown normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans, in spite of their small number, have flourished by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not other than it was and is not only among the Gilyak.

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/111 cont./

Tym in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the designations, Tyvii-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yekire-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhir), N'yenkayling (inhabitants of the settlement of N'yenkayu), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

(1) 1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunow came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tkhamaring, the Chorli, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Nogda tribe, for example, there exist -- the clans that have origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

/112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. However strange, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not know any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and so that not clan but settlement elders, that is I had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty epidem, but that was the Gilyak accepted it by way of the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and there not frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial abode of one or another clan.

/285 cont./

Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be bomb" 2) The Belyy clan are from Tymovskoye. Gold was came down from Ulya. 3) The Polmik clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Oronugbu -- from the same village where the wan were. Dzaq from the village of Ekhaty.

Settlement of Ulya. Are four generations /kolenu/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nam); clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyts on the upper reaches of the Ulya. By a raft on a hillock near the very village (Lang) they placed a cannon (the hole remained to this day). Nearby there is an immense boulder stone in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stone). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the hole burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it.

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, appointed starostas. Dua-Tvatnfing (Pan) Ajumka from Tymi-ling.

/286/ Settlement of Pul. Samagil -- two generations from the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli -- from Dzhongli, near the Perm oven: Gold.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvi-ling -- inhabitants of Tyvi' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khalu). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvi-ling. But now they are called Ulcha (Ulcha khalu). Tymi-ling -- "six fathers since we came back." i.e., six generations ago.

2) Dea -- born their dead; ancestors of the nam, went down to Kol' and stayed there. Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and settled in the settlement of Udyli.

/295 cont./

III.

Legends about the Past

1933

In connection with the excavations (1), the old man Toyon

1: Shternberg carried on.

said: "These are Korean. Long, long ago there was a war. Formerly Koreans lived here; then the Chinese came and drove them out.

"Long, long ago the Chinese lived in Puir on the Amur. The Chinese burned them and shot at them with a cannon. Nearby there is a hillock near the very village (Lang) they placed a cannon (the hole remained to this day). Nearby there is an immense boulder stone in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stone). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the hole burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it.

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, appointed starostas. Dua-Tvatnfing (Pan) Ajumka from Tymi-ling.

/286/ Settlement of Pul. Samagil -- two generations from the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli -- from Dzhongli, near the Perm oven: Gold.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvi-ling -- inhabitants of Tyvi' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khalu). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvi-ling. But now they are called Ulcha (Ulcha khalu). Tymi-ling -- "six fathers since we came back." i.e., six generations ago.

2) Dea -- born their dead; ancestors of the nam, went down to Kol' and stayed there. Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and settled in the settlement of Udyli.

/349 cont./

Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling it or interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin. Gilyak, which is adjacent to the mainland or as whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded. In the first place, there were the places closest to the mainland half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of tables in northern Sakhalin, the Gilyak have the continental coast from which fishing conditions completely identical with those on the continent; the same abundance and rich variety of fish (liberian salmon, kalugs /Hano-Salmo/, etc. /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the basin of their hearths. These people have lived for many centuries in the seven now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the ancestors of the present-day native hunters did not even have official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for example, density of population. Contrast between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable skin, which forced people to transfer the center of hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their camps wherever they pleased, on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every hunting year." Moreover, every time they came to the Chinese town of Sungari (Sataing), he was forced to pay one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sables for the other. In the end, the Amur Gilyak, Chinese and Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

/350 cont./
Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His fine cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent, have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of millet). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

1:Shternberg--507 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is bound with this steel. When a child is born, the part of it emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing classmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting of the seal. On this occasion, too, the elders of the clan and relatives are bone by the /356/ clan. With the approach of evening, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest whale blubber carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur mongo khal!" ("Gods, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its members from encroachment on him by the individuals of another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.

The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Even murder, intentionally premeditated, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (gun ne yozmedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

1: Shternberg--514 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/361 cont./
present frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint work with him (more detail about this below).

The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed on all sides, over the place where the remains of the deceased's bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of the deceased, a tobacco pipe, a wooden pot (ordinarily for a woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a local yurt until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

1:Shternberg--513 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/360 cont./
among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor was the khal'-geymar next to him in age. The interveration of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leading them in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment. The elders are often dispersed in places very distant from one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance in the village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a local yurt until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

2: Schrenck--442 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1885 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Gold1 RX3
Gilyak RX2
Amur RX6
Ainu RX6
Orok RX3

/317 cont./ Next comes the Orok, who, although only a small number, occupy an Amur region. The Gold, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dispersed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely represented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Amur and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different from that on the island of Hokkaido. Nowhere, except perhaps by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern, Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically much more favorable than the northern part, which, extending far on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances rather than in geographical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago, and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin, where up to the beginning of the 19th century they led an independent life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased considerably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

2: Schrenck--893 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu RX6
Orok RX3
Gold RX3

/370 cont./ According to Maack's testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin only lead a nomadic life, hunting more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step forward by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia

THE ABORIGINES OF THE SOVIET FAR EAST

The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated h which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlemen This brought them within the range of medical attention and education facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almo without any accent.'[4] The next step in the development of the Ude Soviet they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the la of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkh They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three sma islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevon, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1956, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed o Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment t island became known to the Soviet authorities and, finally, even to and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonis the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry establishe a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on the Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabit exclusively by Nivkhi.

The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one gro people. Accordingly, under the pressure of persecution by the Soviet au ities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled t their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religio fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'native of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable tens among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[5]

In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, th 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhali National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been complet fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-call Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

/467 cont./

Moreover, one may safely assume that, like the Daur and Manchu in the Sungari region, the tribal relatives of the Manchu who were formerly distributed from the Sungari along the southern Amur River to far below the mouth of the Ussuri, approximately to the present Goldi village of Dondon, the Djutscheren, who lived in large farming and livestock-raising villages (4), also cultivated

4. See pp. 316 ff. above.

tobacco among other things. Finally, it must have also spread from the Sungari and from Korea to the upper Ussuri and down this river to the Amur. There can be no doubt but that even before the Russian military expeditions in the seventeenth century the Goldi had become acquainted with tobacco and its cultivation from the Manchu (Djutscheren) neighboring them, indeed, in part even living mixed in with them. Even today, tobacco is cultivated not only by individual Chinese living in the area, but also by them themselves, on the Ussuri as well as on the Amur, and on the latter, strangely enough, exactly as far as the dwelling sites of the Djutscheren formerly extended. For, going upstream, we found the first Goldi cultivation of tobacco in the village of Da, which lies on the right bank of the Amur, opposite the above-mentioned Dondon located on an island. Like the Goldi, the Orochi living on the sources and tributaries of the Ussuri also obtained tobacco in this way. Furthermore, the other peoples of the lower Amur region, the Olcha, Samagir, Negda, and Gilyak, in contact with the Goldi as well as with the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur and Sungari, must have also become acquainted with tobacco as early as the seventeenth century even though tobacco could not be cultivated among them because of climatic and other reasons. Finally, through the Gilyak and Olcha of the mainland tobacco also reached their countrymen, the Gilyak and Orok of Sakhalin, whereas the third people of the island, the Ainu, probably received it from /468/ another source, directly from the Japanese (1). Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had

1. The designation for tobacco, as among

/468 cont./

1. (cont.)
the Manchu (dambagu) and Mongols (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too; thus, among the Goldi and Olcha damche, tamche, and tamache, among the Gilyak tam(a)ch, among the Ainu tambaku, etc.

Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Orochon, Manegir, and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which they established relations with them as well as with other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was definitely predominant among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Olcha, etc. What made it especially popular among them is its much greater strength or acridness in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as its being far cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

Like tobacco, the Gilyak and the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe (Gilyak tai), which is also widespread throughout China and consists of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak; he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

A 114 325 17 /569 cont./
cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in general their method of forging is "approximately the same as in Japan," still Mamia-Rinsô does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and stays away from all categorization and conclusions. It therefore even more establishes beyond doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place from Japan to the Ainu of Jesso and Sakhalin and through them to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsô's time.

A 325 17

G 325 17 /570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils and weapons, knives, spears, and the like are for the most part of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved or inlaid in other metals on the more elegant weapons are often reminiscent of Japanese patterns -- as was noted above (1)

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, or at least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,

K 823 A 439 823 186 /572 cont./
their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be

A 439 435 seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the

G A K 439 17 325 above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 174 325

171

171 DISTRIBUTIONAL EVIDENCE--occurrence of similar culture traits in oth societies; inferences from trait distributions; etc. See also:
Distribution of biological traits . . . . . 14 Linguistic relationships . . . . . .
Affiliation with particular culture areas or subareas 101

17

ND CULTURE CHANGE--general statements dealing with several
es of information on history and culture change. Since separate
-prepared on each major historical period for societies with an
known time depth, the categories below are designed to include
ormation bearing upon the society's prehistory and (b) historical
specific time period which do not readily fall into particular cate-
where in the Outline.

1: Shternberg--299 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*174 /203 cont./ The custom of brothers' living together with one wife became ever rarer. In the works of the epos, such passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.

174 595 [538]

• 17 [615] Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

178 *614 615 Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clans C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

/449 cont./

323 utensils produced there, some of them of very good quality, which
171 were shipped far away, and, according to Barabash (3), there is

13]

3. Barabash", "Sungar. ekspeditsiia 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pottery that Maack saw in Ssilbi on the Amur probably also came from the Sungari. The fact that it does not go farther down the Amur, however, to the lower Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite of their annual trade voyages to the Sungari, attests all too clearly to the aversion that they entertain against such utensils.

323 If, from the statements by Mamia Rinsô given above, one
17 must draw the conclusion that the Gilyak and Olcha, though they do not use pottery in their households today, nevertheless formerly and up to the beginning of this century had it and even manufactured it themselves, it may also be gathered from them that it was by no means an art practiced since ancient times, but rather that they learned it through the Chinese and Japanese in relatively recent times. He found the pieces seen by him on Sakhalin, as was said, similar to those of the Chinese and Japanese, and it is highly probable that the many porcelain factories near Kidsi which he mentions arose under Chinese influence and with Chinese co-operation. And, since it was recent and foreign, this art could so easily again disappear altogether among the Gilyak and Olcha amidst the subsequent unfavorable conditions, without leaving any trace other than the aversion against its products. My view that the making of pottery was originally foreign to the Gilyak and was temporarily picked up by them from the Chinese only in recent times is also supported by the fact that this art, as among the Gilyak, is missing, or was missing up to a short time ago, among all the other Paleo-
000 Asiatic peoples, with one single exception. Mamia Rinsô (4),

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

000 /451 cont./

2. (cont.)
by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 299).

G without
323 intending to specify more precisely the date and the manner of
171 the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to
E draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations
323 concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their
174 Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art
G of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Ainu of which Mamia Rinsô spoke was
323 or is only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after
648 a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent
● 17 measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even
G further back, it in any case has nothing to do with the potsherds
323 which have recently been found in the earth, together with stone
172 tools, at various points in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, especially along the Patchä River and in Taraika (3). These potsherds,

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Patchä River, about 10 versts from Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tschchyrkrach or Tschnyrrach (as the Russians call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, various stone tools (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, most of these articles were sent to the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

/xxvii cont./

*114 595 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it once again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in their basic features. A large part of what is related in this account on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their discovery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the newspaper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material uncovered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA. Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversation. Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archives [113] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie giliaki" appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstva, is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie giliaki" is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

*114 601 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, preserved certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly confirmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the classificatory system as a true indicator of the sexual norms that formerly existed. The classificatory system of kinship among the • [171] Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the Turano-Ganowanian in type. Furthermore, "it is the best example of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being *114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in 174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant • 171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak 796 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the 178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu [178] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a [192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

342 /18 cont./
796 178 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of 178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the • 171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that 174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee, 492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about 174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a 133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo. [614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native 574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without 517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange 484 celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in 157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 • 171 174 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely [614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the [595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

601 • 171 174 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in [595] the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient [835] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not 581 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or [583] rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of [851] his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and [611] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he [551] is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father [684] of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses [614] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber [582] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live 601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and [592] not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In [352] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently [765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/32 cont./

601 regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse
835 even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage. Being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, often complete strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their genealogical information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course.
●171 This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Australian kroki and kumiti, who will find a marital bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husbands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are kroki.

171 In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely
835 resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms noa and piruari (1). Among them each

[113] 1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 f.

woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men,

/33 cont./

835 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of
●171 the tribe. With regard to this group, she is piruari and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

835 The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly ex-
684 pressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabi-
tation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed
554 between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a
[722] Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tendemess from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part
[593] of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

/44 cont./

614 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
178 ship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri, Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated, confused system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually, this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

●171 Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

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I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples [ooo] in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/45 cont./ But the details that I

171 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
582 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think,
601 of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

●171 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
171 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
582 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
601 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpūras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Köhler, "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

/46/

● 171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where a
[835] great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly declares which men and women of the tribe have the right to group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and difficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the decisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individual person and became the function of a competent institution of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
[614] in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis, every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife throughout the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where ascending and descending generations belong to different classes, and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even in the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

/46 cont./

615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's
614 turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of cl
582 would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last,
Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife
one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the thie
eration, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her gr
grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerab
[601] tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinsh
nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many
gories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sig
appear completely independent, are in fact identical, suc
for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sis
of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, j
like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the
in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It se
to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light
certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage,
have seen that from the simple, single rule that men mus
marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitabl
arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as gro
marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage pro
tions.

171 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on
583 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in pa
614 lar, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an insti
615 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the A
●171 tralians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strang
forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple re
of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recal
our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A n
take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S.
shall remember that in the primitive stages of developme
such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation o

/75 cont./

755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
796 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new calico (pox) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside before the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the prized dish "mas," potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will be treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is hung in a circle, and a kettle with a nail in it is placed near the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found its way into the mlyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run back through the floor.

755 /76/ The third method of curing is at a distance.
When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts with all his might: "Chamnay, nikhovlatyngra n'onyuya," i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn, and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine, but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the details of the wonderful night.

756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
(171) the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even here. I was often shown places from which shamans were lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers. I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resurrected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.
000 Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

/81 cont./

*614 First of all, the very term that the Gilyak use to express
[192] the concept "clan" is of interest. It is khal', which literally means: scabbard, sheath -- a felicitous symbol for a single womb, for unity of origin. As concerns the features of their clan union, the Gilyak formulate them with surprising terseness, vividly /82/ illustrating their fully conscious attitude toward the basic institution of their social life (1).

● [171] 1. It is extremely interesting that the
[601] similar term khala /see the translitera-
[197] tion system for Tungus-Manchu peoples, p. 36/ also exists among the neighboring Tungus tribes -- the Orok, Orochi, Goldi, Negda, with whom the Gilyak have certain common kinship designations, as, for example, aki (elder brother) = aga (among the Tungus tribes), in spite of the complete dissimilarity of the languages of these peoples lexically and grammatically.

[601] If you ask any Gilyak why he considers some persons
(NN) his kinsmen, you will invariably get one answer: "Of course, we have akhmal'k (father-in-law) -- one (i.e., in common), ymgi /see ymri, p. 82/ (son-in-law /syat'/) -- one, fire -- one, mountain man, sea man, heavenly man, earth man, etc. -- one, bear -- one, devil -- one, khkusind (blood money) -- one, sin -- one."

An analysis of this formula will also lead us to an elucidation of the content of the clan union.

1. Akhmal'k -- one, ymgi -- one; a common father-in-law, a common son-in-law (syat'). The father-in-law of one clansman is father-in-law to the whole clan. Each clan in principle takes its women from one certain clan and in turn gives its women strictly to another certain clan. A common

/86 cont./

*614 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is
599 everywhere.
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Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous. Cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

*614 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of
397 clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan
796 deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there vie, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

● [171] 1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also
plays the role of intermediary be-
tween human beings and the gods;
he intercedes for human beings,
he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/87 cont./

*614 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sick-
397 ness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey,
796 etc. -- the clansman throws an offering (1) as his modest sacri-
782 fices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she shows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan"
397 attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it
796 is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased
782 are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorite victims in his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

● [171] 2. It is curious that a similar view
exists among the Buryat: a man
who perishes from lightning becomes
a powerful and favorite spirit to
whom sacrifices are made and prayers
are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire (its ability to spread widely), its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

/105 cont./

*614 what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);
628
537
[126]

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles. -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement...

[576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and

● [171] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the
[189] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 When an agreement has been reached, the religious
628 feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure
532 of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/111 cont./

*614 Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the
[167] designations, Tyvli-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yekhre-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhri), N'yenkhay-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Nyenkhay), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

● [171] 1. Similar territorial designations
among the Australians were the reason
that Kunow came to the completely
unfounded conclusion that among
these tribes there is no clan organiza-
tion.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tsharnung, the Choril, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans,we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces its origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

*614 /112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most
[167] important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. However
[168] complex, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not know
[202] any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and at that clan but settlement elders, but it had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode, but that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in some

*614 instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan
knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which, according to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated with the

/118 cont./

*614 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on
556 one in special cases and either personally or together with
554 "village community" of their clansmen display, as those hav
the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they pl
in ordinary life?

They are the so-called ?? -- the "masters" (1), or other

1. Up to the present, little attention
has been focused on the role of such
persons in the structure of primitive
societies. Their role is obscured by
their being classified only as representa-
tives of wealth. Here is one of the
most recent examples of such a relation.
Separate classes of "nobles" and "com-
moners" do not exist in northwestern
California, but in almost all affairs
of life the rich man plays the most
important role ("Types of Indian Cul-
ture in California," by A.L. Kroeber,
University of California Publications,
June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be
grateful, however, that such facts
have been noted at all.

● [171] [113]

the urdlya-nivukh -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /113/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

Tungus RX5
Ainu ABG
Gilyak RX3

II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, or in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and terms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a strict the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus language, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanaih" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

/132 cont./ One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their forms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "AQA, aki," Olcha -- "aiba, aki," general Turkic -- "aga, akym, akbum." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "yuk" (father) and "piland", the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "Aqa" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app"; in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apanga, ypanga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakuts this root is also encountered in the forms "abaKya, apaKya" -- elder brother of the father, "ana" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmak" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

/133 cont./
meaning: Gilyak aNih -- younger brother, and Goldi achiha -- younger brother of the father (Birar); Goldi edi -- husband, and Gilyak edi -- wife's father, father-in-law; Gilyak yij -- father, atk -- wife's father, achk -- wife's mother, and northern Tungus atki -- father and older brother of the wife, and atki -- mother and sister of the wife (1), and some others that are more doubtful,

1. Iokhel'son /Jocheison/, Materialy /Materialy/, 240.

such as, for instance, Mongol omok, otok -- clan, and the rare Gilyak form ota -- father, oma -- mother. There is no doubt that the Gilyak term ivy -- brother's wife, has been borrowed from the Tungus, corresponding to yvy among the Olcha, since among the Gilyak this term is found only in the territory bordering on the Olcha; in other places, the indigenous Gilyak word arKej is used exclusively. In the Turkic languages, besides the above-mentioned aga, akym, and akbym, we find similar sounding forms in ay --man, husband, hero (Mongol ere), "er" -- an adult person (Gilyak er -- father); ata, aba, ana -- (Gilyak ata, ata) achchi (old Turkic) -- elder brother, uncle on the father's side (Gilyak yehkh -- old man, husband), and, finally, oglan -- young man, youth, boy, and oil -- son, child. Then /134/ perhaps something of interest is offered by the Gilyak term, phonetically close to Gilyak, achiche, ichhel, ap (Gilyak achik, itch, ap).

Such are the slight similarities reflected in the Gilyak language with those of their close and distant neighbors on the Asiatic mainland.

It is difficult to say with absolute certainty what the origins of these similarities were. As the comparative study of kinship terms among the most widely separated groups of Tungus territory, that the term "ap" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

/134 cont./
In particular, it is not without interest to point out that the most undoubtedly identical term among the Gilyak and the Tungus-Turkic peoples, "aki, aKa" -- older brother, might very well be easily linked with the ancient Hebrew "abh" -- brother, just like the Gilyak "oma" -- mother and the ancient Hebrew "em," but conclusions from such comparisons would, of course, be extremely hazardous. On the other hand, there would be nothing strange if single terms, even such important ones as "aki," turned out to be borrowed. Linguists given us not a little evidence of this. For example, in the Oman language such cardinal terms as father and mother turned out to be borrowed: the designation for father -- "peder" -- was borrowed from the Persian, and the designation for mother -- "valide" -- was taken from Arabic. In another Turkish dialect, namely that of the Taranchi, only one term turns out to have been borrowed from the Persian, "ahvar" -- sister.

Another example is still more interesting. In a tundra clan of the Yukagir (the one most mixed with the Lamut), four of the most cardinal terms of relationship are borrowed: "ama, ana, aka, aka" -- father, mother, older brother, older sister; all the others (the majority) have remained purely Yukagir. Iokhel'son (1), reporting these facts, quite correctly explains

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy, 240.

this strange fact of partial borrowing by noting that the borrowed terms coincide in meaning with the Yukagir terms, but everything else the Yukagir kinship system differs sharply from that of the Tungus.

Be that as it may, whatever may have been the origin of the indicated affinities between the Gilyak and Tungus-Turkic kinship terms, be they the result of chance /135/ coincidence or the result of ethnic interactions, they are so insignificant that the extensive kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak remains completely independent, not only in its content, but also with regard to its lexicon, and, taking into account the incessant

process of mixing between the Gilyak and their neighbors, one can only be surprised that these kinship terminologies turn out to have so little in common.

The peculiarities of the Gilyak kinship terms themselves testify to this uniqueness of the Gilyak terminology with great palpability; the greater part of them can be traced all the way back to their original roots, which points to their firm stability over a long period of time (1).

1. This cannot be said with regard to borrowed terms. For example, for example, as the famous Turkish specialist, V.V.Radlov /W. Radloff/, has reported to me, among the Turks, judging by Orkhon and Uigur monuments, the kinship terminology, starting from the tenth century and with the exception of one or two terms, has changed completely, even in such forms as father and mother, and so forth.

We shall adduce a few examples. Thus, the group "yuk" -- father, "ark" -- grandfather, uncle on the mother's side, "yuk" -- grandmother, "yehkh" -- old man, husband, "achkh" -- aunt, sister of the father, "ul-ch" -- man, (western dialect) have a common root "ul, yl" -- body; the group "ymic" -- mother, "ymgsi" -- son-in-law, son of the sister, "um-ge" -- woman (western dialect) have the common root "um." Further, "ashgyr" -- wife, from "ashk" -- female; "ashmych" -- beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "ay" -- male and the verb "mych" -- to be, to become. The group "shank, shankh, ranih" -- woman and "ranih" -- sister, etc. is of interest.

Dialectal differences in kinship designations remain to be discussed. These differences are of a minor nature. In the fundamental terms there are either no differences whatever,

which are used the same term for "yuk" (gyuk and syuqyum), not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the centuo in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the class all the "sisters" of persons of the ashmalk class (concerning this, see below).

The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in use for wife in both dialects is arNih, arKej. Within the clan the Gilyak given this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younger "brothers" (arKih) the Gilyak gives the name of jokhn, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevertsk, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

story says to his wife: "Wife, I am going to look for my fathers and my mothers." When he found them, it was this way: his father was sitting on the left-side plank-bed, his father was sitting behind his mother, his uncle (i.e., father's brother) was sitting on the right plank-bed, and a young woman was also sitting there (probably the "sister" of his mother).

It is curious that on the ancient Turkic monuments, namely, in the inscriptions of Koshko-Zaidam, V.V.Radlov likewise found a trace of a similar plural terminology, although in a very indefinite form. Concerning kinship, except for the term "older brother," have disappeared there entirely. On account of this, when he met in the text the expressions "my mother," "sultana," and "of the mother," he translated the last as stepmother. Having familiarized himself with the classificatory system among the Gilyak, he was inclined to interpret the expression "of the mother" as "of the mothers," a class as distinct from one mother.

On the other hand, the plural sometimes denotes the collective noun for the kinsmen of the related classes, for example: "cher-kyn" (literally, "thy father") is used in the meaning of father and mother, father and clansmen; "ufeorankhhun" (literally, "my wives") -- in the sense of the beloved and her girl-friends; "ymgsi kun" (literally, "sons-in-law /zyat'ya/") -- the son-in-law together with his wives. It is curious that in Yakutia we evidently meet the same phenomenon. I judge this by one case introduced by Iokhel'son, where a man says "my fathers" instead of "my father": although Iokhel'son admits that the plural could be used out of respect for one's father, nevertheless, as it is evident from the context -- "a friend to my fathers will wander" -- the father is being talked about here in his absence, and consequently there is no need for rendering any particular respect.

children. Furthermore, there are marriages which do not pursue domestic aims. By itself alone, however, sexual intercourse between certain individuals of different sex, even though it may be regular, still does not constitute a sign of marriage. In order that sexual intercourse be transformed into a marriage, it is necessary that this be sanctioned in a form or another by a given social environment, that it not provoke a social or religious reaction, in a word, that it be lawful.

The lawfulness of sexual intercourse, then, constitutes the essential sign of marriage. On this point, the concept of marriage is similar among the most diverse peoples in the most diverse stages of development. If there are variations it is only in the forms in which sexual intercourse is realized in marriage. It is just these variations, often so contradictory to the notions of contemporary society, which most of all obscure the idea of marriage when one chances to encounter the forms of sexual intercourse among primitive peoples.

A true understanding of the institution of marriage among primitive peoples is obscured most of all by our habitual notion that marriage invariably presupposes joint cohabitation of the spouses and, consequently, the manifest and regular realization of conjugal rights.

Among many peoples, however, and not only primitive peoples, but even historical ones, this is not required at all. Among the Spartans, for example, the women lived apart from the men, and the men lived in barracks. Only an insignificant number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

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/47 cont./

which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan, even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marriages with those of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alternatives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /48/ to say nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one stolen, or to circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real intentions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength, while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real coercion.

Only with such an explanation of abduction can we understand why, for example, the Australian kurnai, having allowed their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bridegroom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less cruelly than her parents: by this he desires to show the gods, and the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock abduction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized peoples.

/58 cont./

a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain, water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters" and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i -- forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices. These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people), the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well, having entered after his death the clan of this or that master, also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore, that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem. Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or predecessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods, as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
●171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The
[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
●[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[974] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/71 cont./

796 or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the
614 "zyat'ya" /sons-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons
married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was
796 never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place,
614 the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat
262 of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "narkh'i"
and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the
bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited
for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by
the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of
a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently
turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and
therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday?
In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be
criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "narkh'i"
this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears
to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them
to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

614 The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the
262 permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat
171 its head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the
rest of the meat may seem a strange and irresolvable contra-
diction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet
such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn
occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors,
while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat.
In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the
tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally pro-
hibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for
food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden
animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed
among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

/72 cont./

G 796 171 262 G1 796 171 262 773

An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G 776

Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and "kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G 776 761 753

Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/157 cont./

581 For example, among the Ainu, when women get married,
121 they often remain in their father's house, and the husband,
171 who lives in another settlement, sometimes at a great distance from the settlement of his father-in-law, /158/ visits his wife only at a certain time of the year. Among the Kirgiz, until the final payment of the bride price, the husband, sometimes for years, visits his wife only at night, and then in secret from her parents. We do not find regularity even among polygamists of the Mussulman type. The Turk may have in his harem women with whom he does not have sexual intercourse for years, but they nevertheless are considered wives, joined with him in marriage. The condition of joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse is still less possible among peoples where, according to the socially established order, a whole group of men considers a whole group of women their wives, and, conversely, a man exercises his right only as far as possible.

Within the Australian Dieri tribe every "kumi" (a term corresponding to the Gilyak pu -- husband) finds his "kroki" (wife) throughout the whole extent of his territory, in whatever settlement he visits. A kumi may live out his whole life without seeing one or another of his innumerable kroki, but she is nevertheless his wife, for, if he visits her settlement, he can exercise his right without subjecting himself to social censure, punishment of the gods, or a reaction on the part of the individual husband of his kroki, as would a non-kumi who did this (1). The potentiality of lawful sexual intercourse

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, 1880, pp. 340 f.

takes various forms among different peoples, but the legal essence of the relations remains the same. In one place, persons bound by such a form of marriage are invested not only with rights, but also with obligations, in other words,

/158 cont./

581 one or another party has no right to refuse sexual relations
121 with a person who is entitled to them. For example, among
171 the Chukchee a woman may not refuse a man joined with her husband in the relationship of a "variable marriage."

Among others, full scope is given to individual sympathies, as, for example, among the aforementioned kumi and kroki, among the Tungus peoples, among the Gilyak, where the agreement of both parties is demanded for sexual intercourse, but once this agreement obtains, intercourse becomes lawful. In essence, what we have here is the same phenomenon as in pure polygamy. A husband may prefer one wife to another, even completely avoid a certain wife, but the marriage is present nevertheless. It is the same also in group marriage: in spite of the separation of the living places of the group spouses and the clear potentiality of conjugal rights, lawfulness of sexual intercourse within the group, and consequently also marriage, is present.

/159/ Of course, joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse are the most normal for marriage. We observe the tendency towards this, although in varying degrees, among the most diverse peoples. This tendency, however, must not be confused with the tendency toward individual possession. The instinct for sexual selection and individual sympathies indeed pushes even primitive man toward establishing more or less durable conjugal bonds. But pairing up presupposes neither obligatory individual possession nor, what is more, obligatory joint cohabitation. We have already offered the example of the Ainu, whose wife often remains living in her parents' home, sometimes several days' journey from her husband. Among the Ainu, however, marriage is purely individual. All the more natural is the absence of the aforementioned conditions among those peoples where group forms of marriage exist, for persons to whom the right of sexual relations is extended are many, and for this very reason joint cohabitation and, consequently, the regular exercise of the right of sexual intercourse between all the persons involved in the group marriage rarely take place.

/159 cont./

581 In reality, joint cohabitation and regular intercourse
121 are connected, not with the sexual feature of the marital
171 union, but with the economic aspect. Wherever economic conditions demand the joint collaboration of a whole group of persons and allow living together, group marriage there can turn into a regular, communal marriage. But such conditions are rarely found in primitive society. They are possible -- but even then not often -- in a narrow circle of brothers; in this case group marriage is really accompanied by the elements of joint cohabitation and the regular exercise of marital rights familiar to us. We meet examples of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Tibet, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

433 In spite of the old opinion, which was accustomed to
121 depicting the life of primitive people in communistic colors,
171 in reality the economy of primitive man, at least the methods of obtaining the means of subsistence, is at the present time mainly individual, and the forms of general collaboration that crop up only at certain times disappear as quickly as they arose with the passing of the necessity for them. We may see a typical specimen of individual economy among the wandering Tungus reindeer-breeders, who /160/ assemble once or twice a year for only a short time and then in small related groups. In normal times they live apart, widely separated from one another, each one selecting for himself his own territory for pasture and hunting.

581 Among peoples who are not herdsmen, who live closer
121 together, the forms of economy are all more or less individ-
[433] ual. Under such circumstances it is quite natural that every man, conducting his own particular economy, should strive to have with him a woman who, in conformity with the natural division of labor between the sexes, might perform with him his economic duties. Thus, joint and regular cohabitation between a man and one or several women arises by itself. In societies where group norms of sexual intercourse exist, such individual alliances change nothing. An

/164 cont./

582 marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother.
614 "Pfandfukh an'g:ej gen urdra" -- "from the clan of your pandf (see above), from the clan from which you originated (were born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother came, yo
[533] should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree to which these principles play a role in reality. From the very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature, I was astounded that in each clan there were so many kinsmen wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who called each other, according to the generation of the husband, sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It was necessary to record many Gilyak who were married several times, and most often their wives turned out to be from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan of the husband's mother. One of my companions on my journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters and brothers.

582 The preference shown for this form of marriage even today
171 is always the result of the religious imperative; we have seen above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to the role of this form of marriage among the Gilyak, one may express it in the same words that have been used to describe the same phenomenon among the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India. In these tribes, "marriage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

/168 cont./

83 or wife that she share her bed with a guest who is her pu, as happens among peoples who practice hospitable hetaerism. Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed. No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his group an'g:ej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses /169/

833 openness of sexual relations is not allowed (1). Intercourse

*835

● [171]

1. The avoidance of public caresses between individual spouses is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Gilyak. According to the testimony of Radlov /Radloff/, the Altaian in public does not allow himself even a joke with his wife in the presence of strangers, while at the same time the broadest freedom in relations between the sexes prevails among these peoples. -- Radloff, Aus Sibirien /From Siberia/, I, 314.

may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned (2). If the act takes place at night in

[171]

2. Compare the similar phenomenon among the Tibetans. -- Westermarck, The Origin of Marriage, p. 141.

the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman (both sides alike take the initiative, but women more rarely) move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attentions if there has not been any preliminary agreement. In summer the affair most frequently takes place in the open air: in the

/180 cont./

*835 male virtues. Nevertheless, his older tuvn in no way reacted to

578 even this breach of etiquette. Only at the instigation of his associates did he resolve to challenge him to a duel, but Lokhmatka absolutely rejected this flattering proposal. Then his rival hit him with a cudgel, but Lokhmatka did not react even to that, and since, according to Gilyak custom, it is prohibited to beat a man who does not defend himself, his rival had to let the matter rest, while Lokhmatka continued his public relationship with the man's wife just as before.

*835 Never once among the Gilyak did I chance to observe how

578 an individual husband reacted upon finding his wife in flagrante

●171 delicto with one of his brothers. But one may get an idea from a scene which I observed among the Orochi where the same rule operates with respect to the wives of brothers. Once I happened to be spending the night in the tent of the richest and most respected Orochi, Ivan Kuznets. In the tent, besides Ivan and his wife, there chanced to be spending the night a very distant kinsman of Ivan's, the youth Timoshka, who was a very poor and thriftless lad, but a great lover of women, preferring to go visiting and lovemaking to any economic cares. In the evening our host left to look for elks, and Timoshka, without any ceremony, got under the covers of his young hostess. They did not expect the old man until morning. But meanwhile an unfavorable wind had interfered with the hunting, and Ivan returned earlier than might have been expected. Entering the balagan, Ivan lit a splinter and caught sight of Timoshka, taking his place in the conjugal bed. From

[152] the proud and hot-tempered Ivan one might have expected -- especially against poor Timoshka -- the most furious outburst of jealousy, the more so because his wife was considered a prize beauty, and he was already at an age when jealousy shows itself particularly strongly. Nevertheless, Ivan limited himself to swearing a strong Russian curse-word, after which Timoshka, smiling embarrassedly, moved over to his own place, while Ivan, groaning, lay down beside his frivolous wife.

/181/

*835 Such are the relations between the categories of group pu and an'g:ej. Within his own clan, the Gilyak has at his disposal the dozens of wives of his "brothers." In the clan of his akhmalk (and there may be many of these) dozens of daughters of the "brothers" of his mother are at his disposal, and finally, outside of these clans the sisters of the wives of his most distant tuvn, and the wives of the sons of his "mother's" sisters, belong to him. And since, in addition, due to the contemporary conditions of life, his own clansmen and the members of the clans of his akhmalk are scattered throughout the most remote settlements, there is hardly a place where a visiting Gilyak could not find his lawful an'g:ej. One may say the same thing about the Gilyak that is said, mutatis mutandis, about "kumi" and "kroki," who throughout the whole extent of their territory find everywhere a lawful wife for themselves.

*835 Thus, every Gilyak usually is joined in a dual marriage:

595 1) in the customary individual marriage with one or more

58 women either from the class of his an'g:ej (in this case mainly with the daughters of his mother's brother) or with women of alien groups; this form of marriage among brothers sometimes takes on the form of purely communal polyandry; 2) in a group marriage with all the women of the class an'g:ej, where sexual intercourse with some of them is accompanied by joint cohabitation, a common economy with their individual husbands, and takes place more or less regularly (most often within a common economy of brothers); or else this right of sexual intercourse is potential and is exercised only insofar as is possible and not regularly.

*835 Thus, we have to do here with the typical group marriage,

●171 examples of which are known to all among the most diverse peoples of the earth. An extremely curious, typical analogue in the life of other peoples is the marriage system of the Australian Dieri tribe (1), among whom both aspects of sexual

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology

/181 cont./ Contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 passim.

intercourse are legalized, in contrast to the Gilyak marriage system, with the differentiated terms noa and piruari. According to this system, every woman is joined in individual marriage to one man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage to a whole category of men, who mutually call each other piruari, with the characteristic distinction that persons of this category are solemnly affirmed by the high council of the tribe.

/182/ The object which these measures pursue is evidently the following: 1) to strengthen in the social consciousness the lawfulness of sexual relations for a certain group of persons; 2) to make commonly known the names of the persons of this group of spouses. Among the Gilyak the matter has not gone so far -- the tribe is too small, and every person from childhood knows very well from the words of his parents the names of his group pu and an'g:ej, and, consequently, all the rights connected with these names. Under other conditions the Gilyak would probably have developed the procedure practiced among the Dieri. The following characteristic analogies between the marriages of the Gilyak and the Dieri are also curious: 1) "a woman becomes the noa of a man, having been married to him when she was still a child" (1).

1. Howitt, op. cit., p. 811, Table IV.

2) Judging by the kinship terminology, piruari (i.e., group husbands and wives) are not arbitrarily designated by the great council, but from a definite circle of kinsmen, specifically, for the women the brothers of her husband are piruari, while for a man -- the sisters of his wife. So, by one and the same term, apiri waka, the piruari designate

/182 cont./ their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari designate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all considered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs (ibid., 19).

IV.

Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us, broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations, naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women, and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such exceptions are not encountered. In the society of the most respected individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ adventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman (urdla n'ŋgyvyŋ) at all. In my presence, and that of a gathering of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Iarak, to the accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter, related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/186 cont./ Psychic prohibitions. But side by side with training and, I would say, the hypnotic influence of the kinship terminology, a still mightier force acts on the development of the abovementioned instincts -- prohibitions of a special kind, prohibitions on psychic intercourse: prohibitions on speech, glances, and familiar address (joking). Corresponding to the two different instincts necessary for the realization of the sexual norms, these prohibitions are of a dual character. Some are created for persons between whom it is necessary to weaken the instinct of jealousy to the last degree, others -- for those who must avoid having sexual relations with each other. Both factors, both the prohibitions of sexual intercourse and the prohibitions of psychic intercourse, act not only as factors of hypnosis and habit, but also as very strict taboos of religion. To violate one or another of these norms, in the eyes of primitive man, is as dangerous as the most dangerous blasphemy. The strength of the taboo on psychic intercourse in particular and what instincts they can develop in the soul of primitive man can be seen even from Iokhel'son's /Iochelson/ tale about a Yukagir who by mistake allowed himself familiarities with respect to his own brother, but when he realized his error, he passed away on the spot out of horror.

This is the way Iokhel'son tells this amazing story, entirely in keeping with Gilyak psychics.

"There were two brothers, and then they lived the husband of an older sister, with whom it is permitted to talk. Therefore, both brothers frequently joked with him and played pranks... The brothers, as usual, had a non-speaking relationship. One time the older brother, upon returning from hunting, found the young people in the settlement playing games and dancing. His younger brother, who happened to be dressed in the fur clothing of his brother-in-law /ŋ'gyr/, was in the chain of dancers with his back to the new arrival. The latter took his younger brother to be his brother-in-law, and, wishing to scare him as a joke, he ran up behind him, put his hand between his legs, and touched his sexual organ.

/186 cont./ The younger brother quickly turned around. The older brother realized his error and fell dead then and there "from shame." As usual, they performed his autopsy in the /187/ learn the cause of his death, and his heart, according to the legend, was found to be broken in two" (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, XIII.

Let us proceed now to the prohibitions themselves. The prohibitions of the first kind, i.e., prohibitions established between individuals of the same sex in order to weaken the instinct of jealousy, naturally cover persons who are joined in one class by group marriage: among the men, the pu classes, i.e., the classes of persons who have the right to sexual relations with a certain class of women; and, among women, the an'g:ej classes, i.e., women having common husbands. All these individuals, all these group husbands or group wives, among whom outbursts of jealousy might so easily flare up every day and every hour, are fenced off from one another by the impassable wall of the strictest prohibition on psychic intercourse, a prohibition beginning at the threshold of life and ending only with the grave, and creating an instinct of restraint which does not yield first place to the strongest instincts of nature.

The prohibitions of the second category, as we have said, have as their aim the hindrance of sexual relations between persons of different sexes of the forbidden categories. For this reason prohibitions between persons who are mutually in the classes of "husbands" and "wives" (pu and an'g:ej), even if not in a state of individual marriage, are superfluous; any man freely converses not only with his individual wives, but with his group wives, for example, with the wives of his brothers without distinction (in some clans) or only with the wives of his older "brothers" (in others), in a word, with those women whom he calls an'g:ej and with whom he has the right

/189 cont./ The prohibitions on speech have had another curious result. The Gilyak have no salutation for greeting or saying farewell. It may seem strange that the Gilyak, returning to his home after a long absence or leaving his family for the long months of hunting and of danger, utters no salutation. Yet the Gilyak are very ceremonious and /190/ always greet and escort their departing guests with solemn forms of address and expressions of good wishes. The neighbors of the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi, as well as the Ainu, have salutations for meeting and parting. Their absence among the Gilyak arises precisely from the fact that in the home and settlement of every Gilyak there is a mass of persons with whom speech is a sin, and therefore the customary greetings could easily lead to frequent involuntary violations of the psychic taboos. Prohibitions on conversation, as is well-known, are practiced among many peoples. We shall recall, for the sake of an example, one of the American peoples, the Arapaho, among whom conversations between brothers are forbidden. The prohibitions among the Yukagir are of special interest to us. Of the prohibitions which they have in common with the Gilyak, we find among the Yukagir prohibitions between "brothers" and "sisters," between the husband's father and mother and their daughter-in-law, between older brothers and the wives of younger brothers; and, as among the Gilyak, in cases of necessity, they address each other either in the third person, or in the impersonal form, or in the plural (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

The Buryat present examples of an interesting analogy with the Gilyak prohibitions. Among them at the present time marriage is exclusively individual, and "brothers" have no sexual rights whatever to each other's wives. Nevertheless, prohibitions with regard to the so-called khadym clearly reveal an earlier stage of group marriage. As a result of this

/190 cont./ As a result of this institution, the prohibitions between a woman and the older brothers of her husband are very strict, and, on the other hand, with respect to the younger brothers of her husband prohibitions are absent. The content of the prohibition (forbidding the man to sit on the bed of his khadym, to see her naked, etc.) is evidence that this prohibition had the exclusive aim of preventing sexual intercourse.

V.

The Genesis of the Gilyak Marriage Norms and the Kinship Terminology

We have examined the norms of sexual intercourse and have seen that they completely correspond to the kinship terminology. Now it is necessary for us to proceed to a consideration of how this complicated system of kinship and marriage was formed, what sort of psychic substratum gave rise to the system. Obviously, such a complicated system could not arise artificially. It must have developed, without a doubt, out of one simple principle, a clear /191/ categorical imperative for the primitive man, out of which there must have grown, as from a seed, that complicated organism of Gilyak institutions which, for example, we examined by us in such great detail. Along with the genesis of this system, however, it is necessary for us to explain also the long evolution of this system, without an understanding of which a whole series of peculiarities of the kinship nomenclature will seem completely inexplicable and, as it were, out of keeping with the general system.

/194 cont./

Thus there was created that type of individual-group marriage which we now find among the Gilyak, and among all other peoples where marriage is founded on this principle of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This system of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /195/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest one is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, however, men and women simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But à la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost completely impossible, because the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother expand into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants at any given moment will be equal to the number of women in another group of descendants.

2. Let us take the same instance: one brother and one sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal marriage, as it is described among many peoples and appears so typically in the descriptions of the Iroquois, becomes inevitable. This is the situation described in the Gilyak epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the communal wife in the absence of the other: "in Tibet, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (1). Among the

1. Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

/195 cont./
Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession;
the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves
over to another. As for the children, either they are not dis-
tinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of
the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of
the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

3. The same situation in a new variant: the first
brother has reached marriageable age before the second.
The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his
father /xic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger
brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother re-
mains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys
conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then
another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable
age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the
second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group
rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter
once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

4. At a given moment a brother has several adult
daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son.
The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the
sister of the brother /xic/. Thus it is at the present time
among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man
who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged
to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother
grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his indi-
vidual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the
most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives
than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood.
The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all
the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder
brother is not so indisputable.

An analogous development takes place if the elder broth-
polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up: then
each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but
at the same time each of the younger brothers will have

/198 cont./
home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the
same clan -- the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the
sisters of their fathers. In the agnatic clan the imported
women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and
nieces (and blood kinswomen -- female cousins of their
husbands), the daughters of the brothers of their mothers.
This common blood kinship of the representatives of both
sexes of both the native and the imported elements of the
clan is a still more important cement of the clan union, a
religious cement binding together all the elements with the
highest ties of the common cult of the ancestors. The
terminology has perpetuated this arrangement by the fact that
the wives in each generation call each other sister and their
husbands' mothers -- aunts, and a man calls the daughter of
his mother's brother wife, while a woman calls the son of her
father's sister husband.

8. Since marriage is obligatory into the group of the
sisters of the father exclusively, once the daughters of a man
belong from birth /199/ to the sons of his sister, and this rule,
naturally, became a religious imperative, then under no
circumstances can either the men or the women marry out-
side of the indicated groups. Hence a twofold levirate, so
often encountered, by the way, among the American Indians.
If the individual husband of a woman should die, she cannot
under any circumstances leave the group of her husband.
Whether young or old, she passes to one of the class of
"brothers" of her deceased husband. Conversely, if a man's
wife dies, he cannot look for a wife anywhere except in the
class of her sisters.

9. Under this arrangement, as long as it maintains its
complete purity, within the marriage groups there can be
no question either of abductions or of bride price.

/199 cont./
There is no need for a man to abduct that which belongs
to him through a religious imperative, so powerfully active
in primitive society. Abduction can only arise under special
circumstances, when there are no women in the marriage
group, while other groups are obligated in turn to give their
women to definite groups. Individual cases of abduction
have led to the institution of mock abduction. For the side
which is giving its women in marriage is violation of the
prohibition, this is a means of deceiving the gods, the gods-
ancestors, to whom marriages with persons of alien blood
are the gravest insult. By this alone can we explain the
wide distribution of this otherwise inexplicable institution
among primitive peoples. Only by this pious deception of the
gods can we explain those frightful cruelties which are
practiced in connection with mock abduction, although both
parties are joined in wedlock with the willing consent of the
kinsmen of the bride and groom. It is sufficient to take the
example of the Kurnai tribe, among whom there exists the
institution of obligatory marriage, analogous to that of the
Gilyak. In this tribe, the kinsmen of the bride, having of
their own free will allowed the bride to run away with her
groom, later start out in pursuit of her, and, when they have
caught her, they pierce her leg with a spear and beat her
half to death. And in many tribes even the abductor con-
siders it his obligation to beat his beloved no less cruelly
than her parents, desiring to show the gods-ancestors that
it was not at all love, the intention to marry, which
prompted him to abduct her.

An insufficiency of males or females can lead also to
another institution; likewise not uncommon among primitive
peoples, namely, the killing of newborn children. Let us
say that clan A, from which clan B takes its women, has
died out; then, in order to avoid the wrath of the gods for
future marriages to aliens, they resort to killing the male
children. /200/ On the other hand, if the clan to which they
customarily give women has died out, then cases of

/200 cont./
murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-
known among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the
number of males is greater there than the number of females.

10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of
bride price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment
for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of
marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen
among the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may
be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to
the daughter of the mother's brother.

In order that such an essentially exogamous system might
be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of
favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole
complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary condi-
tions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating
themselves the various families of the phratry should be able
to maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on
other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the
families, and that there should be no cases of extinction of
entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore,
some degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is
necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory
marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor.
Finally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic con-
ditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the
members of the phratry would remain, contrary to the usual
phenomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the in-
fluence of new economic conditions there should not be
engendered one or another temptation to make woman the
object of purchase and sale.

The preservation of all these conditions among primitive
peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a
whole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the
Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial
abode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individ-
ual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

/214 cont./
Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers,
Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their
predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian mar-
riage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler,
and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad dis-
tribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1).

[113]

1. This picture entitled Crawley
to say that "cousin marriage gen-
erally is the favorite form of mar-
riage among primitive peoples"
("Exogamy and the Mating of
Cousins." Anthropological Essays,
Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they
proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first
experience of conscious restriction of marriages between
brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage
represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages be-
tween cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in
this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is
the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands mar-
riage between the children of brother and sister, but at the
same time prohibits marriage between the children of two
brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers
directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact.
"Cousin marriage," he says; "is, according to all appear-
ances, a surprising one. It is quite difficult to find a straight-
forward psychological basis explaining why marriage between
the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while mar-
riage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so
strictly prohibited" (1).

[113]

1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins
in India." The Journal of the
Royal Asiatic Society, July,
1907, p. 623.

/217 cont./
other, while marriages between cousins should have been
allowed for the first time only as a necessary evil, malum
necessarium, in order that it might pass completely out of
use as an antisocial institution.

The evolution of marriage among the Australian peoples
can serve as the best example of this strange fact. Among
these peoples, judging from the organization of classes and
from their personal declarations, the consciousness of the
harm of marriage within close degrees of kinship is quite
well developed, and they have manifested great resourceful-
ness in order to block the possibility of close marriages,
excelling other peoples in this respect. Such a complicated
system as the eight-class system of the Arunta tribe has been
specially devised for the abolishment of marriages between
cousins of the first degree. It would seem after this that
marriages between the most remote degrees of relationship
ought to be encouraged, while marriages between cousins
of the second degree ought to be regarded as merely allowable.
Among them, however, even "cousins of the third degree
are thought too remote, and marriages beyond this degree
are prohibited" (1). Thus, marriage with cousins even of

1. Crawley, op. cit., 61.

an impossibly close degree is not only allowed, but obligatory.

Further, if cousin marriage is only the first stage of
exogamy, /218/ then why, in spite of the enormous period of
time which has passed since its inception, does it continue
to survive so stubbornly up to the present time among a
large number of tribes, including such numerous ones as the
Dravidians, in its original, unaltered form. And even there,
as among the tribes of Australia, it underwent limitation in
the sense of the exclusion of marriages between cousins of
the first degree, but still the principle, as we just saw, is
preserved inviolate, and marriages beyond cousins of the
third degree are not permitted. This stubborn invoking of

/218 cont./
the principle, this persistent striving to perpetuate it by m
of obligation, must rest on a serious basis. It seems to us
hat the strength of the cousin marriage rests on two impo
notives. The first motive is the natural striving of every
kinship group, in particular of each mother, to provide he
progeny with wives.

At the primitive stage of human development the ele
ment of struggle in sexual relations undoubtedly played ju
as tremendous a role as in the zoological kingdom in gene
And one of the most important problems of human comm
ties was to limit this struggle as far as possible, by one or
another regulation.

The intention of marriage, obligatory between pers
of a certain group, was that form of sexual regulation whi
was called upon to satisfy the above-mentioned fundamen
dictate of the community. Prior to the establishment of
exogamy, this dictate could be satisfied by the intrabloo
marriages obligatory between brothers and sisters. With t
establishment of the principle of exogamy, cross-cousin
marriage most satisfactorily solved this problem. From
birth, the sons of a woman are the husbands of the daught
of her brother, and the sons of this latter are the husbands
of her daughter. This combination satisfies to an equal
degree the father of the family as well, because his child
marry the children of his sister.

The other motive of cousin marriage is religious: wit
such marriages people not alien by blood, but rather of a
common origin through the father and mother, come tog
at the domestic hearth, with its gods-ancestors. And bot
spouses may to an equal extent count on the favor of the
common gods-ancestors. This is a feature of primary im
portance in the eyes of primitive man, for whom the bles
of the gods and the observance of religious rituals is as es
tremely important matter in life, one of the major mean
in the struggle for existence. That is why this form of m
became not /219/ only favored, but religiously obligator

/222 cont./

582 Kohler's correspondent reports on it from Africa among the
* 194 Hottentot. From Indonesia, such an authoritative investigator
● 171 as Wilken reports on it, writing: "Among the Batak, the Redjang (Rejangs) and the natives of Amboina, it is permissible for the son of a sister to marry the daughter of a brother, but the son of a brother may not marry the daughter of a sister" (2).

[113] 2. Wilken, Bijdranjen /Contributions/, Serie V, V. I, p. 148.

The kinship terminology corresponds to this arrangement; among the Batak on Sumatra, for example, a wife or female sweetheart is called ibibere-re-datang, i.e., daughter of the mother's brother.

This institution was already recorded in still more definite form in the 1870's among the Dravidian tribes of India. Thus, for example, in the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpūras in central India, marriage between cousins is compulsory when /223/ the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. Many data may be found in the most recent literature by Rivers (1).

[113] 1. "Marriage of cousins in India, Jour. Royal Asiat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 pass.

/226 cont./

* 835 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the
* 194 collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans,
614 would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua
908 family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining
* 835 in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since
601 the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the punalua
* 174 family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the
[119] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

* 835 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed
601 under conditions where brothers had common wives, and
* 194 sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the
● 171 Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the
601 Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil,
171 a man calls his wife en mainavi, the wife of his brother enanni, en maittuni, the sister of his wife en korlunti, en maittuni; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

/226 cont./

601 Among the Gilyak the terms "husband" and "wife" --
* 835 pu and anŋ:ej -- embrace all persons united by group mar-
114 riage, which thus still more confirms the truth of Morgan's interpretation of the kinship terms.

114 /227/ Elucidation of several terms of the Turano-Ganowanian
601 system which appeared inexplicable to Morgan. In the light
● 171 of cousin marriage, several terms of kinship in the Turano-Ganowanian system become understandable to us. For example, Morgan was very confused by, and even regarded as inexplicable, why, among the Tamil, i. e man, call the children of my male cousins (considering as such the children of the sister of my father and of the brother of my mother without distinction) nephews and nieces, but I call the children of my female cousins sons and daughters. At the same time, among the Seneca-Iroquois exactly the reverse of this rule prevails. In his Consanguinity and Affinity he considers this fact inexplicable: "The discrimination of degrees of the cousin relationship," he says "is a remarkable fact in the Tamilian system. It is now found only in some systems of the Turanian family. From the structure and principles of the Turanian system, as I have already shown earlier with regard to the Ganowanian system, it follows inevitably that in its further development this relationship would be applied and restricted to the children of a brother and sister. It was probably unknown in the primitive system... It is the only particular in which it differs materially from the form of the family among the Seneca-Iroquois. In this respect, this last logically agrees more with the principles of the Turanian system than the Tamilian system. It is difficult to find any explanation for this difference" (1).

[113] 1. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871 p. 391.

/227 cont./

114 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an ex-
601 planation for this fact.
● 171 "This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

[113] 2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian
601 system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, how-
* 194 ever, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-
171 cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also de-
* 835 veloped. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage). the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

/228 cont./

114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
● 171 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
* 194 is met if "I" am a woman.
601 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
* 835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
* 174 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
* 835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
[191] son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
[114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
* 194 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
* 835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

/228 cont./

121 The general composition of the phratry may be represented
* 174 in the following table (see p. 230 /of the original text/).
615 /230/
* 835

I	II
Group of male cousins	Groups of male cousins
$A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 + A^5 + A^6 \ldots$	$V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 + V^5 + V^6 \ldots$
Their sisters:	
$a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 + a^5 + a^6 \ldots$	$v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 + v^5 + v^6 \ldots$

Since the groups $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$ etc. and their sisters are related to one another in the same way as the members of the second group V^1, V^2, V^3, V^4 and their sisters, according to the norms of cross-cousin marriage, A^1 is married to v^1 (a sister of V^1), A^2 is married to v^2, A^3 to v^3, A^4 to v^4, etc., and, conversely, V^1 is married to a^1, V^2 to a^2, V^3 to a^3, V^4 to a^4, etc., in each generation.

Now let us imagine the moment when society first became aware of the harm of cross marriage between cousins of the first
● [171] degree. From the details of Australian marriage, we know that the first step in this direction was the prohibition of cross marriage between cousins of the first degree and the establishing of cross marriage between cousins of the second degree. As a consequence of this, A^1 no longer marries v^1, but rather his cousin of the second degree, v^2, just as V^1 must now marry a^2, etc.

Marriages under this new arrangement present the following appearance: Division I $(A^1 + V^2) + (A^2 + V^1) + (A^3 + V^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc. /sic; see errata for original p. 230, line 18, on p. 739 of the foreign text/. Division II $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^1) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc.

It is easy to see that under this arrangement each half of the society is in turn separated into two halves, into two matrimonially isolated groups, namely, the odd members of each division make up only one group, while the even members make up another, and in both divisions together four groups are formed.

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This four-group division is expressed in the following form:

Group I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6)$ and other odd members.

Group II $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5)$ and other even members.

Group III $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6)$ and other odd members.

Group IV $(V^2 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^6 + a^5)$ and other even members.

The first group is nebrakopravomochna (inmarriageable /given in English/) with IV, because in some cases, if families become joined in wedlock in /231/ consecutive order, for example $(A^1 + v^2)$ with $(V^2 + a^1)$, then the children of these families will be bilateral cousins, for their fathers are mutually married to each other's sisters; in other cases, for example in families $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^4 + a^3)$, the children will be not cousins of the second degree, but cousins of the third or fourth degree, which is avoided by the Australian system. For the same reason groups II and III are unmarriageable, while groups I and III and groups II and IV are entirely marriageable in the consecutive order of the families. Thus, for example, in the families $(A^1 + v^2)$ from group I and $(V^1 + a^2)$ from III, as is seen from the indices, the father of the first family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the second family, and, conversely, the father of the second family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the first family; consequently, their children are second degree cousins on the side of both their fathers and their mothers, which is just what is necessary in Australian marriage.

But these groups in the Australian system could not develop into the present clan units, because each pair of marriageable groups remained marriageable for only one generation; consequently, the following generation, as the offspring of brother and sister, could not marry, being

/231 cont./

cross cousins of the first degree, and for this reason these groups could not become fixed into hereditary unions and therefore formed only class generations, the whole practical significance of which was in the mnemonic fixation of the marriage norms.

The role of the four-group division developed quite differently with the Gilyak type of marriage. Here, too, the initial motive was the realization of the harm of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but while in the Australian system the question was resolved by means of a transition to marriages between cousins of the second degree and the absolute prohibition on marriages between cousins of the first degree, with the preservation, however, of the exchange marriage, in the Gilyak marriage the change of norms was limited merely to a prohibition on marriages between bilateral cousins of the first degree, i.e., marriages where the spouses are cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. Here marriage remained obligatory between cousins of the first degree, but only if they were unilateral, i.e., either on the side of the father or on the side of the mother; through this, mutual marriages between two families became absolutely forbidden: under no condition could two men marry each others' sisters; consequently, marriage even between bilateral cousins of the second degree became impossible.

Now let us see how this regulation led to the Gilyak type of phratry.

/232/ Let us recall again the phratry with two divisions, with marriage between cousins of the first degree. In order to facilitate orientation, we repeat the previously introduced diagram of the composition of each generation of spouses according to degrees of kinship, with cross marriage between cousins of the first degree.

/232 cont./

Division I: men $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$
their sisters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$

Division II: men $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$
their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 \ldots$

The same letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin relationship. Persons of different letter-groups with identical indices, for example, A^1, a^1 and V^1, and v^1, or A^2, a^2 and V^2, v^2, are bilateral cousins of the first degree, and they usually join in cross-marriage, i.e., A^1 marries v^1 and V^1 marries a^1. Persons of different letter-groups with different indices are cousins of more remote degrees according to the larger index.

And now let us imagine the moment when the transition from bilateral cousin marriage to unilateral marriage began, and when the exchange of sisters, that is, cross-cousin marriage, became prohibited.

This transition could not be completed all at once. Among individuals of both divisions there were no unilateral cousins at all, because these were all products of cross-cousin marriage. But since marriages between cousins of the first degree became absolutely prohibited, it would doubtless have become necessary for the first time to arrange marriages between cousins of the next closest degrees. The most rational must be, as we have seen among the Australians, marriage between cousins of the second degree, but, in contrast to the Australian regime, where this form could be strictly put into practice in both divisions (1), here, as a

1. See the above table on p. 338.

consequence of the prohibition of the exchange of women, this form could be employed only in one division of society.

/233 cont./

On the other hand, by comparing the odd members of the first division with the odd members of the second division, we see that the men of the odd families of the first row and the women of the even families of the second row, for instance, the members $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^4)$, have identical indices, i.e., they are brothers and sisters, and consequently the sons of the second row marry the daughters of the first row. One can easily see that the same relationship will obtain between the even members of the first division and the other two rows of the second division.

Thus, as in Australian marriage, the society, matrimonially, is naturally broken up into four groups:

Division I: Group I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6) + (A^7 + v^8)$ and other odd members.

Group II: $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5) + (A^8 + v^7)$ and other odd members.

Division II: Group III: $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^7 + a^3)$ and other even members.

Group IV: $(V^2 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^6 + a^5) + (V^8 + a^6)$ and other even members.

The families of the first group take for their sons wives /234/ from the corresponding families of group IV, where the mothers of the first are the sisters of the fathers of the second, but the daughters of the first group enter the third group -- into families where their fathers' own sisters are. In exactly the same way the second group takes women from group IV and gives its women to group III. In a word, we have literally everything that we saw in the Gilyak marriage. Since exchange marriage between the two groups does not exist, and consequently in each following generation the descendants of the espoused clans will be unilateral cousins, marriages will without exception take place between the same groups and in the same order of families, so that, in contrast to the Australian groups, in this case these exogamous groups are converted into real clans. Thus we obtain the Gilyak four-clan phratry. In this phratry each clan is joined

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I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are predominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of the Amur region.

In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen and dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essentially similar in their classificatory system and norms of marriage. As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /paterniteta/. In each generation of a given clan, the men and women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The children of these classes are common sons and daughters and brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"brothers," own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i.e., the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obligatory.

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who are married to members of another clan, but, by analogy with the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage includes only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects group marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right not only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wives of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely, aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters of the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of nieces is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

/219 cont./

582 That is why up to the present time among a large number of
174 Dravidian tribes marriage is mandatory when a brother has a
171 daughter and his sister a son. That is why, as we saw among
121 the Australian tribes, with all the striving toward limiting cousin marriage, marriages more remote than cousins of the third degree are prohibited; consequently, marriages between cousins of the second degree are obligatory. That is why among the Mongols, whose favored marriages are the marriages between persons alien to each other, marriages between the children of a brother and sister are called "white sin," i.e., considered acceptable, while marriages even between the most remote members of one clan are "black
582 sin," i.e., completely unallowable. In order not to increase
174 the examples, we shall end with the Gilyak, among whom,
121 in spite of all the peripeteia of this small tribe, only the marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is considered "pure marriage."

After these preliminary observations, we may proceed to an examination of the question as to what place the Gilyak norm of marriage occupies in the history of the evolution of marriage in general.

Cousin marriage, as we saw, owes its origin to the realization of the harm of marriage between close blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the striving for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship marriage the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed consistently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

/219 cont./

582 When adapted to individual families, this arrangement is
* 174 expressed in the fact that the son of a brother marries the
121 daughter of his sister, and, conversely, the son of a sister marries the daughter of her brother. The spouses are cousins of the first degree, while the wife of each man is, on the one hand, the daughter of the sister of his father, and, on the other hand, the daughter of the brother of his mother, because the fathers of the spouses married each other's sister.

Such was the first stage of the limitation on marriages between persons close by blood. Further limitation occurred
• [171] /220/ differently in different places. In Australia this limitation proceeded very early on the broadest course: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the previous marriages between cousins of the first degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his cousin of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses became further removed from one another by one generation, both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. The principle of the exchange of women, which constituted the essence of cross-cousin marriage, was preserved inviolate, while the principle that marriage was obligatory between the children of a brother and sister was basically violated. It turned out to be impossible to preserve both principles in complete purity.

On analogous premises, the evolution proceeded differently among those peoples for whom marriage was built on the Gilyak principle. In the name of conservatism they considered it more important to preserve the second principle, sacrificing the first.

/220 cont./

582 The peoples of this group, for which the Gilyak serve
* 174 most striking representative, began to limit marriages betw
121 cousins of the first degree, considering it necessary to esta lish a more remote degree of kinship between spouses, but they did not wish to sacrifice that principle which seemed them most important, namely, the one according to whic each mother receives for her son the daughter of her broth They actually preserved this principle, but, in order to satisfy the necessity of lessening the closeness of kinship between spouses, they sacrificed the other principle of cro cousin marriage.

As we know, the son of a woman receives the daughte of her brother, but the reverse, i.e., the marriage of the son of a brother and the daughter of his sister, is not allow As a result the limitation on the closeness of kinship obtai spouses are cousins of the first degree only on one side -- the side of the mother of the husband, but not on the side of the mother of the wife, while previously, with cross-cousin marriage, they were cousins of the first degree both on the side of the mothers and on the side of the fathers of both spouses. But at the same time there is preserved here the old basic principle -- marriage to the daughter of the brother of the mother, and the spouses remained cousins of the first degree -- true, on one side only.

/221/ This departure from the peoples of the Australia type in the form of the limitation on marriage between cousins of the first degree brought about a fundamental cha in the organization of society. It brought about the transit from a bipartite division of society with its classes to the organization of a pure clan, and in particular to the four-c phratry that we saw among the Gilyak.

• [171] With the Australian system of limitations on marriages within close degrees of kinship, no matter how far these limitations went (at the present time they do not go further than cousins of the second degree), society remains irrevoc divided from the standpoint of marriage into two exogamou

/221 cont./

582 groups, joined in the constant mutual exchange of women.
* 174 In fact, each division is a real clan, because marriages are
121 prohibited within the division. True, along with these two
● 171 divisions a complex system of marriage classes is established, but these latter change nothing, for no matter what class a man belongs to, he continues to remain in his division, while the classes do not change the position of the person in the clan, but are only mnemonic titles personally limiting a man (but not his offspring) in the choice of women of a particular degree of relationship: in the four-class system -- only cousins of the first degree; in the eight-class system, cousins of the second degree. In reality, classes are not even obligatory appurtenances for the Australian dual division. Among the Dieri tribe, for example, there exists the same prohibition with respect to marriages between cousins of the first degree as among the Arunta, but, while among the latter eight classes have been established as a mnemonic device, among the former this limitation has not been reflected in an extensive class division.

Thus it is clear that in the Australian system, by virtue of its having preserved the principle of the exchange of women, cross-cousin marriage demands only a division into two clans. The society is a two-clan phratry.

582 The Gilyak system was unable to remain in this two-
* 174 clan phratry. From the moment when cross-cousin mar-
121 riages, i.e., exchange marriages between the children of brother and sister, were prohibited, the two-clan phratry was insufficient: one clan took women from a second clan, but the latter was obliged to seek women for itself elsewhere, while, on the other hand, marriages outside of a given ethnic group were not allowed (as we see now in Australia). It remained to transform the two-clan phratry into a multiclan phratry.

/222/

582 This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply ex-
* 174 plained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms
114 of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all from the investigators. Many scientists have even regarded this institution with disbelief, considering it implausible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this
● [171] institution among the Gilyak (in 1901), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentots /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his

[113]

1. In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the degree of closeness of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a living institution.

582 Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this
* 174 institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human
171 marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while
[114] ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on its broad distribution among the most diverse peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the most clearly expressed form of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

Aleut NAG

A 595 835 114 171 [113]

Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

/244 cont./

3. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen /Ethnographic Observations/," Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 162-163, Berlin.

not indicate either the kinship relations between the common husbands or their relationship in the case of the marriage of the second participant. But this in no way allows us to conclude that marriage among the Aleut is confined to the details related above. As we have already stated earlier, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described Gilyak marriage in the same terms as Veniaminov used to describe that of the Aleut, whereas we have seen that the Gilyak have the typical group marriage. The description of group marriage as given by Veniaminov and Rinso is quite natural for non-specialist observers, for with group marriage one is most easily struck by that case in which the second husband is not individually married himself, as it is described in Gilyak fairy tales: "two brothers maintained one wife." A non-specialist, however, generally leaves unnoticed group marriages which include several married men. One can therefore say with a great degree of assurance -- especially if one takes into consideration data about the preferred marriage to cousins -- that the polyandry of the Aleut that Veniaminov tells us about was in reality a form of group marriage. In confirmation of my hypothesis I shall permit myself to cite the following example from the life of the Toda, a tribe that lives in the Nilgiri Hills.

G [835] [595] [171]

The old writer Marshall describes marriage among the Toda in the following way (4):

4. W. E. Marshall, A phrenologist among the Todas, London, 1873, p. 213.

"If a husband has brothers or very close kinsmen who all live together, each one of them may, with the consent

1: Shternberg--360 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Aleut NAG

A 595 171

/245 cont./

The peculiarities of the Aleut marriage norms did not remain isolated on the Aleutian Islands. On the northwestern shore of the American continent, right up to the Columbia River itself, which was regarded by Morgan as the point of departure of the Ganowanian system, observers note them in terms almost analogous to those used by Veniaminov. We find them among the Eskimo tribe of the Koniag, the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, about whom Davydov writes: "Some women have two husbands each: the first is the actual husband, who selects the other one with the consent of the wife. This one at the same time becomes a servant, i.e., he carries firewood and does a number of other chores. He can sleep with the wife only in the absence of her actual husband, and upon his return he is deprived of this right. /246/ The Russians call such husbands partners" (1). This

A [113]

1. Davydov, Dvukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova /Two Voyages to America by the Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, Part II, pp. 50-51.

A G 595 171

This description, which almost seems to have been copied from Mamio Rinso and Veniaminov and travelers to Tibet, fails like the others to note the kinship relations between the spouses, but, on the other hand, there is the valuable report of the right of the second husband to exercise his marital rights only in the absence of the first husband, as among the Gilyak, and the obvious subservient position of this second husband. This subservient position is justly noted and strikes the eye also among the Gilyak, but it obtains, not by virtue of a marital agreement, but by virtue of the fact that the elder brother always plays the role of the head of the house and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and worker.

A G [592] [593]

/246 cont./

Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

/247 cont./

amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true, conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/. The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

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therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man take woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buy wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in b cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually ticed at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javi which in this form is only a marriage term for designati woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original ing, however, is not difficult to make out from forms are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the closest to it, the reflexive verb p'àvind = pi + avind, s fying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a ch teristic example: n'ig:yvyn' n'enyn' pyr:k pavrà -- "a himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic se If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the me ing of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves c jointly, to have a common economy. From this comes adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the deri form of the active voice àjvund -- to support someone one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, t to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifie nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing co Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respec a man and at the present time signifying to get married must originally have meant literally "to take a man at own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at t present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where t husband as a common rule moved into the house of his just as the masculine term g:end -- "to take for onese bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

/383 cont./

[191] ^yenesitnta/, with the wife moving into the house of her husband. At the present time the original meaning has disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often when the expression "to get married" was asked to the verb ^ayind the verb vind, ^avin vind, which would mean literally, "to take a man and support him," but this is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving into the husband's house and, /384/ consequently, being supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from ^ayind. The reflexive verb ^vayind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ^ri^ ^ayind^ ^ayind^ ^ayind, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ^ayind is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, ^ayind^ ^yan ^ayind ^ayind^ ^ayind^ -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several remnants of the former matriarchy. Elopement testimony of this is found in the contemporary formula of common marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -^ymgin ^ayind^ ^ayind^ ^ayind^ -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although, according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Aino of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obliged to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

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This formula has preserved its vital significance even today. One is supposed to send regularly to the son-in-law gifts of game and a share of every catch. Moreover, the young men of the category ^ymgi during the course of several months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement of their father-in-law and are indispensable participants in the more important hunting expeditions.

In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the time of distant sea excursions for the hunting of sea animals. The master of the boat -- he is the head of the expedition -- at such cases especially summons his ^ymgi to take part in the hunt (1).

(1) 1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely maternal tribe. Here, so reports Swanton (Haida, p. 68), when a man undertakes a military campaign, he calls together his tribesmen who are his potential or final son-in-law.

All this time the ^ymgi are not only fed for nothing, but when they carry away with them a small share of the catch and various /385/ gifts besides. One's relations with the young men are often much more tender than with one's own children. And this is entirely understandable, for a man's ^ymgi are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his tribesman, who under a maternal system must live with him, while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement of their wives and will be completely estranged from him.

Taking into the "nourishment" of the tribesman through the female line, however, is a customary intention in matriarchy. Among several peoples, as, for example, among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the fruits of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to switch with impunity the possessions of his uncle. This right is

/385 cont./

preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who by now have shifted to patemity, for example, the peoples of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if he refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair. An element to the marriage deposit is also, and the bride price is handed over to him.

Now for other matriarchal relative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say that a man is married, that he has a wife at home, he says ^n^-umgavo ^vrp^, literally "I have a wife's village" (^n^ -- I, umgar -- wife's, ^vo -- village, ^vra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and when husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement with his wife and children.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression ^pandov^, literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her brothers and sisters. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /386/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the reverence and

/386 cont./

To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the matriarchal psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who, judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

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XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

We have already had occasion to introduce in another place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women of the clan of the mother, from the ^ad^ga^ the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak ^Ytlng^ from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, leaves his home-land and says to the people who are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my will for any reason." The epic poem at a clearly portrays for us the form of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom simply take to each other on their personal and on the maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

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origin from a common mother). The favored and most frequent form of such an orthodox marriage is a marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of a sister /ibi/. The bride and the groom, who have no "negotiations" take place /389/ between the mothers soon after the birth of the children, and from the agreement a public ceremony is organized, in which, besides the father, the grandfathers of the children who are being married take part. The father of the groom brings a male dog, and the mother gives two threads out the fur of this dog and a nettle, with which the bind the hand of the little girl, while with the other the father of the groom ties the son's little hand (1). All this is

(1) 1. It is curious that among the Gilyak there is no ceremony of binding the marriage of infants, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a belt. Has been the technical designation, "nakladyanie peneyvaldo" (Eng). "putting the string on". Nevertheless, the ceremony, among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out by means of a binding up with string or thread, just as there is in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right of the Gilyak. Marriages of this type are still quite widely arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have only recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that some surrounds took his wife from that clan), negotiations are usually begun with words like this: "You are my ^ikhmali^, let

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The bride is customarily represented by the father and mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, have no special negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality, in the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief. In the epos there is a which wrote down, a father, when he in his terms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, replies: "Do thou but think upon it only after healing the wounds of your younger brothers!" In Gilyak law also, that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women marriage is not participate in community affairs, is so smaller in matriarchal affairs than that of the father. This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits identity in her accustomed place among the trusts with a whole number of the people, in contrast to the bride. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she is betrothed, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily comes off the laconic phrase: "Since you with this, it is for me to contradict" But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and then the matter (marriage) ends in naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

(1) 1. It is interesting to note that among the Negiks, whose customs, as a result of extreme matriarchal ties, are so rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

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The bride is not present during the betrothal, the mother has the wishes of the groom, interest, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have no motives of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of matriarchal relations, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of her freedom of choice, all the more because the marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyaks we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by a whole number of ceremonies and formalities. In some cases the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at a house, they say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the tea and, when they have drunk their fill of vodka, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point: "Your daughter is no longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the matter may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

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him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the more clear, for that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

(1) 1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the harsh, depreciatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Kohler's was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 73b).

/391/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers towards the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wishes to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long ceremony, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men decide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side usually enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable and rare of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

/391 cont./

years regularly rent him tiles, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him that which he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

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(1) 1. Incidentally, among the Tamil people and the Nahind Indian, the proper marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyaks.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be a systematic error very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /393/ this is the fact that it is prohibited and not allowed to buy women for wives.

It remains for us to answer the question, why it came to bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in that law are marriages are concluded between persons not bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between clan clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

/719 cont./ **Ainu with the distribution of the bride**

within the family, the relationship of a (singularly exceptional character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given to the "old animals," i.e., to the shamans with whom a given family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for example, if in the course of several generations family A has taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each generation have married the daughters of their own brothers, then every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women, who, at we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue of the unilaterality of the custom marriage, and receives bride price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B, usually to the header of the mother of the woman who has been given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is alive. It is custom that the family of the groom presents this gift to the old shaman as part of the bride price. This custom is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards receive the bride price for them, but participation in the distribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to propose one's daughter or sister to the old shaman, mother," the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom, "than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all. If a medical man, a brother and a nephew has several sisters, then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the woman is given /739/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is unilateral, and the son of the brother of the mother-in-law daughter of this last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

/720 cont./ **Ainu with the distribution of the bride**

It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the bottle" takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Gilyak", who since olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family, and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the bottle," only this time, instead of bottles, a stick (*kyr*) -- about an arshin in length with a human chibbalugin.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little amenities in the language of the Gilyak-Tungus tribe are: Marriage, Kinship, Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached sexual maturity makes two breasts. Women pierce both ears in order to put in earrings (*pur-kyr*); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she begins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the *tagurman* (the matrons of the tribe) takes offense.

Among the Gilyak (Orok) a man who has two wives accommodates a guest under one blanket.

A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it begins to break up; in order not to slow up the coming of the river. They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- *langsy-mam*). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in a nail; it is also permissible to repair anything for an alien. During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their trifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilical break, she

/804 cont./

for your master?" And thus /805/ they go around the entire village, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to confess, and the master forgives. A shout goes up: it happens that the thief dies from it.

As oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the court, in a hearing where the plaintiff-side sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

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/805 cont./

1. Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when *ahbi* was ripe, she married him.

If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

/806/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even in jest. Chubb-chugmd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the *langsy* (a hut for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yet yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set his nets. The woman lives in the *langsy*. Broth must be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when the return from the *langsy*, the cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the ceremony of washing of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner. Women have particular cooking utensils, which they feed the fire, *chubbchugin-tugu*, and have a fire for them. After the child is born, unclean -- *akilaf pachchyr* -- and becomes *sik urland pomyng* -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood or her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- *kyr vahkind* -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shoot during childbirth; otherwise she will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, proclaiming a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; she does not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

/807 cont./

2. Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when *ahbi* was ripe, she married him.

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/809 cont./

/809 cont./ baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage in such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure Government assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of Russian Gilyaks from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized Goldi and the Amur Orok are now quite indifferent in their attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

/810 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either. In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/731 cont./

II.

Family-Clan Relations

When one observes the family among the Gilyak, one at first does not notice anything special about it. As among many of our other natives, the Gilyak buys one or two, formerly three, wives, who are hierarchically recognized wives, as are his children who work with him, are supported by him, and to whom his property passes after his death. The marital fidelity of a wife is guarded with an armed hand, as we shall see below. In a word, the form of marriage is, by all appearances, completely individual /individual marriage as opposed to group marriage/. But on closer acquaintance with the family relations of the Gilyak /732/ one encounters a whole series of phenomena which are at variance with this form of marriage. First of all, it becomes apparent that the wives are not all on the same footing; one wife is the actually recognized (own) father, but also all the brothers of his father, not only own, i.e., of the first degree of kinship, but also of all the remaining degrees, and the brothers of the brothers of his father he calls mothers (*yma*), like his own mother. In the same way, a Gilyak calls all the sisters of his mother by the name of mother (*yma*), and their husbands father (*yik*). The children of brother, as well as the children of sisters, of all degrees of kinship call one another "*nevi*" (= brother and also correspondes to the German word "*Geschwister*" = brother and sister). And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another *punalua* (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "*nayth*" (the word signifying literally what *punalua* means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

/731 cont./ but among them it has long since ceased to correspond to reality; among the Gilyak, however, although the terminology does not fully correspond to reality, it does so all but fully. Even now, every Gilyak has married three wives, who considered a sin to the wives of his brothers of all degrees of kinship and to all the sisters of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with regard to the wives of his younger brothers. This limitation is of recent origin, and its very existence seems to emphasize the legality of the collective marital rights of the younger brothers to the wives of their elder brothers and to all the sisters of their wives. Even at the present time these rights are not always exercised by the Gilyak, and in many cases it is not without displeasure and even forcible protests that the interested parties look upon the realization of these rights, as we shall eventually see; but legally, so to speak, they exist, the realization of these rights is not contemplated, and, if it does occur, it is only when it even carried on openly with the consent of the brothers and of the husbands of the wife's sisters. Thus, the contemporary individual form of marriage is a new phenomenon among the Gilyak, and the powerful remnants of the old /733/ order of clan marriage preserved up to the present make it similar to the famous so-called Punalua family," which still existed in the first half of the century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, such mutual rights to the wives of brothers and to the wives of sisters were observed without jealousy. And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another *punalua* (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "*nayth*" (the word signifying literally what *punalua* means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

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8. (cont.
Section 3 "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

352 354 517 171 513 [197]

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

[123] [984] [997]

G 359 354 517 516 ●171 [136] G [984] [998]

/353 cont./
running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom in the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang, if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

G 342 171

Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of

G [195]

Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K 342 197 195

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K [113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

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/358 cont./ For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer, there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njö, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, indeed,

[113] ●[171]

2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered

Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njö, njo).

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, d -- rear section. e -- Door between them. f to q -- The eleven wall surfaces.

with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

G 343

/358 cont./
merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (3). The interior of the store-

3. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, larger or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

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/359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings mentioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original, peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to Krascheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on high piles, which are called balagan by the Russians (1). The Eskimo of the American Northwest along

K [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 215. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "airy dwellings" on Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar dwellings continued to be retained after the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

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K [178] [197]

G 343 ●171 E 343

/359 cont./ The Eskimo of the American Northwest along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, and the Arctic Ocean erect their storehouses on high piles above the ground in order to safeguard the supplies of fish, skins, furs, and the like stored in them during the summer both against the humidity and against attacks by mice, foxes, wolves, and especially the dogs, which are always hungry during the summer (2).

E [192]

2. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, St. Petersburg, 1847, Pt. I, p. 56. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, Hannover, 1858, p. 62. In Dall (op. cit., pp. 13 and 65) there are also illustrations of such "dovecote-like" buildings, as Seemann aptly calls them. The designation barabora for them (Sagoskin, op. cit.), which Dall also uses for the summer and winter dwellings of the Eskimo (op. cit., pp. 39, 65), arose according to Steller (op. cit., p. 218; for him, "barabara"), through the corruption on the part of the Russian Cossacks in Kamchatka of the word "pasapar," by which, however, the Kamchadal refer to a hut made out of long grass for an overnight stay.

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Thus, the Gilyak, where they have kept their original dwellings and constructions, and many another Paleo-Asiatic people can to a certain extent be called cave-dwellers or troglodytes in winter and pilework-dwellers in summer. In this respect they stand at a point which on European soil belongs to a far distant, prehistoric period. From this point of view, too, the designation of Paleo-Asiatic peoples, which I have proposed for these remnants of an ancient population formerly more widespread on Asiatic soil, is in a certain sense justified.

Tungus RU5
Mamegix
Orochon
Goldi RX3

/383 cont./
essential for food, clothing, or housing; on the other hand, everything in the way of provisions, clothing, and the like not needed at the moment is deposited and stored for future use at certain points which they always touch on their migrations. For this purpose the most primitive storage-places (dêlkan) are erected. Boards or plaited switches are put in a horizontal position at a height of 5-7 feet on a few piles driven into the ground. All the property to be stored is put on this stand, covered with a birch-bark mat, and weighted from above with poles and stones (2).

2. Maack, op. cit., p. 71. Gerstfeldt, op. cit., p. 302.

It thus remains protected against both dampness from above and below and animal attacks. Plunder by human hands is not to be feared, however, not merely because of the solitude devoid of human beings, but also because the idea of the inviolability of such deposits, and perhaps a superstitious fear of touching them, is widespread generally and to a wide extent even among the neighboring peoples on the same childlike cultural level.

In casting a general glance at the dwellings of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, that is, excluding the Chinese and the Manchu, Daur, Solon, etc., who are becoming more and more assimilated by them, one reaches the conclusion that they most have the character of permanent, stable, solid, and at the same time characteristic housing among the Gilyak, while among the Tungusic peoples living all around they ordinarily seem to be merely tent-like, easily set up and transportable, and suitable for an unsettled, more or less nomadic or roving life. On Sakhalin, for instance, besides the Gilyak staying in stable, permanent dwellings in summer as well as in winter, one also sees, even within part of their territory, the traveling tents of the Orok roaming with their reindeer. On the continent the difference is all the greater the farther one goes upstream from the mouth of the Amur and from the seacoast into the interior. This becomes especially evident from the summer

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

/383 cont./
dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

/389 cont./ the reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong preference for dog fur for their own use may, in part, be the same ones that, according to Steller (1), made the ancient

1. Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 137.

Italmen on Kamchatka prefer to use dog fur for their clothing, even preferring it to fox and sable. Of course, in view of the conservate tendencies of every primitive people, the usage once customary, the custom handed down for generations, may also play an important role. Besides this, however, the advantages of this fur, learned from experience, come into consideration, its "warmth," durability, and the firmness of its hair, even if it has been exposed to wetness -- characteristics which must make it especially prized by the common man almost always exposed to bad weather. And finally, in addition to all that, there is still another circumstance -- and in this may lie the chief reason /390/ for the universal use of dog fur among the Gilyak -- it is the ease and cheapness of obtaining it, since the Gilyak keep dogs in great numbers as indispensable draft animals, and the fur cannot be used profitably in trade with either the Chinese, Japanese, or Russians.

Nevertheless fur coats made out of the fur of other animals are found among some Gilyak. They do not serve for use, however, but are carefully stored as valued and rare objects. A lynx coat (Gilyak tschlyghi-okch) in particular plays such a role among them. A person who owns a lynx coat is regarded among the Gilyak as a rich and distinguished man, and at the time of my stay in the Amur region they could name for me only three of their countrymen and one Olcha who enjoyed such a possession. The Gilyak were: Nenjdan in the village of Allof on the Amur, Mesgun in Patt, each having one coat of this type, and Pawgun in Tamla-wo on Sakhalin, who had two of them; and the Olcha Todo in Tschilwi, who likewise had one such fur coat in his possession.

/390 cont./
possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

/390 cont./
covered with tiger skins on the outside (3); long tiger and panther

3. Marco Polo (Reisen, German by Aug. Bürck, with annotations and emendations by Fr. Neumann, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 318-319) relates that the pavilion borne by four elephants in which the Chinese emperor (Kublai Khan) stayed when hunting in the province of Liao-tong, as well as the hunting tents erected for him there, were covered on the outside with tiger, or, as he says, "lion," skins.

tails hang down from the halberds and lances of the officers forming the bodyguard of the emperor and /391/ walking in his retinue during public processions (1), etc. (2). Under Chinese

1. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 90. Gerbillon, in Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 235.

2. Many more examples of the high esteem for the tiger and its skin in China could be given. I shall content myself, however, with referring here only to some of the older testimony of this kind. On account of its predatory nature, evoking fear and terror, its likeness is put on the garments of officers and and other persons in military service in China, as Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey Through China in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 31), Staunton (Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J.

/391 cont./

2. (cont.)
1792-1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey /Ambassadorial Voyage of the Earl of Macartney to China in the Years 1792-1794, with Reports on China and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. I, p. 341), and others have reported. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy to China, etc., second edit., London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) also saw several companies of soldiers who were wrapped from head to foot in long, yellow and black striped garments which were supposed to make them look like tigers to terrify the enemy. On the other hand, the tiger also seems to be the object of religious veneration in China. For example, Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 270) reports that four stuffed tigers in a sitting position were set before the altar in the pagoda Huinon-tsu in Peking. In a similar manner, the Chinese (Man-dse) in the Ussuri region erect chapels for the tiger, in which they offer sacrifices to it and hang pictures of it (Arkhim. Palladii, "Usur. Man'tszy /The Ussuri Man-dse/," Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 376). I shall come back on another occasion to the value that the Chinese in their superstitious beliefs attach to the meat, gall, tendons, bones, and claws, besides the skin of the tiger.

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

556 538 171

675 432 437 427 426

Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have the character of barter.

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak

426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known

[184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but

[177] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The

[164] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-

[692] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

1: Sternberg--343 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,

164 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make

183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and

433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is

[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the

Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the

[162] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among

177 them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise

[244] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-

224 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point

433 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming

198 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the

648 vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-

342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement

178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises

354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and

[237] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially

[184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by

171 the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from

177 whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections

133 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-

[137] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the

[491] taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

2: Schenck--440 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1890 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/327 cont./

000 reduced as much as possible. The house is provided with windows

342 (d) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two

354 longitudinal walls and the rear transverse wall each have two, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1); very often,

[171] 1. I did encounter this among other Amur peoples, but I shall speak about that later.

however, the window in the front transverse wall is absent, as, for example, in the Tebach house standing in the foreground on Plate XI, and not infrequently the other transverse wall and the rear longitudinal wall have only one window each, which is then always placed unsymmetrically closer to one or the other corner of the house; in fact, in the smaller houses even the window in the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even these, because of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficiently. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size,

342 sometimes somewhat wider than high, or vice versa. They have no

357 crossbars, but instead only a number of vertical little sticks equi-

232 distant from one another, and fish skins take the place of glass

[281] between them. In particular these are skins from Salmo iagocephalus (Gilyak: lyghi-tscho, or, on Sakhalin, laghi-tscho) (2),

[192] 2. Known by the Russians throughout Siberia under the name ketá.

the most common kind of salmon in the Amur River, made as thin and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag.

342 The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole

354 frame. The floor inside the house consists of stamped clayey earth. To the right and left of the entrance are the two hearths (e, Gilyak: tschenk) made of clay. They are fed through square

/332 cont./

342 there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays

184 of Tugur and Ulban, where Middendorff became acquainted with

[361] the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his handwritten notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

[113] 1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn.

[354] des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kulj and Ulban Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pättach.

342 In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as

184 far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present repre-

174 sents the only form of winter dwelling; on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Liman, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only this latter form is found. From this distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /333/ has been preserved only among the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of

[171] this view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from its above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

A 175 345 /351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

G 342 171 After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth G 342 yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the 171 Gilyak, the tschadryf, erected on level ground and equipped [354] with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have there- G [114] fore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

G [113] 2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

G [113] 3. "Histor. Ber.," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ocherk" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

/351 cont./
000 342 171 [174] winter houses from the Chinese. That it reached the Gilyak from the south, down the Amur, is shown, as was mentioned above, by the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts in their area, in particular by the fact that on Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the island facing the mouth of the Amur. Actually, this type of construction of the winter house can be followed continuously among all the peoples of the lower Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, up to the Chinese along the Ussuri and Sungari. There it is prevalent everywhere among the 342 Manchu, Chinese and Daur (6). For example, the Chinese 352 354 171

6. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

U-tschen, in the description of his birthplace, Ninguta, written by him in 1722, mentions that the houses there have three kang, i.e., sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds running along the walls and heated by pipes running under them (7).

7. According to U-tschen, the kang, about six feet wide and two fathoms, five to six feet long, were put along the north, west, and south walls of the houses; along the east wall, separated by a partition from the rest of the room, was the women's room, which had two kang, along the north and along the south wall. The kang are covered with reed or straw mats, over which a red felt carpet is frequently spread. Cf. U-tschen's writing in the translation by Wassiljef: "Zapiski o Ningutie" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. XII, 1857, p. 98).

2: Schrenck--517 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/351 cont./
352 171 113 The French missionary Venault (8) and the Korean Kimaï-

8. "Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Vol. XXX, 1852, Vol. II, p. 208).

Kim (9) likewise mention the kang in the houses of Ninguta,

9. "Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évêque de Belline, 1844" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., 1847, Vol. I, p. 71).

Girin, Ssan-Ssin, and other places which they touched on their travels through Manchuria, /352/ and later travelers, such as Williamson (1), Barabasch (2), and others found it in general

1. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.

2. "Sungariiskaia eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., Vol. XVII, 1874, No. 2, p. 332).

use along the Sungari, Nonni, Churcha or Mutuan-ho, etc. (3).

3. In the middle of the house, where among the Gilyak the dogs' table stands, there is an elevation made of clay or bricks with a cavity the size of an ordinary tub. Wood and charcoal are kept burning in it, so that it is always full of hot ashes; kettles with hot water stand there for replenishing the tea cups, brandy and beer are warmed there in tin containers, etc. Williamson, op. cit.

/352 cont./
342 354 171 352 Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house, is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

113 4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it: for example, in Du Halde (Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Richard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 331), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Girard (France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

2: Schrenck--519 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

342 352 354 171 /352 cont./
more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, [113] p. 448), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kiachta. In Huc (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 13), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, esp

[113] 6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifi tions and complications in the heating of the houses, just as the rest of the construction; for example, the number of kan varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pip

[113] 7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc

[113] 8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part,

/393 cont./

291 flapp through which the hand may be stuck outside of its covering if necessary (1).

● [191] 1. On the hand coverings of the Tungus and of the Russians in Siberia the slit for sticking the hand out has no protective flap; on the other hand, it is present on the dog-fur coverings of the Orochi of Hadshi Bay.

[191] The Gilyak never have a hood hanging down the back between the shoulders on their fur coats for protection for the head, as is customary among all the more or less far northern peoples, Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, Eskimo, even Tungus, and others. Instead, the neck and head have special articles of
[239] clothing. For protection of the former a boa made of the tail-fur of squirrels (Gilyak tolp; Pl. XIX) is used and is sometimes worn around the head, in mild weather instead of the cap, in cold weather over it, to protect the forehead (Pl. XVIII). About 30-40 squirrel tails go into a tolp of inferior quality, 50 and more into a handsomely bushy and good one. The Gilyak do not use any other fur for this purpose.

First of all, on their heads, on long journeys, in severe cold, or in biting winds, the Gilyak wear ear muffs (Gilyak tapais), which consist of two flaps connected in front and back by a strap or band. These are either made singly out of sealskin
[239] or are lined with fox or otter fur and provided on the outside with a piece of material on which differently colored arabesques are stitched (Pl. XX, Figs. 5, and Pl. XXII, Figs. 1 and 2). Over them there is a large fur cap enveloping the entire head (Gilyak ton-hak) (2). It is of simple cut, straight at the bottom,

[104] 2. The ŋ is soft in pronunciation here.

and at the front corners has either two bands (as in the pertinent illustration, Pl. XXI, Fig. 1) for tying it under the chin, or only a single band connecting the inner sides of the two corners,
2 2 2 2 2 [See category 116, p. 999, 998, 1000, 1002 and 1001 respectively -- Analyst]

/393 cont./

291 and in this latter, more common case, to put the cap on, the band mentioned is first brought under the chin, and then the cap
291 is pushed over the head. The cap is always lined with fox fur,
239 which, standing out in front and on the outside, also forms the edging. The outside consists of either the same kind of sealskin throughout or various pieces of fur not infrequently put together artistically and tastefully. /394/ For example, the ton-hak of a Tschomi Gilyak who visited me in Nikolayevsk, which is illustrated on Pl. XXI, Fig. 1, was of this type. The upper middle piece of this cap, brown in color, was of reindeer skin; the white arabesques on it are of short-haired dog-skin; the edging, separated from the middle piece by a blue band, is made up of pieces of dappled sealskin; the front edge, as always, consists of the fox fur emerging from the inside, but at the bottom the cap is trimmed all around with long-haired, white dog-fur. This trimming, by the way, is not lacking on the less elegant, indeed even on the simplest fur-caps of the Gilyak and gives them all a special, peculiar stamp. The longer the white or gray hair
● 191 of the cap reaching down toward the neck, the more beautiful it appears in the eyes of the Gilyak, just as among the ancient Italians on Kamtchatka trimming the fur coats, which might have been reindeer or fox skin, all around with long dog-hair, was always regarded, as Steller puts it (1), as the "greatest

1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 138.

ornament" on them. This trimming on the caps, by the way, may offer some protection for the neck against wind and snow.

291 On long trips and in severe cold the Gilyak wear several undergarments under the fur coat. In particular, immediately
191 next to it, for example, there is a short, quilted robe or jacket of cotton material or of cloth, the so-called sukky in Gilyak, a garment undeniably of Chinese cut, which they wear in mild weather or on walks without a fur coat, with only the tolp around

/394 cont./

291 the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which
191 they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-passj, is worn there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of
191 the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Judin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on the outside with multicolored and part artistic embroidery on black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that I noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak sitting astride their sleds it is especially important to protect the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak panj) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

291 /395/ The footgear has already been mentioned above. In
191 winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots,
192 as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-
824

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das Innere von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/," in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 384).

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

/395 cont./

291 824 191 [113] ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with

2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113] 3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

291 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or
824 any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

292 412 291 Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular as a holder for some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive
531 weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

[104] 4. The caption concerned, "ngawla-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.
2 [See category 116, p. 101 -- Analyst]

/396 cont./

291 which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long
237 tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

291 /397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar
191 and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees
531 them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tuly-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 3). It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth.
[239] On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the
292 edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl.
191 XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is
531 more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are
[239] represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

● [191] [113] 1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des vers l'Empr. de la Chine

2 [See category 116, p. 1001 -- Analyst]

/397 cont./

292 1. (cont.)
194 en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St.
53 Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's
191 note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et
[113] privée des Chinois anc. et modernes /Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

292 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the
53 cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The
191 tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the
239 Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the
[301] ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women
292 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use
237 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

/398 cont./

292 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The
237 inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration
[394] was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126] 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

● 191 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed
292 animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation
237 of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples.
292 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind
825 among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinster /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

[113] 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-mlit down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

/398 cont./

let a wolf or wolverine tail hang down at the neck from their elegant reindeer-fur caps, trimmed with otter or wolverine skin, to their backs (9). One would not err, I believe, if he assumed

3. Lagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vladieniì v" Amerikie /Description of a Journey on Foot through Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847 and 1848, Pt. II, pp. 21, 22.

that such articles of clothing based on the imitation of animals are of ancient national origins among those people for whom they are customary and in whose lives the animals in question are of special importance, bringing harm or advantages. It certainly seemed obvious to primitive man to pursue and carry out in detail the similarity with a given animal that he acquired by clothing himself in its fur. Here and there superstitious beliefs of the kind, say, that by imitating an animal in one's clothing, he might gain its good will or render it harmless, might also have given rise to garments copying animals. It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea of special elegance and high distinction becomes attached to such ancient national garments. This also explains why the tschlyghi-hak of the Gilyak /399/ women, though made out of purely native materials, is regarded as more elegant than the tschrap-hak made out of expensive Chinese silk with dragon designs.

I cannot leave this subject without permitting myself yet another pertinent and general remark. Since the customary practice among all primitive peoples clothing themselves in animal skins is to wear the skin with the hair on the outside, might not the thought of using the skin for protection against the inclemencies of the climate in the same way as it is given to the animal as natural clothing have arisen out of the imitation of animals, until experience taught that this is in fact the way of using animal skins for clothing that gives the most protection? Without any other covering as nearly air- and water-tight as possible, which primitive people were not familiar with, animal

/399 cont./

skin undoubtedly afforded better protection against cold, wind, and rain when the hair is on the outside than when it is turned to the inside, and if others first tested in this practical way, it would be natural to add another layer of it or of another skin in the opposite position, with the hair on the inside, and thus, avoiding a foreign covering, to obtain that double fur undoubtedly giving the best protection, as one finds among all the northern and polar peoples.

The above-described or illustrated garments are sufficient to show that the Gilyak like to provide their clothing with all kinds of variously shaped, gay-colored embroidery and other ornamentation. I have sometimes seen among them whole collections of embroidery designs, and I brought back some of them. These consist of fabric or fish-skin patches on which the designs are embroidered or on which various figures cut out of thin birch-bark and symmetrically arranged are pasted (Pl. XXIII and XXIV). Among them, however, are also found larger pieces of fabric sometimes made up of several imitation patches and not used for embroidery, but on which arabesques and animal figures of the most varied kinds are colorfully, but always symmetrically arranged beside or intertwined with one another (Pl. XXV-XXVIII). If for the moment, we disregard the latter, to which I shall come back later, particularly in connection with the animal figures, and if we consider only the design to be embroidered on the articles of clothing previously discussed, we find in them a peculiar character and taste which fundamentally distinguishes them from those of the Siberian peoples. Whereas among the Siberian Tungus, for instance, who likewise adorn their clothing with embroidery, the simplest patterns and motifs recur with great uniformity and often, for example, only rows of the same simple figures, small triangles, squares, circles, crude curlicues, and the like, running over or beside one another, are to be found (as the Tungusic specimen illustrated on Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV, Figs. 5 and 6 show), in the Gilyak designs and ornamentation beautiful, curved and interlaced lines, diverse arabesques artistically overlapping.

[See Category 116, pp. 1003-1004 -- Analysis]
[See Category 116, p. 1005-1007 -- Analysis]

/400 cont./

artistic interlacing of bands, tapering ornamental borders with multiple points, and the like, can also be recognized on ancient Chinese articles, costly garments and porcelain and ivory objects inside, as our museum has. Furthermore, quite similar ornamentation is found on some old Japanese objects, for example, on the brass mountings of half decayed wooden scabbards in our possession, which we obtained through Mr. Poljakof from ancient Aino graves on southern Sakhalin and which undoubtedly are of Japanese origin. I therefore feel justified in concluding that the Gilyak ornamentation has developed largely under the influence of ancient Chinese and, in part, ancient Japanese models, since in view of the ancently established and constant trade relations of the Gilyak on the mainland up the Amur and Sungari with the Chinese and on Sakhalin with the Japanese, and the Aino completely subject to their influence, it could scarcely be otherwise (2).

2. The role that the Gilyak play as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and the Japanese will be discussed below.

/401/ Thus, as in other things, so also with regard to ornamentation, Chinese cultural influence spread along the natural route of trade, down the Sungari and Amur to the Gilyak. If, in addition to what has been presented above, more direct proof were needed, it is provided by the fact that the same type of ornamentation on clothing and other objects is found among all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, from the Gilyak upstream along the main river, as well as along its tributaries up to the Sungari. Though these peoples are from Tungusic tribes, they nevertheless have nothing in common with the Russian-Siberian Tungus with regard to the ornamentation customary among them, but rather are linked to the Chinese and Gilyak. In this connection, however, we are met by the strange phenomenon that the feeling for ornamentation and the development of the latter in the Amur region do not decrease but increase with greater distance from the civilized people concerned,

/401 cont./

the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned, but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep themselves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXXX, Fig. 2), worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stopper-knots is run and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved upwards or down. If one lifts the

[See Category 116, p. 1009 -- Analysis]

/401 cont./

on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by success -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

The thread with which garments are sewed varies according to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as gilyak-mydisk, mimk-myd., kyc-h-myd., etc. (8), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat h Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.: I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fishing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 302), and also the Aleuts, the Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chasa) for them: instead they only use a knife. For smoothing the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (nam), which is

/402 cont./

beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak, who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing. In other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Aino on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsi, "Tô-tsati ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur- und Sagalande auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Sosunofsky, "Tushnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izvieztia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obbch., Vol. I, 1870, Text and p. 37). Poznanski, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

[See Category 116, p. 1009 -- Analysis]

/403 cont./

1. (cont.)
Geogr. Obbch., po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin /The Island of Sakhalin/ and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /A sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1[illegible], pp. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Suprunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Aino of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kirgis, Bashkir, Votyak on the Ural, and others, as an anciently familiar one (2).

2. Wiesen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Geschichten der Ostjaken /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k" Ledovit. mori /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1857, pp. 73, 75. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. U. /Description of the Berezov Kraj/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obbch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogoules" (Journ. asiatique, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 251).

Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

cont./

ence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has be- established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak

3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

Trading Trips of the Gilyak

n-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness xtraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, spect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures 4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

/391 cont./

825 439 171 about the tiger that the Gilyak bring home from these trips, especially the stories that they hear from the Chinese and Goldi about the many human lives annually falling victim to it (6), undoubtedly

6. Przewalski reports (op. cit., p. 233) that in 1867 no fewer than 21 Man-dse were killed and six wounded by tigers along the Zymuche, a tributary of the upper Ussuri.

contribute no little to the panicky fear and superstitious ideas that govern them with respect to the tiger. I have already discussed this above (7) and intend to add more occasionally below.

7. See my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 90-97, where, in speaking of the distribution of the tiger and leopard in the Amur region, the beliefs of the Gilyak and other Amur peoples concerning them are given.

825 Since /392/, however, the tiger appears in the area of the Gilyak only as a most infrequent guest on its rovings from the south and is scarcely ever killed by them (1), it, and to an even greater

1. The Gilyak did not know of any instance of this kind to relate to me.

degree the leopard, belongs more in the category of mythical animals occupying only their imagination. On the other hand, [439] they meet in their forests, and not so very infrequently, another animal, which through its decidedly predatory nature and its total appearance, the cat-like habitus, the spotted and in part striped marking of its fur, the black tip of its tail, etc., resembles the tiger as well as the panther (2), and whose fur is highly

[171] 2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 242) reports

92 cont./

2. (cont.)
that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

ized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

he lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their ceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or yal beast.

/392 cont./

825 291 554 royal beast. Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can thus scorn the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

291 But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always buttoned by [177] the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5),[1] and the skirts of the coats likewise overlap. To hold them together, however, the complete winter outfit includes, besides the belt, which will be discussed later, a special piece of clothing, the so-called kossjkha, that is, a short apron-skirt of sealskin extending around the body, which, for a better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII[2] and XIX).[3] [171] The kossjkha seems to be an article of clothing that is genuinely Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /393/ the Gilyak always traveling astride his low dog-sled, the kossjkha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a swathing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak torknbas; see Pl. XXII,[4] Figs. 4, 5). The hand coverings (Gilyak wom(a)ch) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX,[5] Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a

1 2 3 4 5 [See Category 116, pp. 1009, 998, 999, 1002 and 1000 respectively--Analyst]

All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the extent that the natural conditions of the regions, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, mo or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, many a new one appear, etc.

The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, corresponde with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neigh bors on the Amur River, the Olcha, who live under the same phy conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the Gilyak, keep many dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilya the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the latter completely, and every one of the garments described abo not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designa tion. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothin that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gil such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of th Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/. When Middendorff, coming from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the impression, despite their language, differing only dialectally from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new peop the shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu,
194 knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the
191 nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced
[126] whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I
[714] acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas
[177] the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving

/404 cont./
patterns and figures embroidered on them, the pendent metallic ornaments, the implements customarily used in making the clothing and other small hand-tools, everything revealed itself "as an emanation from another center of fashion" (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1526 ff.

Middendorff realized quite correctly that this center was to be sought among the Gilyak on the Amur and had developed under Chinese influence spreading down this river. In fact, /405/ the illustrations of Negda or "Nigidaler" clothing and utensils shown in his travel account look as though they were made by copying Gilyak articles, as I have already mentioned above in connection with individual ones. Like the clothing of the Olcha, that of the Negda shows the greater distance of their habitation area from the seacoast as compared to the Gilyak, because, instead of the sealskin robes customary among the latter, they wear robes of elkskin (1).

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1531.

A situation quite different from that among the Amur Olcha, who have been completely assimilated with the Gilyak in their way of life, behavior, and clothing, prevails among the Olcha who migrated to Sakhalin -- the Orok. They remained reindeer nomads and therefore preserved an essential difference in their clothing, in that the reindeer also furnish them their chief clothing material. The Orok whom I met on their winter migration through the Tymy Valley and near Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin were dressed completely in reindeer skins, in that fur coats, caps, and boots were made out of it. The former were of the same cut as the dog-fur coat of the Gilyak, without the hood in the back, but the boots did not have the above-mentioned form of the Gilyak boots, reminiscent of the Chinese, but rather appeared more uniformly wide and clumsier, and the caps differed from those of the Gilyak in that they always were

/407 cont./
is required. The full fur cap becomes a fur hood tightly fitting the head. The legs must not be impeded in their movements, and as good a service as the stiff apron-skirt of sealskin, the Gilyak kossjkha, performs for the Gilyak and Olcha usually skimming along on their dog-drawn sleds, it would be useless, in fact, an impediment, to the hunter on his own graceful advance through the forest thickets. Thus, whereas the Gilyak and Olcha are almost never seen in winter without this apron-skirt, I never once encountered it among the Samagir on the Gorin, which is not to say that they do not use it on long trips to the Goldi, Olcha, or Chinese traders on the Amur.

As strikingly different as the clothing of the Samagir on the Gorin is from that of the Olcha, as the result of a different way of life, the difference in the clothing going from the Olcha up the Amur to the Goldi is not very marked. Apart from their hair style, to be discussed later, one would imagine himself to be among the same people. In particular, among the Goldi, perhaps even more than among the Olcha, the fish-skin clothing is generally in use among the women and children. The Goldi women are especially skilled at preparing the fish skins nicely and neatly and providing the robes with multicolored and diverse embroidery of exactly the nature of the forms and figures discussed above. One sees the children, however, and especially the boys, go around in summer as a rule in quite simple short, fish-skin robes, torn or patched here and there (Pl. XXX);* Fish skins (always from Salmo lagocephalus) have this importance as the principal clothing material throughout the Goldi territory on the Amur as well as on the Ussuri, and not until one goes beyond the mouth of the Sungari, where the Birar, living by hunting, appear along the spurs of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, do they disappear and give way to the leather of game animals. Thus, /408/ the Goldi were the first people clad in fish-skins whom the Chinese, advancing northward and eastward from the Sungari region, met on the Amur and on the Ussuri, and undoubtedly they are meant first and foremost among the people whom the Chinese designated with the name "Jupi-tatse," i.e., Fish-skin Barbarians,

* [See category 116, p. 1010 -- Analyst]

/408 cont./
and whom the Jesuit missionaries sent to the lower Amur region in the previous century by the Peking government mention by this name (1). Only with greater distance up the Amur from the

1. Cf. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chiné et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Vol. IV, pp. 10 ff. Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Vol. I, pp. 142 ff.

Olcha does one notice more and more the difference in the total appearance and character of the clothing of the Goldi in comparison with the Olcha. The great, ever-increasing distance from the sea upstream more and more eliminates sealskin from use (2): the Gilyak kossjkha, still quite general among the Olcha

2. The extreme limit to which seals go up the Amur still lies within Olcha territory (at Yrri; see my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, p. 180), still a good stretch to the north of the Goldi boundary.

disappears among the Goldi, and the fewer dogs in their economy make the dog-skin coat likewise less general. On the other hand, however, one more and more sees different furs appear among them, such as red deer, roe deer, musk deer, Canis procyonoides, etc., which they obtain in abundance and inexpensively in part through their own hunting and in part through trade with their hunting neighbors along the tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri, the Samagir, the Kile along the Kur, and the Orochi. At the same time, the farther one goes upstream, the more the direct influence of the Chinese appears in the clothing of the natives, in that plainly Chinese garments come into use. Among the Goldi, for instance, I occasionally found black, Chinese sheepskins with a cotton covering; in the Geong Mountains, among the upper Goldi, the use of the above-described birch-bark hats ceases, and, on the other hand, broad-brimmed, Chinese straw-hats and, even more, black or gray felt hats likewise coming

/409 cont./
As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/410 cont./

1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however, never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and preserved by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primitive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little

/411 cont./
animals for what the latter were doing to them.

Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

It may be presumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

T /415 cont./
302 southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of
171 the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni,
177 along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuli, etc., where they live in com-
[131] plete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

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[113] 1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chtenilia, Izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

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Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

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G /416 cont./
SS and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such
T fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand
302 and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the
171 degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-
177 Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard
648 to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

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301 Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external
171 appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the
Gi cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from
[301] the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or
Gi facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and
301 the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this
[See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

Gi /417 cont./
301 1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from
Gi those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly
[304] like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which
[515] hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway.
Gi Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with re-
171 gard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair
[184] style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-dse, along the seacoast at least from Olga Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, corre-

2. Olympiada Wassiljewa, op. cit., p. 67.

spond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the
ooo right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

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[114] 3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril; according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

G From what has been said, it is readily
SS seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has
301 spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as
302 the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where
171 this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose
177 rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

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SS /417 cont./
302 however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair
301 style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the
171 lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not
177 wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the
T Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and
302 even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there
301 wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Orochon.
171 Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

G A more common customary ornament among all the peoples
301 of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver
171 or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On
G Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak work-
[531] manship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV, Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This
Gi ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite
[301] practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi
[462] (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work,
Gi however, is not done by the men, but by the women.
[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.
[See Category 116, P. 1025--Analyst]

/418 cont./
ooo however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
301 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
171 Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
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[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely. Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[177] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[574] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasiona

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

301 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this
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/418 cont./

is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

In concluding this section I must still raise the question as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

G 302 304 191 /419 cont./

First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Arai Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied

A 302 304 [105]

A 304 A [113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A [105] [184] to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more or less discussed by the European or North American travelers who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

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2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

G K 304 191 /421 cont./

In the whole series of Paleo-Asiatic peoples from Jesso to Greenland we find only two small tribes who lack the custom of tattooing -- the Italmen on Kamchatka and the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin. Under these circumstances one might think that the custom of tattooing was formerly indigenous among these two peoples, too, but had disappeared in the course of time. Such an assumption, however, is not permissible. Steller's and Krascheninnikof's reports on the Italmen come from a time when the latter had by no means lost their national characteristics to such an extent that such a prominent and, if it existed among them, ancient custom as tattooing could have already completely disappeared without any remnants or traces and even without having left behind any accounts in the traditions. And, as was pointed out at the very beginning of this work, I became fully acquainted with the Gilyak at a time when they were still in full possession of their individuality. The complete lack of tattooing among the former as well as among the latter must therefore be regarded as part of their individuality in contrast to the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

G 304 191 At first glance it might seem that this individuality of the Gilyak in the Amur region was also shared by other peoples, in particular those living adjacent to the Gilyak, for the Olcha, the Orok on Sakhalin, the Negda, and Samagir do not have the custom of tattooing. But the situation is essentially different among them. I think I can say with certainty that tattooing is not at all customary at present among the Olcha, /422/ for I became acquainted with them on several voyages throughout their habitation area. I became acquainted with the Samagir on the Gorin only in Ngagha, the largest of their villages, to be sure, and concerning the Orok on Sakhalin and the Negda, I met only isolated individuals, but other travelers, too, who had more contact with them, did not observe any kind of tattooing among them, for example, neither Middendorff and Schmidt among the Negda nor Poljakof, after a stay of several weeks on the east coast of Sakhalin, among the Orok there. This is very noteworthy

/426 cont./

* 262 252 825 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both qualitatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma, always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, * 262 is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113]

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak 574 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches, 264 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4) with * 262 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as 412 a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

264 191 113

1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

* [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

/427 cont./

264 191 113

1. (cont.)

unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiédy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

* 262 484 584 When a Gilyak undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his country men, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

/431 cont./

*262 [113] 1. (cont.) topograf. Sbom., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

[114] [231] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like *262 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, 252 whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "uftsch, uftsch" (unlucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to [251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

• [191] 2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like frying, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

*262 136 Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tscho), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

/431 cont./

*262 [136] Sea of Japan, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I

*262 225 [231] 3. See Vol. I, p. 191, of the present work.

learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it, too, is used by the Gilyak as food for people and dogs (4), nevertheless

[113] 4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106), the fat of the white whale is not at all like train oil and the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be discussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be done for only a shorter period in the year, only as long as the river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful as the seal, which, besides food, also yields valuable clothing materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale skulls which one sees hanging on trees and branches at many places along the banks of the Amur River indicate that /432/ the white whale is not infrequently captured by the Gilyak and, in conformity with its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

*262 • 191 [136] The Gilyak behave quite differently toward another cetacean, the so-called keng (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is occasionally stranded within the range of their dwelling sites on the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of [231] Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it is such that keng fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what this abhorrence was based on. It is all the more striking, however, since among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and blubber are among the most popular foods. The Ainu, for instance, do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

*262 • 191 /432 cont./ been consumed (1). Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3) describe

[113] 1. According to a written communication from Rudanofskij. Cf. also Dobrotworskij /Dobrotvorskii/, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37.

2. Op. cit., pp. 98-105.

[113] 3. "Opis. Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. 1, pp. 420 ff.).

in detail the tremendous importance that the whale has in the diet and the entire economy of the Kuriles, Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Chukchee. It is the same among the Aleut (4) and

[113] 4. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. I, pp. 81, 82.

among the Eskimo in different parts of their broad area of distribution (5). Experience has taught these peoples to distinguish between [165]

[113] 5. For instance, at the two ends of their territory, on Kadjak /Kodiak/ in the east (Davydov", Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitserov" Khvostova i Dav. /The Repeated Journey to America of the Two Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1812, Pt. II, p. 72) and on Greenland in the west (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 189).

the species of whale suitable for food and the harmful or "poisonous" ones and not to use dead animals cast up by the ocean until

165 /432 cont./ *262 • 191 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For

[825] [113] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

[225] [411] 7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

[164] 8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

/432 cont./

*262 • 191 [165] preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence, of whale meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilya do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433

[113] 9. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Weniaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat a no whale blubber or oil.

224 *262 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only purs fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in co parison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasion falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such a

*262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal i [136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus P Gilyak niagrsch), which is present in such extraordinary number their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without do [191] the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is we

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherw are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Could it be that

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

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3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche /The Chinese, Their Usages and Customs/" (Petermann's, Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal cases of trichinosis? Among all the land mammals there are only two that are of special significance as food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the purpose of eating it, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of a number of ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, they gave me considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared in a way to suit the palates of the Gilyak. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievments was observed by me on such occasions.

/435 cont./

231 shavings, the so-called zach, whose significance will be discussed
252 in the following. The bundles containing the meat and bones of
262 the dogs were now brought into the yurt and arranged on the rear sleeping bench, whereupon the women went to kindle the fire under the kettles on the hearth in order to cook the meat and to make a broth out of the bones. These preparations, however, took so much time that the meal could not take place until late in the evening. Meanwhile the flames leaping on the hearth, the steam and smoke rising from the kettles, and the crowd of people, who not only occupied all the sleeping benches, but had also settled down on the floor of the small earth-yurt, soon made any further stay in it so unbearable that I found it necessary to leave before the actual meal and to seek another shelter for the night.

114 If one wished as a conjecture to grant for the northern peo-
171 ples the discovery made in the south among various Negro tribes,
231 namely, that the enjoyment of dog meat is generally the first step
262 toward anthropophagy and accompanies it (2), he would look quite

2. Schweinfurth, "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika /The Monbutto People in Central Africa/" (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Vol. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 168.

in vain for evidence of it among them. I have never come across anything among the so generally and markedly cynophagous Gilyak that would even distantly support such a conjecture. On
171 the other hand, I believe it can be said as a general rule for these
231 peoples with respect to the custom of eating dogs that it is com-
262 mon only in the case of those among them who keep the dog as the only domestic and draft animal, for only in this case can it be considered quantitatively as a food and morally nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the draft dog does not at all stand in the close, individual, and to a certain degree personal

/435 cont./

ship to his master as does the hunting or house dog, who, through loyalty, personal attachment, and other characteristics lacking in the draft dog, makes himself the constant companion and friend of man. Accordingly, just as among the Gilyak, one also finds cynophagy among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for example, among the Aino of Sakhalin (3) and of

3. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37). Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

mio /Yesoof, the latter of which supposedly even fatten dogs for eating them later (4). The Eskimo, too, eat dogs (5), but at

4. According to Adam Laxmann; see Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kurilies/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 501).

5. Alois v. Becker, "Asir. Reise der engl. Yacht 'Pandora' im J. 1874, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young /Arctic Voyage of the English Yacht 'Pandora' in 1874, under the Command of Captain Sir. Allen Young/" (Ausland, 1875, p. 453).

/436 cont./

ent in most /436/ places, especially in the north and east of ir area of distribution, they may be scarcely better off than in Sakhalin, where, according to Rob. Brown (1), the highly prized

1. "Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländer. Meere /The Mammals of Greenland and the Greenland Seas/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 464).

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dog must be still a rare delicacy because of its naturally very high price. The ancient Itelmen on Kamchatka seem to be a striking and completely unique exception to the rule, for though they had dogs in plenty and the dog had no other domestic animal besides them, nevertheless among all the animals of their country "only dogs, mice, and lizards were excluded from their menu" (2),

2. Steller, op. cit., p. 323. Krasheninikov does not mention this.

as Steller expressly states. Or had they perhaps already given up eating dogs in Steller's time, as a result of their well-known, exceedingly eager imitation of the Russians (3), for whom it was a

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 285 and elsewhere.

particular abomination? And all the more since it could not have been difficult for them in material respects in view of Kamchatka's great wealth of fish (4). On the other hand, those peo-

4. According to the observations made by the Vega Expedition, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen refused to eat the meat of a stain dog (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas /A Voyage around Asia and Europe/, Vol. II, p. 98). Whether this is general among the Chukchee has not yet been ascertained.

ples -- as I should like to formulate the above rule further -- who keep the dog only for hunting or to guard house and grounds, but use another domestic animal, the reindeer or the horse, for traveling, riding, or burden-carrying, such as the Orok, the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, etc., not only eat no dog meat, but even have a more or less marked aversion to it. From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at

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Gilyak and in other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Aino, and must be regarded as a custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the circumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the Amur region (after subject, towards the Urusi and Sogoni, it makes it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by the poorer people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Ind. Gesellschaft, in den verein. Niederland. an den Tart. Chan /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 275. Tobias Eder, Dritzjarr, Reise durch China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by Mme. Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtschr. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 178. Ganzin, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 286. Jaksch, Kiaï-l pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ.

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d un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une ambass. Franç. en Chine /The French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantcho Tartary, London, 1863, p. 240. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 22.

the popular enjoyment of dog meat in Korea (2) may perhaps be

2. Wimen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. "Gaesen, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. III, p. 63).

traced back to Chinese influence.

Birds furnish the Gilyak much less food than do mammals, merely be the reason that they are much very much smaller in account of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus alba Gm., Gilyak parzl, on Sakhalin tschleola-nga) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Dal', I saw them commonly with great relish the Phalaris cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochla-nga), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they slight individually or in small flocks on the ice, and, moreover, in the end, the rest of the meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its nest and raise with fish in order to sell the tail to the Japanese, as

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(1. Cont.)

d'un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une ambass. Franç. en Chine /The French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantcho Tartary, London, 1863, p. 240. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 22.

2. Wimen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. "Gaesen, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. III, p. 63).

Eskimo (from Kotzebue Sound), who regard the carrion crow as the creator of the world (2). At any rate, I saw them sometimes

2. Beth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 30, 72.

carry with them on trips a crow's head on top of the sleds laden with provision and trade articles as a means, as they themselves told me, of bringing good luck. Incidentally, ideas quite similar to those concerning the crow prevail among the above-named peoples, the Chukchee, the Eskimo from Kadjak, the Kenai, and the Koljuschen in connection with the raven, and the latter therefore do not eat it (3). In view of the great similarity between the

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(2. Cont.)

II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been killed by them in the vicinity of their villages and hun in order to benefit from the scraps from the catch of fish or the preparation of jukola, and appear at the midday or overnight campsites of travelling Gilyak even before the fire has gone out, in order to eat any possible remains from the meal; in fact, they not infrequently steal a match on them in consuming /438/ a raven vega frozen fast to the sea ice or an animal caught in a trap. Perhaps the Gilyak are also governed in this by some kind of superstitious belief concerning this bird, like, say, the Chukchee (1) and the

1. Kibel', "Chukchi /The Chukchee/" (Sibirsk. Vestn., 1824, Pt. II, Ethnography, p. 119).

Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few other creatures must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not scorn gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks tossed up by the sea or left behind by the ebb. Frequently, but not the west coast of Sakhalin they also eat the Tellina vestalosa (Gilyak kîr wub) (1), Macrra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

moghomi-wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. At is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a small shell or mussel shell in general, for the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubb, according to Glehn.

joxang-wellach and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose "sweets are sought after" at the same time praised them as being "sweets as sugar."

/439 cont./

ge a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, among others, one of the most important of these, the so-called mosmi. This is a mixture of ground fish-skin, or, lacking them, of chopped jukola, with fish oil and berries. For the preparation of mosmi, the fish skin, from lyghi-nscho or tengi-nscho, are cut up in small pieces, well cooked, ground, and stirred with fish oil to a mush of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (our

2. A quite similar dish, made out of cooked and ground fish-skins with an admixture of pounded cedar-nuts, was used by the Kurilies on the southern tip of Kamchatka, according to Steller (op. cit., p. 325).

cream). I saw mosmi prepared for the bear festival in Tebach, for it is an essential part of it and is both eaten by the participants and given to the bear. At other times, however, I saw it made out of finely cut jukola that was cooked and mixed with little oil and bilberries. If the substance is cooled sufficiently or freezes a little, it can be cut into slices with a knife. Depending on the kind of fish used, the Gilyak distinguish between very many kinds of mosmi, giving preference to the former. They like to take a small supply of it along on winter journeys. For the midday meal around the blazing fire I have seen them perfectly satisfied with a few strips of jukola warmed or slightly roasted at the flames, several slices of mosmi, and a drink of snow-water. Next to the bilberry, Empetrum nigrum L. (Gilyak yghrch) is the most commonly used and favorite berry among the Gilyak just like the former, indeed often in place of it, it is used both as an accompaniment and as an ingredient for mosmi and other dishes, /440/ and is like-wise collected and stored in great quantities. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin it is even more common and more frequently used than the bilberry. Elsewhere, for instance, in Tymi on the Lima, the cranberry, Vaccinium oxycoccus L.

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prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe, finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the berries. The Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chlewyth) (8), and

3. Among the Olcha: chity,

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwalch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and pluta (blue) tschwalch), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil. Finally, the sea, like the forest, yields a quite popular edible food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak punch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, where upon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in small stacks for the winter, which they then store of Sakhalin (1) the Aino, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

leached it from the Japanese, who keep the Aino busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artifically rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matmai.

While the natural vegetable products discussed above are of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are available to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

[113] animal food, and especially fish food, on the whole, continues the basis and mainary of the existence of the Gilyak.

A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of the Gilyak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they do not use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have a certain aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here what I wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1),

1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a
professor in Basel.

which has also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

[114] 2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und des Verbrauches der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus (Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 116).

among the Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the preparation of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat it in any other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not know /444/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it was sold. The following experience gave me further evidence of

[115] how little it is required by them: since toward the end of my journey in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for some in every Gilyak village that I passed on the road to the west coast of Sakhalin and along the Amur-Limans, but always in vain, until Fenrge, on the mouth of the Amur, a bachelor-sized lump of salt wrapped in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get and had kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. The Gilyak repeatedly expressed their regretance for it when they saw the eat salt. There the numerous similar reports on the use of

[116] non-use of salt by various people Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use, of salt among them. The Gilyak and Orochi are the only occasions [117] at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements, eat plant food, very, to be sure, rarely and sparingly, in large quantities. It is therefore not surprising that at time the [118] plant distance he ate no food at all (or, more correctly, he ate, the contrary), is especially noticeable, for during a long festival it is regarded as unfitch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not mean that he is not considerably affected by the [119] tion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festival takes place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable, and, finally, the bear is a very polygamous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it likely to fall below the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom preserved, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn [120] resistance.

[121] similar shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/

2. Mamia Rinō, "Tokeiz kiho" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

[122] One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not remove the contradiction with my above statement, because Mamia Rinō goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Hasshū near Kidi (3). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidzi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, the Gilyak, who live on the Amur along the Olcha at least as far as the Umut, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Mamia had the same experience, except that in the Gilyki village of Sulibi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the native (3). This village, however,

[123] 3. Staak", Putesh. za Amur" (A Journey through the Amur Region),

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinō's report, and, according to my experience, they find merit, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Gilyk, at the beginning of 19th century produced pots and bowls for the Chinese and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were little unfamiliar with this industry — an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion

[124] of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment, it will suffice to make the general remark that the Gilyak probably was brought about by violent seizure and devastation plotted by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinō's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, exercised, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, into their neighborhood, upper and downstream, the lower Gilyk and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of the sort known as Chinese Ware could not find approval and acceptance among them. The [125] manufacture of the pottery industry, flourishing in the lower Amur region, on the other hand, may have prompted the Gold to take up the [126] production of wooden implements, so that these large bowls and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kora, respectively.

Whereas the pots and porcelain bowls were transported along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made equal and unimpeded [127] headway in the opposite direction along the Sungari and Ussuri Rivers. /447/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

1. Vatt'ivu", "Zapiski o Ningtsie (Notes on Ningtsu)" (Zap. Imp. russk. geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Into Sai-mu-pichang in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and encoun-

2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

[128] Gilyak produced them, some of them of very good quality, which were shipped far away, and according to Barabash (3), there in

3. Barabash, "Sungar. eksperdisia 1872 g." (Zap. Imp. russk. geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII/2" (Ussuri Shore, 1874, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pottery that Black saw in Sulibi on the Amur probably also came from the Sungari. The fact that it does not go further down the Amur, however, to the lower Gokds, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite of their annual trade voyages to the Sungari, seems all too clearly to the [129] conclusion that they entertain a special aversion to such utensils.

If, from the statements by Mamia Rinō given above, one [130] conclusion of the pottery industry, flourishing in the lower Amur region, on the other hand, may have prompted the Gold to take up the [131] production of wooden implements, so can these large bowls and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kora, respectively.

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[133] make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the one of about six to seven inches in diameter with one on two [134] sides, tsun-ts, i.e., earthen pots, the other called kamu-tyo, the bowls, which, to be sure, not cannot fail to recognize the very Japanese origin of this art.

Dr. Bunge, who, as we know, has contributed so much to the knowledge of the Gilyak, [135] Orochi and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered bowls made from /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

1. Siebold, Aanh. en volkenkund, toelichtingen, Leiden, 1852, Vol. II, Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vrim', P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Maksimov found, besides skulls and bones, in old graves on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack Atlasov published by Müller (2), the information that they

2. Noved en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and Krashchenninikov only wooden vessels among them, and Georgi [136] (Dittmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamchatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought [137] to be Gilyak. Dr. Bunge (1) /448/ says:

1. Op. cit., P. 187.

[138] 7. (cont.)
Possessions in America), St. Petersburg, 1867, Part II, p. 34; Idem, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 216.

[139] Dawson and Kotzebue Sounds (8), and, in the Unwegotting, among

8. Nelsh, Cap. Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's /Capt. Jacobsen's Travels on the Northwest Coast of America/, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 214, 215, 296.

among the earthenware vessels made by the Eskimo which he saw on the Yukon (Kwichpak), a few of which are illustrated in his book on Alaska, that Dawson mentions, he discovered after a Russian model. This may have been the case, for since the Russian settled in this country some Russian dishes and cooking utensils undoubtedly reached the natives there. Nevertheless, the making of pottery by the American Eskimo in no way came from the Russians. [140] Dawson found it there already, and Dawydof, like Sagoskin, remarks that acquaintance with iron and copper kettles and other [141] utensils, made Eskimo unable to do without them, cannot consider the Eskimo, who, in the formerly general distribution of pottery vessels of the Russian-American Company, with which [142] agrees. Finally, also arguing for the great antiquity of the art of pottery among the Eskimo of northwestern America /450/ is the simple and primitive manner in which it is practiced: the vessels are shaped freehandedly, and therefore are not quite circular or even symmetrical, but are smoothed and decorated by means

1. As can be seen from the illustrations given in Jacobsen's travel account (pp. 214 and 215).

of peculiar and likewise very simple instruments (2). Without

2. These instruments are likewise illustrated by Jacobsen (Op. cit., P. 296).

[143] 2. (cont.)
by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 296).

[144] interesting to specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the pottery industry among the Eskimo, I think it is [145] draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Diomps left their inhabitated without any knowledge of the art of pottery, and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Ainu of which Mamia Rinō spoke was lost for a time and, in the Gilyak and Olcha, only revived, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese government. It seems, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back. I mean the pots and porcelain and wooden utensils which have recently been found in the earth, together with stone [146] tools, a few points in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, especially along the Ussuri and Sungari and Yantsze (3). These potsherd

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Pauchi River, in the vicinity of Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tschelyuskin or Tschirynzh (as the Russian call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, were found a bronze vessel (Comptes Rendus, Vol. I, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Prof. Steffle in Nikolayevsk, most of these articles were sent to the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotvorskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Piyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Susuya and Tuotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ The actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

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salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,

1. Nadarov*, "Siev.-Ussur. kraĭ" (Zap. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 80).

Maack (2) reports that every well-to-do person among them has

2. Op. cit., p. 79.

salt in his household. They buy it from the Daur and have a designation borrowed from the Daur ("katā") for it: katachan. Presumably therefore, they first became acquainted with it through the Daur, and at a time when the latter, prior to the Russian invasion, lived all along the upper Amur and its source rivers, the Schilka and Argun), engaged in agriculture and livestock-raising, and had barter-trade relations with the hunting tribes in the north (3). Therefore, even at that time the tribes

3. See p. 339 ff above.

of the upper Amur region may already have obtained a number of cereals for food from the Daur.

/463/ There should be added to a consideration of the diet of the Amur peoples a few remarks concerning the luxuries used among them, especially liquor and tobacco.

The Gilyak do not know how to make any beverage for pleasure, either by an infusion of water upon the leaves, stems, barks, or other parts of certain species of plants or from the juice of berries and other fruits of their region, as is understood so well by the Italmen of Kamchatka, according to the testimony of

/463 cont./
Steller (1) and Krashenninikof (2). I came across just as little of

1. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, pp. 76-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossi, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.).

I came across just as little of anything of the kind among the Olcha and Goldi (3). Even tea,

3. I am thinking here only of beverages for pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among the Manegir on the upper Amur I saw a moss that they gather in the forest and call mogo drying in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be drunk in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

Even tea which these peoples must have known for a long time through their association with the Chinese (4) and which they were able

4. The Gilyak have the designation pyncht for it.

to buy in Nikolayevsk as well as in Mariinsk since the Russian occupation of the region (in the fifties), had not found acceptance among them at the time of my stay in the Amur region (5).

5. Pel'nikof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin", pp. 38-40) reported that in 1881 the Orok on Sakhalin prized tea highly and, if there was any, drank it regularly toward evening. But this could have appeared only since the

/463 cont./

5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently -- was by no means the case at the time of my travels on it, or Schmidt's and Glehn's.

They did not know coffee at all and considered it, when they saw me drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland, under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) araki or arki, also customary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic, Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araku, airaki, etc.

Undoubtedly acquaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread rapidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha, and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must have soon been introduced to the Gilyak there. The latter, to be sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from another direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained their liquor, the so-called saki, and even learned how to make a weak saki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

7. Mitsui', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, p. 132. Dobrotvorskiĭ, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinō (8) reported

8. "Tō-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

/464 cont./ This is how the Chinese
merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Olcha, or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamia Rinō describes the manner in which the Smerenkur on /465/ Sakhalin drink their "arka" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these peoples is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage, from peculiar foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this circumstance, besides the others mentioned above, the procurement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I must testify to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This fact seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as utich (unlucky) -- a conception which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

/469 cont./

1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8), and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper edge, into the pouch of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

(See category 116, p. 1014 - Analyst)

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If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of the pipe, poured into a tube and stored in a special small pouch (Gilyak niryghis), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6), upon which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as

1. The very same tobacco substitutes is also used by the Chukchee, who, however, obtain it by putting the wood shavings in the tube, much wider on their pipes, above the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated with nicotine from the smoke passing through it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a fern. Among the Goldi in Kōurmi on the Amur I likewise saw hanging bundles of an herb which they called toina and used as a substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of these plants must remain unknown.

The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not

(See category 116, p. 1008 -- Analyst)

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basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this respect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as dog's animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river-rich in fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them. These requisites, as discussed above (D), are best met among the

2. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

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long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs lying outside and held by straps or chains are released. As soon as this is done, the dogs, already impatient, dash straight into the yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the kyll or on the ground in front of the trough. Meanwhile, the women, with the help of large ladles (3), have filled several

2. See p. 683 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, bubbling and steaming in the kettle, and now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo the other and to snatch everything for himself, fierce struggles and fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are stilled by blows on the heads of the animals delivered with sticks by the women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leashes or chains. Plate XII /seq. 992/ illustrates the feeding of the dogs in one of the large, Chinese winter-yurts of the Gilyak. In the earth yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are separated from the hearth platform by only a narrow passage, this takes place so close to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold streaming in over the floor through the open door and the steam rising from the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly contribute to the comfort of a stay in the earth yurt. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager, for instance, in the village of Tyň on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little jukola, reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, only every other day. On long journeys, however, the Gilyak, if about noontime they do not reach a village in which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some chark or ma twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

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feed their dogs only once, only at the overnight campsite and always only dry jukola. The Russian dogs, therefore, are perhaps never more exclusively ichthyophagous than the Gilyak dogs. Lacking jukola, I once had them given elk meat, and they left it untouched. Only severe hunger makes the dogs omnivorous, and in summer along the Amur one cannot adequately protect his belongings /481/ against the starving dogs of the natives, seizing everything that is of animal nature, such as fish-skin and fur covers, boots, etc.

Like the grown animals, the whelps, too, are fed in the yurt. To be sure, on Sakhalin they are often kept inside the house the rest of the time, too, and on the sleeping benches at the very rear where they come up against the roof. The greater care of the whelps on Sakhalin may be the reason why the dogs there, and especially those of the Tymy Gilyak, are said to be the largest and finest in the whole region.

Since the actual master and owner of the dogs, as soon as he has returned from a trip, no longer pays any attention to them and their entire care and feeding has passed into the female occupants of the yurt, with the assistance of the children, they are actually as good as masterless and they do not have the usual characteristics of the dog which is kept more or less singly as the follower and companion of man, such as personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance, or they are not developed in them. The situation is the same, incidentally, with respect to the Russo-Siberian draft-dogs so that one may probably say in general that dogs kept in large numbers for harnessing and treated more or less as a pack, in comparison with hunting or watchdogs, have remained on a lower level of culture, so to speak, or have again sunk to one. But a certain attachment to the place and house where they get their food may be found among them, too, so that, even unleashed, they do not readily leave it, and if, in harness, they get free from their driver as the result of an overturned sled, they go home as a rule, or to the nearest village (1). The dogs

1. According to Sujef (see Pallas, Reise

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs
/Journey through Various Provinces of
the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44).
On Oroyak on the lower Olekma also keep
their draft-dogs outside, but always
feed them in the yurt.

2. The dogs

of the Tungus on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

The Gilyak sled (sq) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian nartes, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, so too durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. As an example, I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 7 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles / runners/Gilyak tunkej, a in the illustration/ are horizontal only in the middle section, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve towards the ends, they are provided on the underside

/482 cont./

all along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rather, with blocks of the considerable length of the latter, with a second pair of soles, the protective soles (Gilyak motanj, b in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden pegs and, at their sharply reduced ends, also by means of leather straps to the main soles. The sole-mountings are usually likewise of wood and can easily be replaced when worn out. In the spring, however, when the snow melting in the sun sticks to the wooden sole and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mountings, some made of whalebone are fastened to the sled, or the wooden protective soles are covered with a whalebone plate, as I have seen on several occasions, especially on Sakhalin, where this material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic feature of the

1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 193), the main sole-and whalebone plates come from a kind of whale which the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably is Balaena australis Desmoul, but as a rule the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud. (Gilyak keng), the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sled, especially for travel over sea ice which is covered with salt water, for instance, on Kamchatka (Vrangel', Puteshv. po sev. ber. Sib. i po Levod. moriu /Journey along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, Vol. II, p. 28). According to information given by A. Schrook in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as bone skates, were formerly used in many regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut,

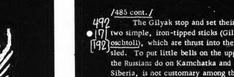
/482 cont./

1. (cont.)
etc., and such bones have been found a
number of times in excavations in
Scandinavia, on Iceland, on the Zealand
Islands, in Friesland, Pomerania, in the
March, in Moravia, and even in the pile
dwellings of the Swiss lakes (Sr. Petersb.
Zeit., 1880, No. 58).

Gilyak sled is that when it is equipped with the protective soles and is placed on firm level ground, the latter is touched by only a small part of the sole, equivalent to about one-quarter of the total length of the sled, while the two end rise to a considerable height above it. For example, in the case of the specimen measured by me, their distance from the ground amounted to one foot, ten inches. Between the ends of the thin shallowly arched soles run, as sinews, the two longitudinal side-bars (Gilyak higi, c in the illustration) of the sled, which form the frame of the very shallow sled-basket serving as a seat and for holding effects. They rest on several thin little supports (Gilyak ich, d in the illustration) set into the soles from above, and their ends, moreover, are connected with the soles by means of a perforating wooden crosspiece (Gilyak kerngh, h in the illustration). The ich, of which /483/ Gilyak sled of regular size, like the one illustrated, has five on either side, a smaller one only four, are rather wide and solid at their ends, somewhat reduced toward the middle, and their position and shape, as well as the number and from the ends of the sled likewise seem to be standardized by quite definite proportions. If there are five of them, the middle one is exactly in the center of the entire length of the sled, all the others are at a distance of 1' 10" from one another, that is, at precisely one-eighth of the sled's length, and the distance of the two outermost ones (the front and the back ich) on either side from the sled-ends is double that, therefore 3' 8" or two-quarters of the length of the sled each. The sled touches level and firm ground only with the part of the soles which is found between the two supports standing next to the

/485 cont./

The Gilyak stop and set their sleds with not one but with two simple, iron-tipped sticks (Gilyak kaur, Russo-Siberian pachtoli), which are thrust into the snow on either side of the sled. To put little stress on the use of such a stick, as the Russians do on Kamchatka and in other /486/ parts of Siberia, is not customary among them, and therefore the spur of the training bells is unfamiliar to their dogs, which is why it has been abandoned in the Amur region by the Russians who get their dogs from the Gilyak and other natives. These Russians, however, spur their dogs at the first sign of fatigue in many another way than it is likewise unfamiliar to the Gilyak. For instance, they sometimes hurl the braking stick at one or another of the animals appearing too lazy, which the Gilyak cannot do because, riding astride the sled, he cannot jump off during the journey, as the Russian does, to retrieve the stick and hoist himself back on the sled (1). And he just as little permits the Russian practice of



A dog's head adorned with the clank.

the front one, do not run singly, but in pairs, and each animal is fastened by two straps to the long guide-line running between them: by means of the front one the dog pulls the sled, but the front one prevents him from running sideways. With so complicated a harness, confusion arises all too easily as a result of the temper of the dogs: sometimes the two dogs of a pair run toward the same side, sometimes an animal jumps over his harness strap, which then gets caught between his legs, etc. And when two sleds meet, especially a Russian one and a Gilyak one, without stopping in time, the one another and from the ends of the sled one another, forming a cluster of perhaps twenty or more biting dogs, which can be disentangled only by a violent tugging and pulling apart of the fighting animals amid a rain of blows from both sides, and causing great confusion and damage in the harness, especially of the Russian dogs. The Gilyak, as well as the Russians, therefore carefully try to avoid such encounters by turning aside promptly, stopping and setting the sled, and holding fast to the pack, especially the lead dog.

1. The Russian dog-drivers, or "Kajuren," as they are called along the Amur, in Kamchatka, and elsewhere in Siberia, always sit sidewise (on the right) on their sleds and can easily jump off, which they are often obliged to do in order to give the sled a push toward one side or the other to prevent the soles /runners/ from passing over the fresh excrement of the dogs and thereby lose their smoothness. If this is ever neglected, one must stop after a brief time and turn the sled over on one side, in order to scrape off the soles and, if possible, apply a new ice-coating.

spurring on the dogs in extreme exhaustion by throwing small pieces of jukola ahead of them. He cares too much for his dogs to strain them excessively. If the shouts of "kach, tach" are no

G 492 484 /487 cont./ Just as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G 492 171 174 Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A 492 493 [648] Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak, even the construction of the sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113] 1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [171] A [171]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

NS 492 484 /488 cont./ development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K 231 [361] [492] To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that

K 174 231 361

7. See pp. 481 ff.

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G Gi NS K 231 171 /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subsequently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E 231 171 174 Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic animal and used it in harness when they were still on their original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

E 231 171 174 E [492] /490 cont./ Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality. The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/ the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

G Gi A 492 174 171 Gi 171 After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region, the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all; whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow [171] places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

G /507 cont./

396 824 171 longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G. Gi 501 Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some G of my own experiences. They are completely different from Gi one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are 396 824 made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi Gi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, 184 var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Gi Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we 114 landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabit- 501 ants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case. Gi But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only 501 boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite 184 different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

G. /509/ Gi 412 171 [396] [192] The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,

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Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poljak acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is Gi made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked 412 branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade, 171 ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

/512 cont./
like the dsai in form and nature, but twice as long, while the width remains about the same. Thus, among the latter I saw such a boat that was 35 1/2 feet long and only 2 feet and 2 inches wide. Such a boat, like the multiple-seated Aleutian bidar and, incidentally, also like the large mango, if the latter are not propelled, say, by poles, is propelled by two or three persons equipped with double oars and rowing uniformly on one side and then the other, and thus shooting forward with great speed.

It is very noteworthy that the above-described boat made out of boards, which is distributed throughout the lower Amur region, among the Goldi, Olcha, Gilyak, and Orochi, is completely absent in the upper Amur region. At least, I never saw any there, and Maack, traveling down the Amur from the Schilka, did not meet the first boat of this kind until at the mouth of the Ussuri (1). And, correspondingly, the form of

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 178.

the hollowed-out boat that is patterned after this boat, the unjmagda or awarpe, also seems to be absent in the upper Amur region. I must therefore designate this boat made out of boards in a specific fashion as solely and exclusively peculiar to the lower Amur region and characteristic of it. And yet, I believe, one may not regard it altogether as an invention of those peoples or one of them. Whereas the hollowed-out or birch-bark boats bear the stamp of originality, the Amur boat, or, as I would prefer to call it in accordance with the above, the Goldi-Gilyak boat, reveals in its more ingenious form and construction a certain cultural influence, and I believe that I do not err if I trace this back to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari. For centuries Chinese traders and sometimes also Manchu officials have traveled from the Sungari into the lower Amur region, the former in order to engage in trade with its peoples, the latter in order to collect from them the tribute owed to the Chinese government. The boats in which they made these trips are, to be sure, much larger and more.

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complicated than the Goldi-Gilyak
and in general are the same in form
ample, like the latter, the Manchu
chiefly of three long boards -- a bo
for quite a distance beyond the prow
boards, which are bluntly closed off
stern-board, and in front, in a poin
boards of uneven length. Furtherm
boards are joined and fastened to o
which the seams are stuffed with m
inside and outside, etc. are the sa
larger dimensions of the Manchu-C
board is from 7 to 9 1/2 fathoms lo
demand certain additions or modifi
Goldi-Gilyak boat. For example,
by a second board on either side,
the first one from the outside; this
Gilyak only as an exception, in ca
sea voyage. These upper side-boa
about a fathom beyond the stern bo
and at their rear ends they are join
but on top are covered with boards
the rear end of the boat there is a
this, at the rear edge, are placed
which the rudder is stuck in order
steersman standing on the platform
boat given by the considerable wi
the added upper side-board further
up of crossboards loosely set agai
part, over which a piece of wicke
rods bent into a semicircle and a
which, covered with reed or straw
cabin in which one may sit, or ev
protected against rain and bad we
much smaller and lower covering
crawl in case of an emergency is

lyak boats, but essentially
form and construction. For ex-
nchu-Chinese boat also consists
bottom board which projects
prow, and two side or edge
off in the rear by a vertical
ointed prow, by two small
rmore, the way in which the
one another, the way in
moss and covered with strips
ame in both cases. The far
Chinese boats (the bottom
ong), however, permit or
fications in contrast to the
the sides are always raised
which /513/ is attached to
is done among the Goldi and
se a boat is to be used for a
rds project toward the rear
ard serving as their support,
d to each other by a plank,
placed crosswise so that at
ide bridge or platform. On
o vertical rods, between
be controlled by the
The greater depth of the
of the lower side-board and
rmits laying a floor made
one another in the rear
rk made out of several
horizontal ones is erected,
s, gives a kind of tent or
and in a stooped position,
. A similar, though
r which a few persons may
in the frontmost part of

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the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the continuation of the bottom board there, bent toward the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast bearers put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the nearest rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the arrangement of the oars is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not bored, but are set into correspondingly deep indentations in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is heavy and, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the required direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the husked and pared down kernel taken, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvements and additions only in accordance with their needs. And so /514/ there remains only [177] the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, conversely, the natives of the lower Amur region, first the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Olcha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

/314 cont./

boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and power. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage,had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as it does to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, just like the iron, is abundant, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other people of the lower region. Maximowicz saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet grain. Only in this point, as it seem from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the necessities of the Amur, the lack of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on pegs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Aino of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Aino-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

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transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The usually idealized boat in the country the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance -- rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, and in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

How could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed throughout the lower Amur region /315/ nevertheless remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? The explanation for this must undoubtedly be sought in the political and other circumstances above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which continued of always its upper action as depopulated as possible and of isolating it by vast, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 325, 369.

this purpose the natives of the lower Amur region and, so it seem, also the Chinese traders on the Sungari, were forbidden by them to go beyond the mouth of the latter up the Amur, and, in order to enforce this prohibition, a permanent guard-station was established at the mouth of the Sungari (2). In this

2. See above, pp. 7, 110.

manner communications between the upper and lower Amur peoples were made difficult by blocking them, and this also a compromise in the means used for it, was perceived by the measures of the Chinese government. But all the circumstances indicate the independent imitation of the Manchu-Chinese boat on the part of the native were lacking in the upper

/315 cont./

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and their Manchu, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inspire the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it is perfectly plausible to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development than the whole state in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained by the natives themselves and with the neighboring civilized-peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and counterparts will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

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Section 8

Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon: Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White whale.

In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther you goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermingling of various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above description of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing and to the importance of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the winter repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kind of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described. (1)

1. (cont.)
Ac. dauricus, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St-Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Reisch. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Puteshi na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 57), it has shallow and stony for it. Whatever the kind of fish may be, and more recent reports on Dauria, chiefly Russian ones, reference is made simply to banned (Dogs) and sturgeon (Acipenser) in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in rivers, as, for instance, in Middendorff's Sibirische Reise, Reisen und Fragements/, 1820, p. 146), Parshin (Poiezdka v' Zabaikal'skii kraj /Journey to the Transbaikal region/, Moscow, 1844, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibir/Statistical Survey of Sibiria/, St. Petersburg, 1856, p. 263), Yadrintsev (Ib., 1882), Kaschin ("Nieskol'ko slov" ob" Argunii /A Few Words about the Argun/," -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshchestva, Book VI, Irkutsk, 1863, p. 103), Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 136?), and others, undoubtedly the two Amur species, the latter, which grow on the Amur with a size. The fish is very large and the best small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and takes to land to be killed. Hence, the proper club for the fish is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

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1. (cont.)
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above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

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in general the same everywhere. But the individual peoples vary in the number of such methods of fishing, according to their nature and the local conditions in their part of the river. The Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are stretched across large rivers and very strongly now to set in not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay close to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get single nets, or, rather, a longish quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out to the place, see /319/ river with the net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper end of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current and paddle ashore. Meanwhile, on the surface of the river calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swiling movement of the water, and guide their boats with the net between them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has become entangled in it, the wooden float affected given notice of it, and the men both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak nhab-tcharanch, Pl. XI Amr /pole/ hook), and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and takes to land to be killed. Hence, the proper club for the fish is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

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upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the corners of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschengr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this position the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords of the fishers, who, in all of the net, see the catch of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance between the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces. The representation of a face on the odn-tschengr is always indemnity for the sacrifice of a bear, which, however, is essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /321/ Gilyak superstition should be noted, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I did not notice any trace in the other Amur peoples.

Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known among the Siberia as: namolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obi, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 446; Vol. III, p. 88.

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fall of fish, he lets the signal cord fall and draws together the ends of the net, and, in the case of a large catch, he calls the boats. Needless to say, besides the salmon going upstream at the time, other fish, sometimes even sturgeon and hausen, are caught in these bag nets. Since some labor and trouble is connected with making a anur, the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time ascending in the greatest multitudes, the hghi-tscho. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of its ascent the anur are not infrequently seen throughout the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

The Gilyak pursue salmon fishing in the Tymy River on Sakhalin in the same manner and with no less zeal. But this is less suitable for the catching of pop on account of its considerable size and, in places, its shallowness. They are nevertheless in use in its lower course and at the point where it empties into Nyi Bay. It is here that at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus, in addition to the Gilyak, the Orok, too, zealously engage in fishing and the preparation of fish supplies. Indeed, during the last decades, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Ainu, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of S. proteus at the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the end of the month of the Tymy at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus and engage in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Poljakof, who met them there at this occasion in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had fint erected a weir of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river and opened one-twelfth of the width of the river for the passage of the migrating threatening demand, but then immediately above the first erected a second weir blocking no less than nine-tenths of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

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Tymy River; no less understandable, however, is the harm that they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of their river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living permanently in the sea, namely, the sea-bass, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets during the /323/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, and the methods are the same, way as sturgeon is then caught. In the calm, lake-like wide places with a muddy bottom, of which there are many along the Gilyak area of the Amur River, sea-bass are caught in winter by a more or less swampy branch of the river or a small water-course, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish, which are abundant in these small basins.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its great importance for some of the Gilyak, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the hangi fishing along the east and coasts of Sakhalin. The importance of the hangi for the Gilyak watchna Pall.) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above (p. 653 ff.). The vast quantities in which they appear directly under the ice at the mouth of the Tymy and they employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All they need for this is a span-long iron hook (Gilyak katch-lou), Pl. XI Amr /pole/ /323/, fig. 1), and a long line, which, in fact, is long which can be moved up and down by means of a wooden handle. The Gilyak sitting beside the hole in the ice casts with this short fishing-rod without any bait, so that he jerks down into the water and immediately draws it up again, pulling one fish after another into the ice. In the few minutes that I stood by -- it was on February 27 (March 10), 1881, I saw Gilyak in the west coast of Sakhalin -- my Gilyak pulled out several dozen fish, which the hook had sometimes caught at the gill flaps and sometimes at the lower jaw or the mouth. Some fir branches

/546/ Needles to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lynh, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

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225 In view of this distribution of the white whale in the
[171] Amur region, the Gilyak are practically the only one of its peo-
ples that occupies itself with catching it. To be sure, the Aino
along the east coast of Sakhalin would have the opportunity for
it, but there is no mention of such an occupation by any of the
travelers who became acquainted with them. Little inclined
toward bolder hunting ventures, they presumably are satisfied,
so far as the white whale is concerned, to capture the individuals
stranded on the shore, just as they do in the case of the larger
species of whales. With regard to the latter the Gilyak do no differently,
but they pursue the white whale with weapons, and, to be sure,
for this they use a harpoon intended specifically for this purpose,
their so-called *pur* (Pl. XLII /see p.1022/, Fig. 3 and 4). This
consists of a thick and short bone tube into which a dagger-
shaped, double-edged and pointed iron lamella provided with
a barb on either side in the back is inserted. This piece is
mounted on a wooden shaft (Gilyak *wrij*) for hurling it and, in
addition, a rope made of a long, most strap by which, after the
wounded animal is pulled in, either to the boat or directly on
land, depending on where the hunter may be. In order finally
to kill the animal, there, too, as in seal-hunting, superstition, and presumably as the result of a similar idea, demands
that, first of all, the head of the stain animal be cut off; it is
not thrown away, however, but hung up a tree standing
on the bank, after all the muscle meat and the lake have first
been removed from it. At various places along the right bank
of the Amur I saw such trees with many skulls of white whales
hanging in them, which at the same time showed the necessity
of the Gilyak in hunting /549/ the white whale. I cannot say
whether the Olcha, in white territory the white whale is much
rarer, likewise hunt them, but, if this should be the case, only
the Gilyak would be capable of teaching them. Thus, the hunting
of the white whale is a characteristic feature in the way of life
of the Gilyak in contrast to the other Amur peoples and brings
them closer, in view of the similar nature of fish animal, to the
polar peoples. And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

Use of the lynh for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence
is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon.
Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any
use is made of a stain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife,
whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown
into the water, and, furthermore, the mous, or, to achieve both
things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put
into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the stain
animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any
possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in
the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the
above-mentioned similar procedure of the Mangrgi with their stain
Kamjakan and Kasuser. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too
much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to
terms with that superstition in another and less costly way. Per-
haps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I
did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

/549 cont./ Ba, Ba-ma-ki ka-ga, the Galdin of Stickin g
the white whale in other waters on a tree or, lacking one of them,
on certain piles driven into the ground prevails among some
of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

1. Reise durch verschi. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 82, Zoographie rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 278.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

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Section 9

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence
[172] of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forests, I must
first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks
in the preceding parts above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing,
increases the more in immediate importance and significance
the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and
into its own territory in a certain area, larger or smaller according to the locality, around their winter dwellings. For this
purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes even
quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which have
an especially favorable location for hunting.

The most important fur-bearing animals for the Gilyak,
because they are generally highly valued in trade and are present
in great numbers in the Amur region, are the sable (Gilyak
ngrgi, Russian *Tymyj* and *Tro Gilyak* *ngrgi* and *nygkr-ngrgi*,
i.e., [illegible] animal), the otter (Gilyak *tgry*, among the Tymy and
Tro Gilyak *pelchyh*), and the fox (Gilyak *kkech*, among the Tymy

/550 cont./

only indirectly inasmuch as it furnishes them with those articles
[173] by means of which they can acquire through trade with the neighboring civilized peoples the foreign clothing, food, and utensils
lacking which have become necessities for them. Hence, among
them hunting is principally directed toward those animals for
whose furs there is a sure and good market among their principal
trade-lords, the Chinese, and since, merely in order to preserve
the pelts as intact as possible, it is practiced for the most part by
means of various kinds of traps, snares, poison pellets, etc., one
can designate it, in accordance with its greatly predominant
purpose and character, as the catching of fur-bearing animals.

Among the Gilyak engage in hunting only in
[174] the winter, for they are then occupied with fishing only a little,
while in summer for it, and, on the other hand, the animals
are in their full, valuable winter-fur. In addition, the deep
snow then covering the dense underbrush in the forest facilitates
to a great extent movement through it, so that, as experience
has taught, the Gilyak, too, know without any doubt that the
heavier the snow is in winter, the more rewarding and successful
the hunting will be. Nevertheless the Gilyak do not devote
themselves to hunting in winter nearly as much as their Tungusic
neighbors do. Whereas the latter, as we shall see, frequently
move from their winter habitations into distant forest and
mountain wildernesses, in order to live there for weeks entirely
by hunting, the Gilyak content themselves with practicing it
only in the vicinity of their winter dwellings. Hence, they
[175] also hunt only in a certain area, large or small, according to the
locality, around their winter dwellings. For this
purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes even
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Tro Gilyak *pelchyh*), and the fox (Gilyak *kkech*, among the Tymy

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[176] and Tro Gilyak *kkech*, among the Tro Gilyak *kkechgrgi*, i.e.,
fox animal), the ermine (Gilyak *ngrgi*, Russian *Gornostaj*), the
[177] squirrel (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the marten (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[178] wolverine (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[179] [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[180] [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[181] [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[182] [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the

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ever heard anything among the Gilyak about poisoning their
rows, as it done among the Aino (/ Ainu) Sakhalin and Jeso
Ainu) of the Amur according to Stuler (?) and Kracheninnikof (?).

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelichte. /Geographisch und Ethnographisch Erläuterungen/, etc., pp. 95, 96, 112, on the basis of reports by Hiseron. de Angelis, Joan Sarlis, and Yuiro; the same, Nippon, VII, pp. 183 and 201, according to Mamia Rinsō; the same, Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29.
2. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthropo. Ethnol. u. Urgeschichte Year 1877, p. 58). Dobrotvorskii, Amkoyunt. Slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazanik. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

2. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 27, 95, 236.

3. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. sochin. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, p. 934).

said to have been customary among the Kurilen, Italmen, ryak, and Chukchee, and perhaps in part still in.
Idemkoeff (4), to be sure, says that the same custom is supposed

4. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1377.

have been passed on to the Tungut of Manchuria, but he gives
source to support his statement. Maack (5) states that the

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5. Puteshi. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegii smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region.

The quiver (Gilyak pg) used for throwing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carvings, or covering figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /See p.102/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is made of heavy wood and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, (see, for instance, Ethnol. Atlas, Gilyak, Tungusic, Vol. I, Year 1877, p. 58). Dobrotvorskii, Amkoyunt. Slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazanik. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

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Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapon, bear pikes, spears, and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the bear, wolf, fox, otter, and they handle them (/ Gilyak) much more skilfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike usually used among them (Gilyak lachich), Pl. XLVI /see p.102/, Fig. 7) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. The lances (Gilyak kachi) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /Spear/." And in my they certainly must have different designations for the whole, as we have above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle have a protruding rib which gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely worked specimens, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimens illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.102/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustration were made by Mr. Matsumoto on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

/564 cont./

animal, he reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, the took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered. I was told categorically that it was already "ulbich" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if the were to sell it to me in an intact state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungut and was confirmed by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Grisebin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Gotha, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kiensksi Ostrog setting out in troop to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 881) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica are taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

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that it is known under the name of "bemi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "bemi" (/ bemi), and they handle them (/ bemi) much more skilfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike usually used among them (Gilyak lachich), Pl. XLVI /see p.102/, Fig. 7) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. The lances (Gilyak kachi) (1) are of even greater length. The

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emperor himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Iakinf, the well-known member of the Russian mission to Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts presented by him to which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances it is

1. Iakinf, Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, pochitanie bogov /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 144.

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the Amur Ussuri region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Gilyak, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transactions, the purchase of a wife.

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsō specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kōrdeike" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only object that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

/574 cont./

to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the mouth of the Amur and Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the people of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

The net armor (Gilyak kā-petrch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole and short skirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.102/, Fig. 1), which is plated (2) with multiple strands of nettle-fiber cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone sewed into them. The net opening is trimmed with nettle-fiber cord and has a button and a loop for buttoning it, otherwise the armor, pulled over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is worn on account of the crows plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak magistrate in Sabach, is 2' 4" high, and weighs 28 1/2 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them in place of bear hide cloak, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me bore the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it nor. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and ruined Manchurian armor (1).

1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

/575 cont./

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak kāpetrch or similar armor. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Neudeische Presse, 1871, No. 314, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Dinter ("Ueber die Korēne und Tungusen /The Koryak and Chukchee/," -- Bull. de la Cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersbourg, Vol. XIX, Bull. suppl., Col. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee have a armor made of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

To conclude the remarks concerning the weapon of the Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It is the so-called mangache (Pl. XLVI /see p.102/, Fig. 9). A roundish or slightly angled stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mangache is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn. In the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a deep groove on the back. Tracing the origin of this curious object has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called mukeschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

/576 cont./

In contrast to the hunting practised by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows very characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

In almost goes without saying that the greater correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinō's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tō-sats'kko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 183).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraiber," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the Gilyak, with the exception of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak hairma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydra marina Schreb., Pallas rasko) according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonochn. zhivotnych /Sakhalin Island and its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

Section 10

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rent of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Natives with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all of their needs: they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of substistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

The chief motive which impels the Gilyak toward monogamy is the custom of buying their wives which prevails among them, as among more primitive peoples and in particular among all the indigenous peoples of Siberia (2). The Gilyak expression for "to

/632 cont.)

certain conditions, as, on the whole, a rare exception. According to the statement of the Gilyak, the latter is practically not found at all on Sakhalin, along the Liman, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, where among the Gilyak it occurs more frequently. An explanation for this will appear from the information in the following. In polygamous marriage the number of wives is usually limited to two. Among the Amur Gilyak I discovered several such marriages (1). Marriages with three

1. For example, the Gilyak Sogun in Kuĉh (Mäo) had two wives, Keĉguk and Malguk; similarly, the Gilyak Tschegun had two, Chumuk and Tyinuk, etc.

to five wives are very rare, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there are at all among them with more than five wives. In addition to voluntary polygamy, however, there is among the Gilyak a form of polygamy brought about by the law of inheritance or, more accurately, by hereditary obligations, which will be discussed later.

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that all the first information which the Russian received about them — I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Perfilief heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the year 1639 and 1640 (1) — they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilka) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do trade with the Chinese and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /591/ live farthest from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the Tungus, Goldi, Orochi, Negidal, Nivkh, and Ainu with each other.

/633 cont.)

5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ja each, together . . . . 20 ja
1 large Chinese heath-kettle . . . . . 30 "
1 Japanese kettle with copper ornaments . . . . . 30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor . . . . . 30 "
1 large bear . . . . . 30 "
5 especially good dogs (kyla-kan) at 4 ja each . . . . 20 "
Total . . . . 133 ja = about 266 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price of several Siberian peoples in older and more recent times. At the time of Adam Brand (Neuvermehrte, bestätigte und vermehrte Chinesische Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey which He in 1692, etc./, Lübeck, 1734, p. 99), it amounted to 10-15 reindeer among the Tungus on the Wechnaja Tunguska. A rich Ostyak girl on the Obj at the time of Pallas was not often given in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and a quantity of all kinds of furs (Sujef, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 98). According to Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 56), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage among the Ostyak on the Irtysch amounted to 200-300 rubles in

/633 cont.)

1. (cont.)
money, one horse, a cow, and an ox, 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparation of the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord- und Ost-Sibirien /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Angara-Yenisei women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Chuvash, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

583 requires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In view of the circumstances and thrifty nature of this people, constantly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has been pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do man will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addition to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his wealth duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain special esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, polygamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur Gilyak living together more densely than it is among their countrymen along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/635 cont.)

wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from other sources, I must also deny that the Gilyak ever undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which seems to be regarded as a form of a fictitious obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "ntschek" mean also brother and sister, and "ykyn" also means a brother-in-law, "ntschek" also means sister and "nauh" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "nyk" and "nyuk." But beyond that, the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapp (Ahlqvist, Beiträge zur über die Urgeschichte der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Miller, p. 309).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. /Further,

/636 cont.)

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and bring her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier

586 people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /587/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, meat, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or relatives live. And take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are not of a type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with the owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and the young people have the means to build a house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides the central room used by all the members of the household, with the hearth in the earth floor and the sleeping benches built in Chinese fashion, each family has in particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each household has its distinguished place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

At little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally intense people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, Ainu, and even more than the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

/643 cont.)

when young, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw in the village of Wanaj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, which, if I understand the matter correctly, serves the purpose of keeping the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschinscha-tschagal, or, more precisely, manicurbelge (chinscha=tschinscha-tschagal, that is, a wooden figure with human joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1285/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

The great prevalibity of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop at all even when the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore bedpants and the pouch underneath contrary to the usual sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and, as his imperious demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This reminded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in de Castries bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

/649 cont.)

the statement by Rinsö, could express the conjecture that the bojaktschutschi or bojaktschitschi of the Kamchadal known through Steller and Kraschenninikof (6), that is, men being used

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 301, note.
5. Kraschenninikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 479, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Steller's conjecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from the same source, that the custom of transvestism among the Kamtschadal or Kraftu (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Kraftu," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means correct: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "vest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteĉto, be explained? The truitworthiness of Mamia Rinsö, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting a report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (3), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in the

6. See p. 1046 above.

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Nippon, VII, p. 169.

It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

/556 cont./

by the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest, such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most important fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same time, their predominant and decisive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal, not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example, they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which, constructed in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg

1. The s is pronounced softly here, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The shorter one (called wa in Gilyak) is sharpened on its inner side, side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tigrsch) (2), on which

2. The s again pronounced softly. Tigrsch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of jukola or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the kasma is different for the fox and the wolf: for the former it must rise to about three and a half feet above the snow; for the latter, four and a half feet.

8 cont. /

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as l as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other erian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood ed per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, nymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" v wood) (1); as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

rder to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its ibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I e seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, overed with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side ed away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

yghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1276, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

/630 cont./

and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy: 3-4, [illegible] 6-7 [illegible] of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and [illegible] people, however, who cannot be used for any services, are exchanged for crude goods.[illegible] According to him, even the Aino from Jezo (Yezo) and from the island of Hiroto come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situation described. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 63 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinck's observation concerning the Ainu trade of the Aino has correspondingly with one above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin kept slaves, at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Aino. Inside purchase, however, the Samovar, as Rinck reports, also get their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country an security the brother, sisters, and children of these Aino who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Nikonsai, did not /631/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As diagnostic for as the Ainu practiced the selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha (s. yet nothing is reported, either by Rinck or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/631 cont./

peoples slavery obligated, as a rule, when prisoners of war, in other words, individuals from a foreign tribe, were made slaves and, in particular, women and girls were captured by the enemy in raids or as a result of conquest. This was the case among the Ainu, Koryak (4), and Aleuts before they were

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 326.

subjugated by the Russians. The Aleuts in particular were distinguished by their cruelty to their slaves, in that on festive occasions they sometimes slaughtered a great number of them (5).

5. Veniaminov, Zap. off. ost. Unalashk. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1840, Part II, Section I, Pt. II, pp. 83-89.

Wrangel (6) even reported of the Chukcher, who retained their

6. Pitesh. po sev. Ben. Sib. i gr. Ilouseny in the Region of the Northern Coast of Siberia, Pt. II, pp. 320, 324.

independence and individuality the longest, that among them, and, to be sure, the nomadic as well as the sedentary ones on the sea coast, there is a kind of serfdom or slavery, in that once ancient times the well-to-do have owned whole serf families who are not permitted to move away, have no property, and are wholly subject to the whims of their master, who use them for the heaviest services and labor and in return feed and clothe them. Wrangel was unable to find out anything definite about the origin of these slaves, but he thinks it probable that they are the descendants of former prisoners of war, and therefore from foreign tribes. The fact, however, that they have existed since ancient times and in whole families /632/ allows one to conclude that, in contrast with the Gilyak, they kept and bred slaves, given to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/634 cont./

mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1030, above.

people, members of one and the same kali may marry each other. The description of the Gilyak kin system (2) mentioned above evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the women not only has no rights to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brother, and then, as a woman, from the last brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for herself. The only thing she can do is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the home, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

2. See the information very similar to the one among the Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possession consist of their reindeer herds. According to Dittmar (3), among them, too, only the sons

3. Beitr. zur Ethn. d. Bew. Kamtsch. d. Ethnol. Mus. zu St. Petersburg, Bull. Acad. Imp. Sci., St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 159; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. VI, p. 1.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother, the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the deceased brother was married and leaves a widow, she goes to the next brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second younger, the third younger, and so forth, if she is unmarried, with them and lives. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

/635 cont./

husband, the widow may not marry any of the younger brothers, but must remain a widow. Thus, the marriage of the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free. Therefore, in the language of the Turkhanch region (Kirovskaipka), "Eniesai, ulu /The Yenisei District/", Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Ser. and Stat., p. 75. Turkhanch, "Turukhansk" (Turukhansk), Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Ser. and Stat., p. 75. Turukhansk,

/680 cont./

/Sometimes/ when it lasts too long for me, I, or more often my mate, put a stop to it. The Gilyak, however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. In this among the other natives of the lower Amur region, (Tscha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of an urging

1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimiously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Hinor. Berichte /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them that so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

/680 cont./

/684 cont./

The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs over a bridge set on the thin Gilyak /tema/, as in the case of the bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak /ymg-panetch/) is sharply curved and strong with horsehair (Gilyak /ymg/). The string, of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the stick much though the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems to me, judging also by its name, to be of Ochka, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to the purpose of it.

Since I rarely heard the Gilyaks sing in the daytime, for the material of this chapter, a statement by Middendorff about this, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, is all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (3) became acquainted with the Gilyak at the Tugur

3. It is well known that Middendorff

/684 cont./

/685 cont./

2. (cont.)

cards, the game being played with 120 cards, is in use among the Goldi of Tiling.

The latter have only the expression pej, that is, gratis or free, for card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each pipe of tobacco as a rule, seem more lawful to us an entirely harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese) made a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes. Przewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, especially along the Zymu-che and Suntuchan, where during the winter unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Prshevalski, Puteshi. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 90.

these circumstances it is surprising that it has not spread more rapidly among the Gilyak. A mat and that it has not become liked and in particular among the greedy and acquisitive Gilyak. It is undoubtedly because of the energy with which the latter have been able to keep the Chinese away. In the meantime it may also have been carried to them by the Russians.

Before I start the description of the bear festival of the Gilyak, I must cast a brief comparative glance at the peoples immediately adjacent to them, the Olcha and Goldi, with regard to the social and co-operative relations touched on above /686/ In my time, after the official Manchu-Chinese trade center of Deren was abandoned sometime in the twenties the Olcha, like the Gilyak, were not tributary to either China or Russia. Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

1. Cf. p. 960.

/686 cont./

But wealth does come into consideration to the extent that it does among the Gilyak, and those blessed with it do not enjoy nearly the respect enjoyed by the poorer people, and especially by the latter. But the reason for this, too, in large part is again the greater industriousness and gain-seeking of the Gilyak. If one of them acquires a certain amount of wealth, he continues to increase it by lending out to interest, or by buying new furs in the neighborhood and trade voyages, through which his name and reputation /687/ will become known far and wide in the country. The Olcha, on the other hand, are decidedly of a more indolent and more easily satisfied nature in this respect.

Another social trait that distinguishes the Olcha from the Gilyak is that their communism does not work merely within the boundaries of the village community, where during the winter and the later. And this is explained by the fact that, while, to be sure, they are most like the Gilyak in their way of life, their customs and practices, on the other hand they are surrounded by closely related Tungusic tribes with whom they have many character traits in common and whose dialects are readily intelligible to them. Thanks to this considerably lessened national consciousness, the individual man, to be sure, finds among them, in case of need, no help support by his more prosperous countrymen as among the Gilyak, but, on the other hand, a more peaceful, milder and more humane spirit than among the latter prevails over the whole.

Evidence that the Olcha, and likewise the Goldi, Samagir, etc., do not limit their communism to such narrow tribal boundaries as the Gilyak is given by the hunting customs already discussed above (1). On the Gorin, for instance, the Olcha,

1. See p. 910.

Goldi, and Samagir have their hunting tents, but these stand open, with their household and hunting equipment, to all hunters, regardless of what nationality they are, with the tacit presupposition that no pilfering of the hunting booty or implements

/686 cont./

/701 cont./

traffic within the yurt, for now with every step one has to stay close to the edge of the sleeping benches in order not to be unexpectedly trodden by the paw of a bear.

Only two of the bears, a very large animal of the female sex and a considerably smaller, yet fully grown, seven-year-old male bear, belonged to Dulin, who had bought them in the villages of Tschiwi and Arse, inhabited entirely and half by Olcha, respectively; the third and likewise male bear of medium size came from Kalin and was the property of another Tobach Gilyak. As in size, the animals also differed in coloring: the small bear was light brown, the large one dark brown, and the medium-sized one almost black. Moreover, the large bear differed from the other two in that it had a whitish-gray band on the lower part of its neck, but not enough to be called a collared bear (Gilyak /mik/) by the Gilyak. What happens only if the white is quite pure and extends over a large part of the throat. Finally, the three bears also differed in their behavior, especially in the way they defended themselves, as we shall presently see.

Immediately after we followed by the throng, had taken seats on one of the sleeping benches, another game was begun and XLVII /p. 1347/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details, the former here on the spot by Mr. Dmitrijef-Orenburgki, the latter by Mr. Fr. Ruauw, custodian of our museum.

On the evening of January 18 we were again in Nikolajevsk, where I immediately began the preparations for my second trip to Sakhalin. The day for my departure had already been set when Julin again appeared at my place. He had put the question bodhaftigkeit, whether it would be more favorable to resume the previously begun bear festival before or after his planned trading trip before some of the older members of the village, among whom there was also a shaman, and they were of the opinion that the festival should first be brought to a conclusion. He had therefore come to Nikolajevsk again in order to make a few purchases. In reply to his repeated invitation to come also, I

/713 cont./

long, and the cut-up pieces of meat and fat are kept in the storage chambers until it has been decided to resume the festival. But Julin did not seem to be in any hurry about that -- he was thinking instead of first going on a trading trip to Sakhalin. I regretted this delay, but I had the consolation of having seen the further course of the bear festival the previous year in the village of Uda. This village, to be sure, is no longer in the territory of the Gilyak. But in that of the Olcha, but since the entire custom of the bear festival was undoubtedly transmitted from the former to the latter, it is not likely, in view of the conservatism nature of primitive peoples, that there are any essential differences between them in the main features of the festival. The bear, which quiet had been restored: the many guests had departed, the dogs' table was set up again, and /714/ ulbach-feasts had given way to a greater freedom of movement inside the house. We stayed there for another day: I in order to organize and complete the many notes in my journal made during the past days, and Mr. Maximowicz in order to add the landscape background of the bear sketches drawn from life. These sketches of my friend, now unfortunately deceased, are reproduced on Plates XI /p. 991/, XLVII /p.1347/, and XLVIII /p. 1348/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details. the former here on the spot by Mr. Dmitrijef-Orenburgki, the latter by Mr. Fr. Ruauw, custodian of our museum.

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CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/761 cont./

heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224.

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237.

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/762 cont./

on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (***),

*** See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of uitsch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 851.

It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (tlö), where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earths, I was told that they also went beyond these, kikr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

45. Olcha. From Chossiambo I learned the following about the views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/772 cont./

1. (cont.)

members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tututngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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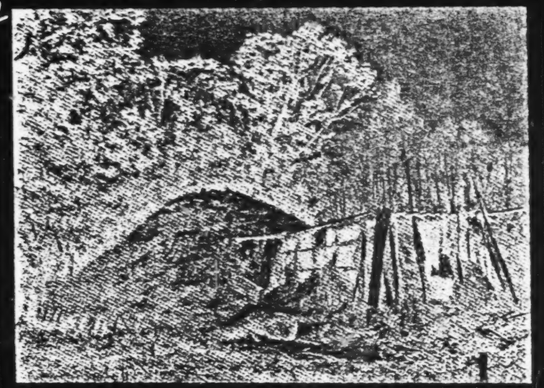


Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and layout of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually surrounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

[171] [171]

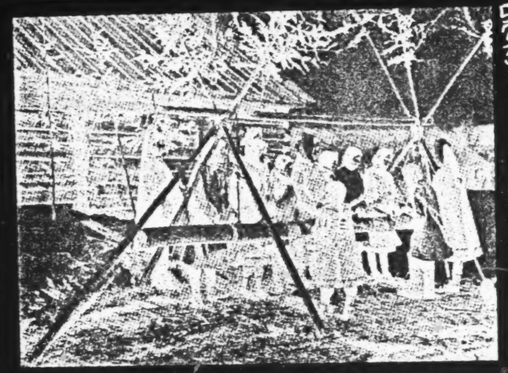
291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

[531] [439]

Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

534 291 342



Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth.

532 322 [171]

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

534 [596]

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

871 [212]

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 648

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

9: Hawes--207 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 171, 251, 262

"However unpleasant to the stranger . . . smoke-curing of fish by the Orochons whi it lasts may be, it is one of the few advantages that they can claim over the Gilyaks. The latter is entirely dependent on a sunny season for the drying of his catch, and if should be rainy, then he will be in danger of starvation before winter is over, from insufficient accumulation of stores; for dried fish is bread and meat to these tribes during the long winter. The Orochon, on the other hand, after hanging his fish to dra . . . . . slices and cuts them up and cures them in the shelter of his hut over his fire

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

*796 /722 cont./
504 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the
562 departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only
876 bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this
596 in their mōos as provisions for the trip.

Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog
*796 53 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon,
562 however, for the first and only time the women actively partici-
171 pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance
to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild
rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding
in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers,
and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and
contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It
vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka
women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was
drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels
and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators
796 jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of
562 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because
[157] in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men
and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and
activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high
[203] spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit
among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals,
a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2 See p. 719 above.

*796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is
756 much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely,
that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a
bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that
in the eyes of the Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would
disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over
the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause
bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

G *796 /722 cont./
562 It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/
756 who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might
easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the
festive meals as a matter of principle.

G The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting
*796 goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives,
504 friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear
114 meat and fat lasts; in Tebach, Judin told his guests, Ditmar and
Brevern, that it would last for many days since three bears had been
killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13)
the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in
exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to
Nikolavevsk.

G As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previ-
*796 ous year (1855) to witness this second part of the bear festival, con-
171 cluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village
114 of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essenti-
ally from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Ditmar's
report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the
adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a
brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with
reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five
Gi verst below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in
796 the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it
[114] decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the
Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however,
Gi opposite the étagère decorated with the bear's head and skin and
[198] with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha
gjamsassá), a second rack quite similar to the first one but some-
what smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its
shelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered
bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passage-
way between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off
by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the
whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

Gi /727 cont./
796 upon the rack in the central section of the yurt, decorated with
504 fir branches, numerous wood shavings (gjamsassa), and the bear-
[354] skin hanging down from the top, while the other lamps shed a
gloomy light upon the long row of totally befurred fellow-diners
sitting along its walls and, with legs crossed, waiting for the meal.
Gi There was /728/ something orderly and yet savage and uncivilized
796 about this strange picture. Now one of the servers stepped up to the
504 guests who had received the two head-pieces of the bear, cut from
596 these, as well as from the portions of those sitting next to them, a
small piece of meat into his bear-bowl, and went off with it.
Only now did the two guests in the middle draw up their portions
and begin to eat, and all the others followed their example forth-
with. Immediately smaller and larger fellow-guests presented them-
selves here and there, and a few young men passed along the whole
row of diners and collected from them contributions in special bear-
bowls for those who did not participate in the meal, and a few bites
were also given to the women and girls.

Gi By now it was 7:30 in the evening; the feast had therefore
796 lasted seven and a half hours and, judging by the size of the still
unconsumed portions, would not be over for a long time. Unfortu-
Gi nately I was obliged to depart, since the night had to be utilized for
[114] traveling on account of the great amount of surface water that had
already formed over the ice covering of the river at this time of
year.

G Let us now compare this second act of the bear festival as it
796 proceeds, on the one hand, among the Gilyak and, on the other,
171 among the Olcha. In spite of the great similarity in the principal
Gi and secondary features of this festive performance, a very different
796 spirit in the way it is carried out among the Gilyak and among the
171 Olcha is apparent to us. Among the former the character of the
festival is altogether original; among the latter, that of having been
transmitted. While the object of the whole is exactly the same,
purely utilitarian, in both cases -- the ultimate consumption of the
bear -- very different ways are used by the one and by the other to
G try to attain it. Among the Gilyak the bear festival proceeds from
796 the idea of the bear cult, or at least is tied up with it; it is
825
171
G
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G *796 /728 cont./
825 produced in part by veneration for the mighty beast, in part by
171 superstitious fear of it and its spirits of revenge. It is given the
Gi place of honor in the house, the people appear to act only with
796 its permission, reluctantly and out of sheer necessity, as it were,
825 and, finally, all guilt and responsibility are shifted from them.
171 On the other hand, scarcely anything of the sort is noted among
Gi the Olcha: the only superstitious conceptions referring to the bear
[123] and the bear festival which I found among them consisted in the
[392] fact that they did not want to sell me any bear meat and that they
[197] regarded it as uñsch (an idea which they have likewise received
[784] from the Gilyak) to go outside with fire taken from the hearth
during the bear festival, which, they said, was by no means for-
bidden at any other time. In contrast to the fearful, superstitious,
and, as it were, religiously colored conception of the Gilyak, the
second and most important part of the bear festival has degenerated
into mere ceremonial among the Olcha, a series of pedantically
observed formalities, such as one might expect from the millennium-
old Chinese, but not from a primitive people. Perhaps this degenera-
Gi [197] tion of a custom originally foreign to the Olcha, which does not
have its roots in the people, has indeed come about under Manchu-
G Chinese influence. Among them, too, all the foods served at the
*796 festival, with almost the sole exception of bear meat and fat, are
762 of Manchu-Chinese /729/ origin, whereas among the Gilyak, in
197 accordance with ancient tradition, sturgeon and hausen meat and
Gi mossj prepared from species of salmon play a prominent role at the
796 festival. It can be observed, incidentally, that the eating of for-
762 eign, Manchu-Chinese foods is always done with greater formality
197 even among the Gilyak, which can be explained by the fact that it
automatically lifts primitive man out of his everyday routine and
Gi puts him in an elevated festive mood. The greater number of Manchu-
[439] Chinese foods at the bear festival of the Olcha in comparison with
the Gilyak is undoubtedly due to the fact that their sources for these
products are closer and more numerous as a result of both the
permanent residence of Chinese traders in the habitation areas of the
Olcha and Goldi and the more frequent and active intercourse be-
tween these peoples and the Chinese on the Sungari.

G /730 cont./
*796 sometimes the right, sometimes the left parietal bone. In the
766 habitation area of the Gilyak I saw trees hung with dolphin skulls
825 to be sure, but I never came across any with bear skulls, though the
number of bears killed or captured and eaten there annually is
probably much larger than among the Goldi. This definitely indi-
cates that, unlike the Goldi, the Gilyak, aside from breaking
open or splitting the bear skull, do something else to it which is
scarcely less suitable than the covering of the bones for removing
it from the sight of human beings. In fact at various places in the
forest near Gilyak dwellings I have came across spots which, upon
close inspection, proved to be sites of bear skulls: trunks of young
trees were cut off several inches above the ground, the remaining
piece of trunk was split into two prongs, and the bear skull, split
down to its base was wedged into the split in such a way that the
two prongs projected out of the zygomatic arches and held it
clamped between them close to the ground; in addition, on either
side a short wooden peg was driven from above through the zygoma
arches and into the ground. /731/ If grass grows over the spot,
Gi nothing is recognizable to the casual glance. This method of deal-
796 ing with the bear skulls was transmitted from the Gilyak to the
766 Olcha and from them to the Samagir, who are closely related to
825 them and also directly adjacent to them on Lake Udyl and else-
[171] where. In the immediate vicinity of the village of Ngagha on the
G Gorin I found such bear-skull sites in two directions and in one of
[171] them, which lay in an open birch grove, counted within a circle of
30 paces, no less than nine bear skulls treated in exactly the same
way as among the Gilyak. Since the rest of the bear bones pre-
sumably also lie buried in the same places, they are not merely
bear-skull sites, but general bear-bone grounds.

The Goldi, who hang their bear skulls on trees, do some-
thing similar with other bear bones that are suitable for it. Near
Gi Bitschu, at the mouth of the Gorin, for example, I saw a decayed
[782] or split bear-skull lying on the stump of a broken tree a few feet
high, but below it in the underbrush hung various bones of the ani-
mal, among them a shoulder blade and a number of dorsal vertebra

/733 cont./

*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

*796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
364 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
798 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
333 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt.

[177] In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

/739 cont./ But they

796 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
124 called Mäll and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
798 figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms
171 akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
124 but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
782 question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
771 side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise
771 them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god" and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of

174 superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction be-
771 tween their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for various idols and their shamanism that I found:

Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
771 of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good
776 One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-

[182] stract, completely empty one and does not at all fit into the life, into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing concrete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word "pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about "God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except that he is "kängulätsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,

799 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them, such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him, therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/741 cont./

771 and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the
812 Gilyak; on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray"

174 (mäkgratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be ex-
771 plained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with

812 connection with each other and also historically distinct. --
The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps

[171] commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the attribute of "God," kängulätsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

/743 cont./

798 down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
532 black and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fastened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tybys. The Gilyak Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression tyf-ščigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard the word ščigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand. I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house, the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since the latter bears the name känigs, I must relate it to the yurt of the Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

798 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
532 human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
171 of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kägn like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to me: three large, wooden human-figures with old, smoky zach around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --

798 In the village of Kulk, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
532 same place as in Patt. This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
184 cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
[353] keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may therefore have contained idols, while seeming to me not to have any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously revered the idols are. (1 W.R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

798 /746 cont./ A /746/ fact which speaks very much in
791 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples,
171 whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

798 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the
532 animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The
825 reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few
[171] bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p.1258/, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kulk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

[126] 2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259/, Figs. 7, 8.

Gi 798 /752 cont./
825 the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chala has had
173 only a few inhabitants. (2 S.R. I, p. 39.)

Gi 25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a säwuchsa
798 provided with various säwa or representations of idols, to be worn
825 around the body as an amulet against sicknesses (Plate LX /p.1260/,
751 Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two snakes (dshalda), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fox carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khasj (chaž of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the toad and the human figure, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak

G in Chiare and which is also carved by the Olcha as protection
G1 against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak kägn
798 and the säwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the con-
791 clusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious con-
171 cepts and ideas of these peoples. (2 S.R. I, pp. 32-33.)

Shamans

G 756 26. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak the shaman is employed much
184 less than among the Tungusic Amur peoples, the Olcha, Goldi,
[171] Kile, and others, and therefore the shaman's implements are much less frequently found among them. Just as among the Amur peoples in general, so also among the Gilyak in particular, shamanism is found more and more rarely downstream toward the Liman or toward Sakhalin. One scarcely comes across shamans and shaman implements from Wassj on and anywhere along the Liman. After repeated inquiries about them, I did not see any or hear of any. Thus shamanism seems to have moved downstream and to have had its origin farther inland. (Bm. I, p. 75.)

G 756 /753/ 27. Gilyak. In the whole area of the Amur Gilyak there
are only a few shamans who have a reputation among their country-
men. I was told that the most famous of them "a great shaman,"

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, 171, 492

"This is the main distinction between the habits of
mer use reindeer for sledge-drawing, and the lat
mer for hunting only. The Gilyak name on Sakhali
latter calls himself Orumada."

f the Orochons and Gilyaks. The
tter dogs. The last are kept by the
in for the Orochon is Or'nish, and

These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace", the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of Genghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 237] [242]

Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

172

CHEOLOGY--prehistoric culture sequences and chronology (e.g., as determined by geological and paleontological evidence, stratigraphy, typology, -ring dating); archeological supplementation of the historical record; lence from epigraphy; historical inferences from archeological data; cription of archeological sites or artifacts; etc. See also;
rcheology as a discipline. 814

/15 cont./

174 114 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary reasons, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to save itself by flight from its normal territory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the new territory in which these animals accidentally appeared was their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur, but nevertheless both the Sakhalin and the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

● 172 174 192 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers, having replaced or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea animals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as nistan' (maple), tarman' (yew tree), nuguchep (sea pig?), and others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement on Sakhalin Island, right up to its northernmost extremities, one encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found pot fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits), a name which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as 172 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are regarded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/16 cont./

● 172 by accident), while it is known that the Stone Age on the extreme northeast of Asia is not so far removed from the present epoch that the Gilyak, unless they were very late arrivals, would not have preserved some independent traditions about this period. It is interesting that even the Ainu, in turn, stubbornly repudiate these ancient pits found in their own territory on southern Sakhalin, ascribing them to another people, the mythical Ton'chi. Like the Gilyak, they regard the pot fragments found in these dugouts as in some way sacred and excellent medicine, for example, for toothache. As a matter of fact, these pits could hardly belong to either the Ainu or the Gilyak, for, if either of them had ever been familiar with pottery, they would never have lost it. If they had ever known this art, it would have been reflected in their legends, which have preserved an even more ancient recollection of a primitive way of boiling water by means of burning-hot stones.

In their shape, their large size, their unusual location, and their suitability for self-defense, these pits resemble the large pits of the Eskimo more than the contemporary pits of the Gilyak and the Ainu. Whatever the case was, the Gilyak, finding the Ainu on Sakhalin, naturally had to suppose that these ancient pits belonged to the Ainu, and the Gilyak term kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits) speaks convincingly enough for the fact that the Gilyak were not the aborigines of Sakhalin.

173 /17/ These objective data on the aboriginal inhabitants of the island are confirmed by numerous legends about the bloody wars of the newcomers with the Ainu, who, in the graphic expression of the Gilyak, at the time of the arrival of the latter on the island, even on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk, were as numerous "as mosquitoes."

Finally, many clans of the Gilyak in the extreme north regard the Ainu as their ancestors, about whom they have preserved the most clear and numerous legends, which have been carefully recorded by me.

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This ● [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

Eskimo 1

000 /451 cont./

2. (cont.)
by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 299).

G 323 17 without intending to specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to E 323 194 draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art G 323 648 17 of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Ainu of which Mamia Rinsô spoke was or is only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, how- G 323 ever, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back, it in any case has nothing to do with the potsherds ● 172 which have recently been found in the earth, together with stone tools, at various points in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, especially along the Patchä River and in Taraika (3). These potsherds

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Patchä River, about 10 versts from Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tschchyrkrach or Tschnyrrach (as the Russians call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, various stone tools (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, most of these articles were sent to the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

/451 cont./

323
172

3. (cont.)
/Imperial Academy of Sciences/ and are in our museum. Three years later, near the village of Taraika on Sakhalin and likewise at the bottom of pits which looked like the remains of earth huts, Lopatin found numerous stone tools and fragments of pottery vessels (Kropotkin, according to information from Lopatin in Izviest. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 307, 308). Subsequently similar finds were made repeatedly at the southern tip of Sakhalin. Finally, in 1881, Poljakof succeeded in obtaining at the site of the Russian outpost near Duĭ on the west coast of Sakhalin a rich collection of stone tools and old potsherds. The latter were not infrequently marked with patterns which were reminiscent of those that he had found in the Olonez District and in the Oka Valley in European Russia (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 19).

[113]

[113]

some of which have been available to me (4) and which were

4. The potsherds, in part from the Patchä River and in part from Naiputschi on southern Sakhalin, that were available to me were made of a coarse, reddish-yellow to blackish clay, which in places contained fine gravel, small pieces of quartz, and sometimes little pea-sized pieces of rubble. They were sometimes provided with fine impressions arranged in rows, sometimes with crisscrossed stripes or

G /451 cont./
323
172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchä River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

G /730 cont./
* 796 mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 5,
412 from a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during
G the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially
[172] by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is unmistakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,

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* 796
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1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill sturgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but content themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

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2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

173

173 TRADITIONAL HISTORY--oral historical traditions and evidence as to their reliability; dynastic lists and genealogies; historical inferences from myth and tradition; etc. See also:

Traditions of kin groups 81
Myth texts 859
Kinship genealogies 601
Mythology 773
Historians and genealogists 814

out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.

The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the improvised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

/16 cont./

172 by accident), while it is known that the Stone Age on the extreme northeast of Asia is not so far removed from the present epoch tha the Gilyak, unless they were very late arrivals, would not have pr served some independent traditions about this period. It is interes that even the Ainu, in turn, stubbornly repudiate these ancient pi found in their own territory on southern Sakhalin, ascribing them another people, the mythical Ton'chi. Like the Gilyak, they re the pot fragments found in these dugouts as in some way sacred an excellent medicine, for example, for toothache. As a matter of fact, these pits could hardly belong to either the Ainu or the Gilyak, for, if either of them had ever been familiar with pottery they would never have lost it. If they had ever known this art, it would have been reflected in their legends, which have preserv an even more ancient recollection of a primitive way of boiling water by means of burning-hot stones.

In their shape, their large size, their unusual location, an their suitability for self-defense, these pits resemble the large pit of the Eskimo more than the contemporary pits of the Gilyak and Ainu. Whatever the case was, the Gilyak, finding the Ainu on Sakhalin, naturally had to suppose that these ancient pits belonge to the Ainu, and the Gilyak term kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits) speaks convincingly enough for the fact that the Gilyak were not the aborigines of Sakhalin.

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Finally, many clans of the Gilyak in the extreme north regard the Ainu as their ancestors, about whom they have preserve the most clear and numerous legends, which have been carefully recorded by me.

342 796 178 192 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the mann
entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of th
171 174 492 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact
riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chuk
the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is u
doubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic wa
life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the
and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- c
sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus
The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clear
vealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the G
and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the te
and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details
building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, wit
feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dog
driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chuk
among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gi
way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the p
ent. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamch
as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to
compare a very widespread legend.

173 174 133 [614] Among the numerous legends that I have collected ab
the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered
legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so
called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything t
carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part cloc
earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes o
ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is s
pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, w
it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takr
[614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settleme
of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. Ther
nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not inf
quently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

they masters. It is very strange that among these people who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

The characteristics here described apply also to the Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

till the end of May. South of the lower Amoor are the Shanalin mountains, which arrest the progress of birds. On the upper Amoor and in Trans-Baikal very little snow falls, and there are no mountains of great height.

The day after leaving Sofyesk I observed a native propelling a boat by pulling both oars together. On my expressing surprise my companion said:

"We have passed the country of the Gilyaks who pull their oars alternately, and entered that of the Mangoons and Goldees. The manner of rowing distinguishes the Gilyaks from all others."

The Mangoons, Goldees, and Gilyaks differ in much the same way that the tribes of American Indians are different. They are all of Tungusian or Mongolian stock, and have many traits and words in common. Their features have the same general characteristics and their languages are as much alike as those of a Cheyenne and Comanche. Each people has its peculiar customs, such as the style of dress, the mode of constructing a house, or rowing a boat. All are pagans and indulge in Shamanism, but each tribe has forms of its own. All are fishers and hunters, their principal support being derived from the river.

The Goldee boat was so much like a Gilyak one that I could see no difference. There was no opportunity to examine it closely, as we passed at a distance of two or three hundred feet.

Besides their boats of wood the Goldees make canoes of birch bark, quite broad in the middle and coming to a point at both ends. In general appearance these canoes resemble those of the Penobscot and Canadian Indians. The native sits in the middle of his canoe and propels himself with a double-bladed oar, which he dips into the water with regular alternations from one side to the other. The canoes are flat bottomed and very easy to overturn. A canoe is designed to carry but one man, though two can be taken in an emergency. When a native sitting in one of them spears a fish he moves only his arm and keeps his body motionless.

Gilyak RRR

A 796 [722]

ring, in which the women also took part with renewed weep-
leted the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the
own in Fig. 88, which is copied from
ibe's drawing. The general appear-
e hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.
hort account of the mythology and
f the Ainos given further on, there
bear stories which are of interest in
n with the ceremonies described, in-
ow the Ainos regard the animal in
ns to themselves. As Dr. Scheube
the bear is more to them than a mere
he forest, to be hunted and killed for
raiment.

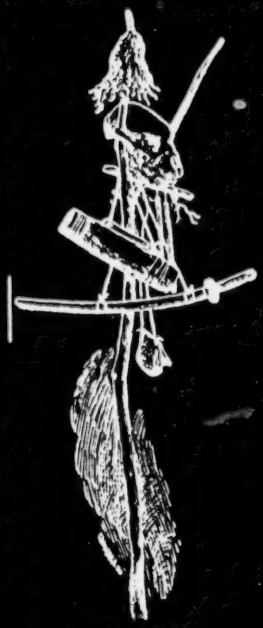

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

A [778]
A G 171 796

nos are not the only people who wor-
bear in the manner described above.
rthern part of Saghalien there are a
ite distinct in their physiognomy and
from the Ainos known as the Gil-
Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast
e Gilyaken, the description of which,
by Dr. Scheube in a later communi-
substantially as follows. The mother
ot and the young one is caught and
t not suckled in the village. When
l is large enough he is bound with a
und the neck and another on one of
egs, and then led in triumph through
e. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while
er of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear
r a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is en-
l furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot
arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings
ding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon
feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer
o him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the
r do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any
s. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the
in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both
nitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

n has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr.
as given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

en und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an

9: Hawes--240 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 173, 183, 212, 539

"The Gilyaks have no written language, but they hav
of it. I learnt it from one of their number, Imdin by n
known to have been brought up and educated by the Ru
and had been sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I
cal exile, to whom he owed nearly everything.

'The legend current among my tribe,' he said, with
a Chinaman were talking together one day on the shor
books and letters (characters) to the latter, when mo
and blew away all the letters save five; and to comple
the Gilyak's back was turned the Chinaman meanly m

The Ainus have a not dissimilar legend, in which,
letters and records were stolen by their guest from J
ing from after-dinner effects."

ve a legend to account for the want
name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak
ssians. He is an intelligent youth,
met him in the charge of a politi-

h a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and
re. The former was showing his
st unfortunately a great wind arose,
ete this great catastrophe, when
ade off with the small remnant.'
according to one version, their
Japan, while they were yet recover-

/18 cont./

73 hurricane breaks up the joined ice-floes and carries separate floes
74 together with the hunters caught on them, into the /19/ open sea,
33 often throwing them on the shore far from their place of residence. One can also not infrequently see tremendous pieces of turf, on which dozens of people could be placed, being carried on the waves of the sea, having been torn from the coastal tundra by storms. During the civil wars among the Ainu, when someone urgently needed to escape from persecution, there existed a practice according to which the persecuted one fearlessly transferred his family and his boat to a "hovykh" which happened to be passing by fixed on it the sacred pole with the sharpened wooden tongues, and entrusted his fate to the caprice of the wind and the current.

Now, if we consider that the currents pass from the north along both shores of Sakhalin Island and the continental coast, currents which carry ice floes almost until the month of July, one can allow with more or less probability that the legendary hovykh served as that natural means by which individual seekers of adventure or exiles moved from the north to the south, and furthermore it is not difficult to imagine how, step by step, such migrations reached the extreme southern limits of the present-day Gilyak area of settlement. Almost before our eyes, since the time of Middendorf, the northern boundary of the permanent area of settlement of the Gilyak has descended from the mouth of the Tugur to the mouth of the Kol' River.

74 We should not imagine, however, that the migration of the Gilyak into their present territory is a matter of a historical epoch very close to us. We have positive evidence about the permanence of the boundaries of the Gilyak territory for the last two and a half centuries, and the legends of the Gilyak about the island and the continental coast depict this tribe as fully acclimated to its present homeland, and among primitive peoples such acclimation comes about through a long process of many, many centuries, maybe millennium.

29 At this point, I cannot fail to mention one characteristic fact, which is in a way characteristic of the ways of thinking of the Gilyak themselves, on the question of their kinship with other tribes.

/86 cont./

* 614 597 [173] Adoption has played an enormous role in the life of the Gilyak. I do not know a single clan whose legends do not contain accounts of members of other tribes as the founders of the clan. I have already discussed in the first section how it happened that separate adopted individuals instead of the established element came to be the first and foremost founders of the clan, indicating that the newcomers, as the more energetic element, brought with them a greater endurance in the struggle for existence and a la longue /in the long run/ survived the less staunch, enfeebled aborigines who were gradually dying out. Such, it may be, is the law of a fixed supply of racial energy, which finally runs low under unfavorable conditions. The descendants of the newcomers do not escape this fate, of course; they in turn will be replaced by newcomers, if the clan as a whole is able to preserve its existence that long.

* 614 597 173 Now I will add only the following to what I have said earlier. It may seem strange that a clan formed out of aborigines and the descendants of newcomers should nevertheless categorically consider its founders the former and not the latter /sic/. But here is how the matter is explained. Despite the fusion of the clan with the newcomer, the old feeling of kinship continues in effect. The descendants of both sides, while fulfilling their clan obligations, nevertheless do not incorporate, but continue to maintain themselves as separate groups, each keeping its own account of kinship according to tradition. I observed this more than once in those clans in which there were descendants of aborigines and newcomers. In the settlement of Tangivo, for example, settled by the representatives of a single clan, one half (the most prosperous) traces its origin from an Ainu newcomer, the others consider themselves aborigines. When in the course of time the latter become extinct -- which is already noticeable -- it is natural that the former, who will remain the only representatives of the clan, will

/86 cont./

* 614 597 173 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is everywhere.

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

* 614 378 996 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there sits, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[171]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also plays the role of intermediary between human beings and the gods; he intercedes for human beings, he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/266 cont./

177 58 [173] To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who, judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the mass of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of

[191] [601] religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

/267/ XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

582 538 We have already had occasion to introduce in another place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the an'g:ej the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

58 Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the

[538] maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/285 cont./

117 614 103 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese

[167] [563] came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymifing.

117 103 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli -- * 173 from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
● 193 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
117 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
103 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
193 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
628 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The
682 Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
117 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
103 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.
614 Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
117 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
103 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language,
191 and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hôinchá) came here
117 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
103 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchaji on the Amgun)
173 came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party
[614]

/286 cont./

117 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:,
103 Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/
● 173 notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing
[173] see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal
117 Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhajl. 3) Khal N'askhajl.
103
361

Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from
[162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the
117 Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chêdzigr (see below)
582 and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally
117 the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They
103 all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en-
173 campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared
[539] before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

/287 cont./

117 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
103 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
● 173 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in different directions. Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
117 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
103 ground (1896).
361

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
117 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
614 their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /288/ (from chozmudz: -- to
[103] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish
[361] milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:nâ? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
117 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
103 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came
614 here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbi-fing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the
[361] settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chiing-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
117 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
103 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
● [361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
117
103

/295 cont./

III.

Legends about the Past

● 173 In connection with the excavations (1), the old man Toyon

1. Which Shternberg carried on.

said: "These are Korean. Long, long ago there was a war. Formerly Koreans lived here; then the Chinese came and drove them out.

"Long, long ago the Chinese lived in Puir on the Amur. The Chinese pursued them and shot at them with a cannon.

"There were at that time few Gilyak. By a cape on a hillock near the very village (Langr) they placed a cannon (the hole remained) and shot at the Russians around the boulder stones in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stones). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the forest burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it."

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, which "at night cried and went to drink water; now all the water has dried up," "vessel dry up," i.e., is lost.

One old man assures us that within his memory and the memory of his father the Gilyak and their neighbors have occupied the same places since olden times. The Manchu (the Chinese, Manzy) have come here since the Russian War. They did not build large towns; they settled in groups of one or two houses, and only in Tyr, Akhcha, and Mykhyl' did they have guards. Their governor lived in Tyr.

With the appearance of the Manchu, during the war with
[648] the Russians, the Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and other
[169] places, but upon the departure of the Manchu, they began to come back.

/295 cont./

According to a different version, when part of the inhabitants ran away and another part was captured, three persons (two men and one woman) saved themselves, /296/ who killed two suns. When they came back, they found mountains where the Amur had been, and they went back (from Shul'gin Khokfing, 80 years old).

The Manchu fought with the Russians who had come down; in the spring during the run of the hump-backed salmon, some Russians hid themselves in the taiga, and they could not be found.

The Russians from the Amur saved themselves on the Amgun; the Manzy pursued them, but unsuccessfully. Then a Chinese general asked the god for snow, and snow fell knee deep, and they found the Russians by their tracks and slaughtered them.

After the war with the Russians, the Chinese set up a post on the upper Amgun (the Burukhan) -- "while the post stands, the Russians are not allowed to pass." Now the post has fallen down.

On the Amgun there is also a mountain, "Namnakhan," 19 kilometers below Guga, with hoof prints. This is where the Manchu spent one night during the war with the Chinese.

There is a stone kettle and a boot on the cliff "Gulyakhan," the storehouse of the Shadrinkskiy mines.

According to a legend a Manchu inscription is preserved on one of the mountains.

The guides of the Chinese on the Amgun were Negidal from the clan Umkan, while on Lake Orel' -- N'as'khajl.

The Russians roasted children on their bayonets and ate their meat; they cut off women's heads (1896).

A legend has been preserved about the way in which the Amur natives fought the Russians. Once the Manchu pursued the Russians, but left a part. The Russians, on their way back, decided to attack Tyr, thinking that they were Manzy. The Gilyak placed stones on wooden boards and fastened them. When the Russians came up to the cliff, they let go of the rope, and all the Russians perished except one who started to swim; he was caught, and the Kern-khal handed him over to the Arn-khal,

/296 cont./

173 648 The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement Kaki).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychkh-khotin). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagil, in his youth went without a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a fodder /kormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

614 796 Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ek:r: vytch. They come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present. They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivukh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says: "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

/302/

595 58 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers m widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wi the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of o sister down to the fourth generation.

614 173 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirul who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the K in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same lo and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1).

[114] 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 839 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wif Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the pot Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent t in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and sle Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother a brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, w he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlem Mago).

/349 cont./

194 167 Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, these were the places closest to the continent: half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, [136] the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kaluga /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it even now, [175] [648] crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable per person (we must remember that in the past sable was three or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). [175] [167] [648] [435] The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every year." [173] Moreover, every time a Gilyak went to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pay one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sables each. [171] The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

/350 cont./

177 325 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this. As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel. [372] Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in 177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 241 181 492 252 415 323 174 173 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

"After preliminary politenesses, I beg

'Has your father, or your father's fath
whence the earliest Gilyaks came?'

'No. They came from over there,' poi
know by tradition to have been their hom
had asked me—

'How is it the Russians have come her
in the forest?' "

gan by asking the cham—
ner, ever told you anything about the place

nting to the west, to the mainland, which we
e. But before he would answer my question, he

e, and why do they live in big villages and not

77 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
97 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

02 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
05 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

21 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

05 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
61 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

3 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
1 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
21 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to me
hat they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first
mmigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to b
ound on the Amur?

If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be sa
hat for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts,
owever, they are very backward. They know how to dra
r carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but
evertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are
bsolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music
Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a
Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him
nstantly after many years, and at the same time recalls
inds of minor circumstances accompanying the original
neeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at
east many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not
rue. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memo
would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruct
he different facts cannot be directly understood but must
e interpreted from the words of another, and thus a cert
magination and judgment are needed. For a time there w
school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak
children were taught to read and write. This they learne
very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of
course, do not have their own writing.

Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
orner I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peop
whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the
Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity th
hey give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak
lso gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts,
ot in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and
oon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian,
hey look about them with curiosity but they do not immed
tely reach for everything that strikes them and do not as
or presents. In this, as in many other respects, they ar
ecorous people.

If I must praise them in this connection, I must also s
hat their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
hat they would be interested in the main springs of cultur
t seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machin
bout economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

/xxviii cont./

114 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly
115 widely in Sternberg's works. In this respect, Sternberg enriched the
586 history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed
by him. When Sternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from
group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes
an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To ac-
cept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage
logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded
cousin marriage. The reasoning of Sternberg on the causes for the
transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin
marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Sternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage
of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established
the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably,
the conclusions of Sternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin
marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

Sternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution
116 of ishegaimya (avoidance), according to which people not having
587 mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations,
and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming
the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this
institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage
of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

117 Further, the works of Sternberg give a vivid picture of the
118 clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basis of their common
law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress
the correctness of Sternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite
of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the
Australians.

119 Sternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vushkah
588 and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi
(wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on
the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the
appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the
fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-
called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has
been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Sternberg
was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention
to it.

/14 cont./

120 The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in
121 such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Aino, the
122 Yukagir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak find themselves in the
same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them
in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck), but the basis
of this classification was purely external in character, namely,
their common position on the edge of the continent, and the con-
sequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous
peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more re-
cent newcomers who came from the interior of the continent to
the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship
between the Gilyak and the other tribes has not been lost, however.
Hypotheses about a common origin of the variables of the
Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were ad-
123 vanced long ago. My own investigation of the Gilyak language
convinced me that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed.
Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak lan-
guage and of many American languages, such as the merging of
pronouns with verbs and with nouns, the tendency /15/ toward
polysynthesis, the extreme mobility of phonetic changes, the
types of reduplication, etc., we can point to similarities at par-
ticular points which are extremely characteristic. For example,
one thing is common to all of the a highly peculiar cultus system
of numerals, according to which different categories of objects
can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them,
a system to which, so far as I know, there is nothing similar in any
of the languages of the Asiatic continents. All this, however, is a
problem for the future, perhaps the very near future.

124 Meanwhile, an easier question is still unsolved, the question
of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On
the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from the Tungus
tribes for animals (the elk, the roe, the badger) found in the lower
reaches of the Amur, but absent on Sakhalin, the late academician
Schrenck, the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of
the natives of Priamur krai, asserted that the original homeland of
the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now
125 living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin.
126 His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/15 cont./

● 127 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very
128 rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other
hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors,
the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is
nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among
the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned
were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be
a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary
events, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to leave itself by flight from its normal terri-
tory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the
new territory in which these animals appeared was their
their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's
conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely
not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of
the Gilyak on the Amur, the reverse being true of the Sakhalin and
the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

129 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on
130 Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers having replaced
or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the
linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea ani-
mals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as
131 inrit (maple), tarmai (yew tree), nugachep (sea pig?), and
others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in
any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines
of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement
on Sakhalin Island, right up to the most northern extremities, one
encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round
and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found
132 pue fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak
call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'ich (Aino pits), a name
which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as
133 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot
fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the
handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are re-
garded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/17 cont./

● 134 Thus, it is indubitable that the Gilyak are relatively late
arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time
cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the
Gilyak arrived in their present region from more northerly areas
closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of
Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
135 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
of ancient winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dugout is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is
no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the
arctic winter, in the Gilyak and the Ainu tribes (the Goldi
and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term
and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of
building the sled, the sides of which are made of birch bark, with the
feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and
136 other things. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee,
among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak
way of carrying on the sled already has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal
as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to
compare a very widespread legend.

137 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
138 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
139 very clear tale about the Gilyak, who once upon a time, in the
140 called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is
carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of
earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of
ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still
pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyvvo Bay, where
it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takvo.
141 It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement
142 of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is
nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infre-
quently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/18 cont./

143 hurricane breaks up the joined ice-floes and carries separate floes
144 together with the hunters caught on them, into the /19/ open sea.
145 often throwing them on the shore far from their place of residence.
One can also not infrequently see tremendous pieces of turf, on
which clumps of people could be placed, being carried on the
waves of the sea, having been torn from the coastal tundra by storms.
During the civil wars among the Ainu, when someone urgently
needed to escape from persecution, there existed a practice accord-
ing to which the persecuted one fearlessly trusted his family and
his boat to a "hovykh" which happened to be passing by fixed on it
the sacred pole with the sharpened wooden tongues, and entrusted
his fate to the caprice of the wind and the current.

Now, if we consider that the conveyance from the north
along both shores of Sakhalin Island and the continental coast,
currents which carry ice floes almost until the month of July, one
can allow with extreme probability that the legendary hovykh
served as that natural means by which individual seekers of ad-
venture or exiles moved from the north to the south, and further-
more it is not difficult to imagine how, step by step, such migra-
way of carrying on the sled already has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal
as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to
compare a very widespread legend.

146 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
147 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
148 very clear tale about the Gilyak, who once upon a time, in the
149 of the boundaries of the Gilyak territory for the last two and a half
centuries, and the legends of the Gilyak about the island and the
continental coast depict this tribe as fully acclimated to its present
150 surroundings, and among primitive peoples such acclimation comes
about through a long process of many, many centuries, maybe
millenniums.

151 At this point, I cannot fail to mention one characteristic
152 fact, which is in a way characteristic of the ways of thinking of the
Gilyak themselves, on the question of their kinship with other tribes.

/19 cont./

● 153 In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a
154 small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an
155 old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were
the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not
a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing
about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my
interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I
think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same
race. It turned out that the well-known seagan, Orlov, who served
in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an
Aleut, with whom my Gilyak interpreter had a chance to talk at
great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about
the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the
way, about the hunt for seal, they both came to the conclusion
that the Gilyak and the Aleut are kal'nyakhr (one people). Taken
by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course,
have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in
connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the
Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, characteristic.

156 Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants
157 of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possible for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak
tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no
role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the
Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such
thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at
the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened
Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus,
and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck
has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead
straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the
eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less
long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair
on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the
Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine
type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

/20 cont./

● 158 observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us.
At the same time, other facts and considerations provide us with a
159 full basis for believing that the ancient Gilyak type has completely
perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes.
This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a
160 gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of inter-
tribal marriages, which would be not at all surprising, but in
quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

161 In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected
162 information from the elders of each particular clan.
163 The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that
164 the founders of the great majority of the clans now in existence
165 were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes.
How could this have happened? This phenomenon even
at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or
another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution
or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien
tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry
(usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into this or that
clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that
has harbored them. The descendants of such newcomers normally
form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that
adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these
clans of newcomers or the branches of the clans founded by them,
in the time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while
the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in
the course of several generations died out. The most vital, gow-
166 ing clans or branches of clans are the descendants of precisely such newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers
and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic
and vital individuals, or this is the result of intertreeding, the fact
is not subject to doubt. I found it not only among the Gilyak.

As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in
167 perplexity, if in the course of a great number of centuries there
has been a constant influx of new elements from other tribes, an
inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female
slaves from the Ainu and the Goldi, and if these new elements
flourished and multiplied while the indigenes degenerated and died

/21 cont./

out, what remained of the indigenous type of the original Gilyak tribe? Yes, that original type irretrievably disappeared. The body of the Gilyak tribe died forever, but its spirit is alive, alive in its language, a language which, as we have said, stands completely alone in the assemblage of languages of the Asiatic continent, and in its peculiar customs and institutions which, together with the language, have survived all the vicissitudes of its physical transformation. The persistent preservation of the language is striking. It has not only protected itself against distortion by roots and forms from other tribes, but, in spite of the small number of speakers of the tribe, has preserved two large dialects and no fewer than five or six subdialects, which testify to the fact that there was a time when the Gilyak language was spoken by many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals scattered over a vast territory, who left us numerous idioms as proof of their existence.

But not only the language of the Gilyak tribe continues to testify to its isolated position among the surrounding nationalities: its social institutions, clan organization, religion, and especially /32/ the institution of marriage, amazingly peculiar norms of sexual intercourse, and equally amazing kinship nomenclature clearly testify to this. Before we proceed to this aspect of their life, however, we shall first touch upon, within the briefest limits, the external conditions of their life, the nature which surrounds them, and the outward appearance of the Gilyak.

II.

Environment. Type. External Life.

The nature amidst which these people live at the present time is full of the greatest contrasts. In spite of the southerly latitude (between 46° and 54 1/2° north latitude), the average yearly temperature falls in some places to -1.2°. The freezing of mercury in the middle of the island is a common phenomenon. Even in July there are minimums of 7.7°. Ice floats off the

/30 cont./

purchase fish. while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting. only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native places. The Gilyak likes to travel. however, even without various reasons for it. To make visits. receive guests. arrange celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of the Gilyak. Gloomy and stem while alone. he is transformed in society and becomes playful. gay, and garrulous.

In the north. in winter. between 30 and 40 people live in the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness. which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social framework of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure. with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu. and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them. a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage. and. although they could have influenced one another. they basically belong. speaking in the language of geology. to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother. while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives. who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father. he is no longer called by his former name. but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation. and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak. live in their yurts. and observe their family life for a long time. and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families. each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband. wife. and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word. to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu; ivn). and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their brothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk). and these call the former their children.

/35 cont./

The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke. but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters. or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship. i.e., with the whole clan. because. on the other hand. Familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds. among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to. but not to joke with. wives of the younger brothers. because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden. and. conversely. one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers. and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak. the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

So far. I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister. but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance. is it enough that a person from clan A. let us say. takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization. a type which.

/36 cont./

because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak. their migrations. depopulations. immigrations. and other such reasons. naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kinship nomenclature. which. without doubt. is a living reflection of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded. First of all. it is clear that the kinship nomenclature according to which. in a man. call the sister of my father-in-law mother (ymk). while my father calls them his wives. at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers. both own and jinate. called me another. can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then. in fact. the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers. while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system. marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is especially answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature, which I applied my clansmen of my generation. i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives. and conversely. they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came. i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers. is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives. and furthermore. as I have previously said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women. i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives. is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

my clan must. in turn. go to a third clan. whose ancestresses were sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej). but simply nav'ykh. and she calls me. not husband (pu; ivn). but ytk. akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan. reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not. however. arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular clan. the old principle continue to be observed up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak. not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail. I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came. i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting; it is composed of pi (ones own. your). pandf (kinsmen of the mother). and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of their mothers, the terminology has preserved an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh. i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus. for example. elder brothers. for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited. call the latter yokh). while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed. the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate. of the mother. but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriage with a

/45 cont./

[illegible]

/46 cont./

but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in turn. from birth. as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V) would be called Vasil'ev's wife. the daughter of Vasil'ev, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter. would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus. in the third generation. she would again bear the clan sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

6) As we have seen. Gilyak marriage to a considerable extent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship among the Gonds (Gondy) of the Gilyak system of marriage among many tribes of India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are. therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus. quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and. conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak). while Kohler. presenting this fact. and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms. even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler. "Das Recht der Hottentots, " in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft. Vol. XVI. No. 3. pp. 341-342. and L'Année Sociologique. 11th year. p. 306.

[illegible]

2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particular. on the strange institution of mock abduction. an institution which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Australians and the Eskimo. and. furthermore. in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction. as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives. the violation of

entirely enough to assume that in this way they want to avoid making the archer unsteady by noisy behavior, and thus to bring him into the danger of missing his mark. Or is the torture that they impose on the poor animal before its death meant to be a symbol of the serious nature of this festival? Even this conception seems untenable to me, for why should one torment an expiatory sacrifice that already has to suffer enough by its innocent death, as happens in this case; and, besides, does not the cruel treatment of the bear before its death give the impression of proceeding entirely from the overbubbling festive joy of the celebrators? Unfortunately, the traveller was unable to give any hints as to the significance of the ceremonies described, since the Gilyak were themselves unable to explain them. They celebrated [382] the festival the way their fathers and forefathers had celebrated it, without worrying any further about the meaning of the various actions. Jakobsen's friends in Nikolayevsk were equally unable to give *him adequate explanations on this subject. Probably, there-* fore, we need more frequent and more detailed observation than is available today before we can see into the matter clearly.

Finally, a saga current among the Gilyak which Jakobsen heard from a Russian station master who had lived in their territory for a long time. It goes as follows: A long, long time ago there appeared on the Amur coming from the east a small vessel full of enormously strong people of a dark complexion. These went ashore, attacked the villages, burned them down, and, without distinguishing age or sex, killed and ate all the inhabitants that they could lay hands on. Sailing up the river, they acted in the same fashion in the land of the Goldi till finally the invaded tribes recovered from their terror, banded together and moved in large hordes against the barbaric enemy, whom they then defeated in a bitter battle. All the cannibals were killed and their ship was destroyed. From this time on, the Gilyak always add, no more foreign people came to the Amur River from the east up to the time when the Russians appeared at the mouth of the river and took possession of the land.

174

4 HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION--inferences as to origins, migrations, contacts, prehistory and culture history from various types of evidence (e.g., anthropometry and language); etc. See also:

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/Information on the author's reconstruction of the
cousin marriage and kinship terminology, will be foun
and 331-347./

RX2 Gilyak RX2

development of Gilyak marriage norms,
nd in category 116, pp. 282-299, 316-328

clan VI from which it takes wives: has died out,
too few women in it, which is quite in the order
A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there
its women for the clan of the father's sister; the
even if it had extra women, cannot decide to dev
imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punish
the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marria
of other blood constitute the greatest of insults.
vengeance threatens the clan who would make use
other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however.
tives then remain: either to abduct a woman by
bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /4
nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one st
circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the
tions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreeme
with the parents of the bride and with her herself,
these latter appear to resist the abduction with all
while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious
everything required to give to the marriage act th
coercion.

Only with such an explanation of abduction c
stand why, for example, the Australian kurnai, h
their daughter to run away with her loved one, se
after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg
and beat her half to death. The Australians them
this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many trib
groom himself considers it his duty to beat his lov
cruelly than her parents: by this he desires to show
the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture
was in no way caused by a desire on his part to m

Finally, only with this illumination on the h
religious origin of the custom can we explain such
occurrence of the institution, which, in the form
duction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony o
peoples.

/48 cont./

174 583 614 615 606 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic: see yokh on p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 583 614 [673] [689] [682] Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin, [192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 583 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands, for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/124 cont./

*614 615 608 it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

*614 615 428 583 The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will, as we already know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

*614 615 ● 174 583 The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This [178] change we know: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the [182] father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

/125 cont./

614 615 174 583

violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of akhmal'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

614 615 796 574 182

Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandf'y in the bear festival.

In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in populous settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small annoyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: in the first place, the very rite of the festival -- the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablest and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the competition /126/ in wrestling, races, and dances, the feasts, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of enjoyments. Against the somber background of his gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and monotonous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only ymgi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own ymgi but akhmal'k do not participate at all.

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609 574

reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has

609 829 * 614

wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general

186 609 829

relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course, among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

● 174 * 614 615

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We can now resume it.

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● 174 * 614 615

Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observ in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clan akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonde ful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other c close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

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The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.
Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schr who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinar patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

/165 cont./

582 583 Concerning the primary obligation of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, supporting evidence is offered by another extremely important peculiarity of this form of marriage, namely, the fact that the bride price, i.e., the payment which is received by the father or the brother of the bride and which in the contemporary marriage plays an enormous role in the question of giving a woman in marriage, is here completely lacking or at least plays an insignificant /166/ role. In cases of marriages between cousins of the first degree, not only is a bride price not demanded, but it is even forbidden to mention it during the betrothal.

582 583 • 174 The absence of the bride price in marriages between pu and an'g:ej is clear evidence that the marriage between these categories was at one time an obligatory marriage, and in the case of obligatoriness it goes without saying that there can be no question of any financial obligations.

There is no doubt that the bride price was a later institution. [538] In the traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called n'astund, in which the procedure of betrothal is so often described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "fathers-in-law" usually fill the boat of the bride with all kinds of valuables.

583 174 Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays in the economic life of the Gilyak, sometimes representing the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature; the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be of a more compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the nature of these motives in more detail later on.

602 606 As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "fathers-in-law" and their legal "sons-in-law" /zyat'ya/. These relations are surprising

/170 cont./

832 *835 684 627 114 complaint against a local woman, who the evening before had seized him by the leg, on the grounds of which he was demanding "ransom." They summoned the culprit. She confessed and by the decision of the assembly she was obliged to hand over publicly to her accuser an adjudged ransom, namely, a puppy and a birch-bark dish. Why the fine was limited to such insignificant objects (if they were not merely symbols of especially female labor) I explain only by the fact that the guilty woman was entirely alone and did not possess anything more valuable.

834 *835 • [174] [157] /171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen, punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and inevitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons of forbidden categories has become converted into that same instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual intercourse between the categories of pu and an'g:ej realized. In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

*835

/205 cont./

198 unity of the latter. Life, it is true, has somewhat softened
* 614 the rigor of the prohibition; in some clans at the present
615 time the prohibition covers only those members of clans who are actually married to sisters, but formerly, evidently, the prohibition embraced all the members of both clans; even in its weakened aspect, however, the prohibition leads unavoidably one way or another to some cases of marriage outside the phratry.

The case which we have just discussed is by no means hypothetical; it is repeated in its peculiar form in the daily life of the Gilyak at the present time. As an illustration of this, we may use the legal case which we introduced earlier, with the consequences that follow from the marriage of two persons of different clans to two sisters, where one man is from the akhmalk clan and the other from the ymgiui clan. . It is of interest to repeat here that in this case group marriage among several clans is no longer allowed, but the children of these marriages are considered tuvn and cannot marry each other.

Thus, the depopulation and the thinning out of the people of a clan leads to the following extremely important consequences: 1) allowing free marriage to a woman not from the clan of one's mother begins; 2) members of one and the same clan can be married to women of different clans; 3) a man and his "brother-in-law" /syat/ (navkh, brother of his brother's wife, i.e., brother of his own wife) may not be married to sisters; 4) finally, thanks to free marriages, the old four-clan phratry entirely loses its limits, for, as we shall see further on, to every clan into which even one member of the phratry has become related by marriage are extended those same rights and obligations which pertain to a clan of the phratry, and thus it is as though this new clan were adopted into the old phratry.

198 For a certain time, the "free" marriage was a more or
* 614 less /206/ exceptional phenomenon, called forth by condi-
615 tions likewise of an exceptional character. In its way stood a huge obstacle -- the religious imperative which prohibited

/206 cont./

* 194 giving women to clan members. The procuring of such women
195 presented great difficulties. As a result of this long struggle
614 for the women of alien clans -- a struggle about which it will
[593] be necessary for us to speak in detail later, there appeared the institution of the "bride price," payment for the bride -- an institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

But once having appeared, the institution of the bride
194 price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading
585 of the institution of the free marriage.
* 614 The bride price became the most powerful temptation
615 for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no necessity for their being violated.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who came into being with the establishment of trade relations, began to look on the free marriage union as a means of satisfying their ambition and of becoming related to people who were their equals in wealth and distinction.

And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorable
* 614 circumstances, notwithstanding the intrusion of the new in-
615 stitution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to live
178 and to preserve their power over minds. In the great ma-
[583] jority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than all
[582] the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In the eyes of the contemporary Gilyak, marriage from the akhmalk clan, from the mother's clan, is still the only "pure" marriage, and the most favored marriage for each individual man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother, in which case bride price is not only not required, but is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and then are spontaneously drawn into the ruts of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry for one or another reason from his mother's clan, but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take wives from the old clan of the ancestress. In other cases, if for some reason a return is not possible, then the alien clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the lawful marriage clan for his offspring, who in each generation

/263 cont./

195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not so difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'ávind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: nlg-yyvyl' n-hnyl' pri-k pavá -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'ávind, -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice ájvund -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (ájvun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's
* 194 own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
591 etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
[191] follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term gend -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

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195 /paterniteta/, with the wife moving into the house of her
196 husband. At the present time the original meaning has disap-
58 peared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often for the expression "to get married" there is added to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this
* 194 is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving
591 into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being
[191] supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of
196 marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as
58 far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menash vavin kuil iymd, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ájvund is used in the sense of to marry, to have a wife, for example, menyn nuvn an'g-ej n'enyn' ájvuta -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several
178 remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony
[582] of this is found in the contemporary formula of common
[583] marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymgui
[614] ainikh jag-n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although, according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from his mother-in-law.

Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system
[191] where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

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602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
191 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
584 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not
593 the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the marriage of a sister depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
* 194 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
196 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
591 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says:
[191] n'i-umgarvo ivá, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivá -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and where husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin, namely, ymgui, literally "from old birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once in /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

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* 194 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
614 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
615 lived.
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In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym'river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

Usually at the present time children are given names
553 according to the clanmen of the father. Such is the general
184 rule, but there are still places, for example, the settlement
614 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clanmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
602 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
614 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the
194 present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak form of marriage are not in effect.

/270 cont./

177 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
[585] possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
[582] and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
[584] differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[585] become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the adjective "ry'gunal" -- legend -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
178 equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
556 a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
58 women who were famous for their special qualities, who
614 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
192 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
584 come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
* 194 pu -- husband, and the bride -- ankej. The term jokh,
which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

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584 The bride is not present during
184 the betrothal, the mother has the
[171] absolute right of veto, and the
kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
584 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not
• 194 at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage
accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motives
of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather
a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very
childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite
person or limited group of persons, and there could be no
question of full freedom of choice, all the more because the
marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.
584 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal
among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with
remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The
procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by
a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, when
the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the
matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first
conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, they
say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka
from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily
accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the
matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of
the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they
hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals.
The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist
them with everything at his disposal. And here they take
him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
[605] longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the
host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have
taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

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584 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to aid thee,
583 although I have nothing.
539 Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me, wilt
thou not wish to help?
Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, is it not
so?
Pevn: Of course.
Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have
pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall also
have, is it not so?
Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Thus in
truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?
Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready to
give thee.
After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks and,
finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised to
give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a
son. Let us become akhmalk'i."
To this Lakkan replies: I have already given my word to
others.
Pevn: What if you did give your word to another man?
You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to
court with you.
583 After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the
[584] business negotiations concerning the bride price.
Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride
price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call
this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I be-
lieve, throws light on the very origin of the institution.
• 194 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the
583 word az', az'r from azimynd (?) -- to give as a gift, so that
192 literally az', az'r means a present, a gift, which the family
or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of
the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is shown
[628] from the following. In other ritual cases where compensation
with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of
ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a
murdered man -- the term used is jus'kind, which means

/275 cont./

194 "to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ jus'kind -- "to
192 pay" is derived from the word us'kind, which in the middle voice
583 is a synonym of ukhskind -- to fight, to war (jus'kind is merely
628 the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- us'kind was
originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom --
peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still
be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by
me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered
father, they ask him on his return: Pytk us'kind joylo? -- "Did
you fulfill us'kind for your father (literally us'kind -- 'fulfill'),
did you take vengeance?" He answers: "ulk shukhra" -- "I
killed them all." Here the term us'kind is used in the sense of the
act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used
in the sense of ransom. "Kym nafdh us'kim -- "For their (slain
companion), they paid damages, ransom."
583 From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original
194 sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although
431 obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift
was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was
583 just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-
431 wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in
various values for several years, and they were very often no
less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

[126] 1. Here is an illustration of the in-
stitution of the bride price as an in-
stitution of mutual gift-giving, one
of many examples which I wrote down.
An elder in the settlement of Fomr,
a man who was not well-to-do, gave as
bride price for his daughter /sic/ two
Chinese kettles, one japanese /kettle/,
and five dogs. In exchange, the
father-in-law sent his son-in-law two
Chinese robes and for two or three

/277 cont./

583 of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol
182 of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the con-
clusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which
are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that
the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism
of new relations.
And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price
there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely
religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly
prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according
to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way
-- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this
point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the
ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this
[686] alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the
[682] nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slay-
ing of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this
case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation
in the whole clan.
583 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the
786 same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood re-
538 venge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken
long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of
the most common subjects in the epic works.
583 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment.
422 An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular
kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd
[439] (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are pre-
dominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade.
Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of
material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite,
Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also
big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include
fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In
• [194] ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

422 /278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
• [194]

[193] 1. The following splendid legend gives
evidence concerning this. In the cen-
tral section of Sakhalin there is a moun-
tain, Kryus' pal, and along side of it
another, somewhat smaller mountain,
the "wife" of the latter, who has run
away from him and hidden her shagynd.
Three riverside rocks represent the dif-
ferent objects of the shagynd. One bears
the designation Wa-ul-ŷif, meaning
"place where the Japanese saber is
buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place
where the kettle is buried," and the
third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium.
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered
my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in
this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with
me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are pre-
served for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for
the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when
one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a
dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner --
to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such ob-
jects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons
of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian
554 objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.
583 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly
735 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence
[556] of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

583 /279 cont./ Along with the distribution of the bride
582 price within the family, customs of a completely exceptional
character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox
form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given
to the "old akhmalk," i.e., to that akhmalk with whom a given
family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for
example, if in the course of several generations family A has
taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each gen-
eration have married the daughters of their own brothers, then
every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women,
who, as we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue
of the unilaterality of the cousin marriage, and receives bride
price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B,
usually to the brother of the mother of the woman who has been
given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is
alive. It is curious that the family of the groom presents this
gift to the old akhmalk as part of the bride price. This custom
is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant
sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the
brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards
receive the bride price for them, but participation in the dis-
tribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to
propose one's daughter or sister to the old akhmalk oneself,"
the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom,
"than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all
if a mother has several brothers and a nephew has several sisters,
then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the
[171] brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We
have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the
mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the
woman is given /280/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin
marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her
daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby
breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is uni-
lateral, and for the son of the brother of the mother the daughter
• [194] of this last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother
have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

4 marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the m
bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry
of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we
serving is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marria

33 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the
to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

33 For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh sho
56 fying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the br
woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types o
and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of a
ment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silv
lets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich,
and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artisti
decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her
her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some
one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepar
dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until t
of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get th
ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sac
with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to
the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry
should be proportional to the size of the bride price.
gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, th
3 to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a ma
6 greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or f
7 slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my
Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a
slave (akh), whom they provided with a Japanese sabe
ing the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambiti
people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bri
a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, is put in it t

33 The dowry, although it is compensation for the
22 price, since it frees the husband from great expenditur
wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, h
property /281/ to which the husband has no rights wha

/247 cont./

[101] ...ring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic. The Tungus with indignation and proud contempt [102] ...nomenon deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tungi's people and [103] ...ortified, while the Gilyak and the Orochon are dogs."

The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are [104] "chal-nyakhs" ("chal" — clan, people, tribe; "nyakhs" — one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese [105] ...inded people, saying that a Manchu was "yik-ungi" (father, [106] ...nscous, man), and a Japanese was "yakh-ungi" (uncouteous, [107] ...ungi, an ancestor which with the Gilyak means "man") only [108] ...low. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the [109] ...language of the Gilyak /249/ living at the mouth of the Amur [110] ...and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus. [111] ...ter the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the continent. The materials of the 1881 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census firm of [112] ...d proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, [113] ...ated in the northernmost settlement on the western shore of Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, [114] ...ame from the settlement of Nyamlun (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tangu, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement [115] ...of Chorra (on the continent, etc. The census further proved [116] ...that clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan [117] ...living on the continent. Moreover, the Sakhalin language, religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the [118] ...Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the [119] ...continental coast.

/248 cont./

[120] ...ion, it can be seen that the present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats [121] ...each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Ayamo, others [122] ...to Mauko, still others further to the south. The sable in their [123] ...homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he [124] ...is to have and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak [125] ...prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and [126] ...to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-versta [127] ...voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population [128] ...is sparse and sables are plentiful. In the Amur Gilyak land, in early [129] ...spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant [130] ...hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the [131] ...ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond [132] ...Cape Ei and the Tyrmi River, and at the time of Ekaterina, the [133] ...northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all [134] ...that in former times sable-hunting was carried out even farther [135] ...to the south. There must have been some reason which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from [136] ...their homeland and to spend more and more time in their hunting [137] ...activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite [138] ...rare and where their catch must be paid for by the fur from [139] ...Asia the hunting territories which they now use. /249/ The [140] ...reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin [141] ...by Gilyak from the continent. Gulgulyay, the ancestor [142] ...of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the [143] ...present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of hunters only [144] ...in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps [145] ...on the basis of some stream and placed snares along the natural [146] ...game paths in the mountains on the other side of the river to the [147] ...other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the [148] ...same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island [149] ...with its sable.

/249 cont./

[150] ...Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling [151] ...in a pioneering fashion, not only because of its good land in [152] ...called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded. [153] ...In the first place, these were the places closest to the continent; [154] ...half a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, [155] ...like Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same [156] ...abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kalugu [157] ...Pleco dogfish), sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of game, and the same climate. In early times, the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the hearth of [158] ...their ancestors for the sake of a pioneering life in a new country, [159] ...were those who had no hunting and fishing reservations by the Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free [160] ...tribal transportation, the Amur Gilyak. These were, of course, [161] ...still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move [162] ...to Sakhalin. Some were driven by enmity of wooden conflicts between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been [163] ...the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable [164] ...for every person over twenty years of age. The sable was three [165] ...or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur [166] ...Gilyak is still very expensive, one variety, for example, the Angun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of [167] ...interest. "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the basis of the Amur by the Manchu, as tax men, with the title of 'hetman,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable [168] ...per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak went [169] ...to the Chinese town of Sungari (Sahlinq), he was forced to pay [170] ...a sable /250/ for the privilege of entering the town and then also [171] ...to pay a sable for the privilege of being allowed to trade. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu [172] officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The [173] Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

/250 cont./

[174] Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There [175] was such a starosta, for example, in Tangdi. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they [176] could not produce themselves.

I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long [177] the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when [178] the first settlers appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they had brought with them [179] (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, [180] the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without boats [181] and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools. [182] No fish-hooks or fish-spears could be made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may [183] be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

[184] The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent, [185] have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. [186] They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of [187] wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They have given up [188] artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They [189] build yurts in the Manchu style and adorn them with numerous [190] chimneys of stone. They market Japanese sabers and they preserve [191] for person to person some ancient silver idols. They wear robes [192] and skirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics, they drink tea [193] and bell rice and beds (a special variety of grass). They have [194] begun to plow and sow, and they have begun to raise pigs. Perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. [195] What did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

[196] Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron [197] is the most important and the oldest. Because of their isolation [198] from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them [199] in very limited quantities. Iron was so dear that they have to process one, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. These boats and sled do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

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[200] ...permission, the emigrant hunts a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts [201] ...sable, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

[202] /253/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live [203] alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his [204] brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more [205] rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, [206] frequently all related to a common ancestor. The bonds of communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes [207] a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the present dwelling, is carried out individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women, who, in comparison with the [208] creation of foodstuff. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a [209] tribal transition, the Gilyak, which, by the way, proves that all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants, [210] clansmen or members of another clan, who have lived in dwellings, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, [211] and it is known that the latter enjoy any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt is abandoned, the owner [212] will always be found a pair of persons who can then only intentionally undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves move and gradually welcome co-dwellers. Thus, [213] the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen [214] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of movable property are: boats, sled, sled dogs, harness, nets, dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens that a boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

/277 cont./

[215] ...Russian settlers, etc.) only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

[216] /278/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live [217] alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his [218] brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more [219] rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern [220] Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, [221] frequently all related to a common ancestor. The bonds of communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes [222] a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the present dwelling, is carried out individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women, who, in comparison with the [223] creation of foodstuff. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a [224] tribal transition, the Gilyak, which, by the way, proves that all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants, [225] clansmen or members of another clan, who have lived in dwellings, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, [226] and it is known that the latter enjoy any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt is abandoned, the owner will always be found a pair of persons who can then only intentionally undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves move and gradually welcome co-dwellers. Thus, [227] the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen [228] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

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/104 cont./

[229] ...vague and incorrect all the modern Russian reports concerning the southern border of the Gilyak on the Amur are. Some generally this border is put deep in the Olcha area, even in the Goldi area and in the latter up to the Usuri (1). The chief reason for this

1. See above, p. 51 and p. 183, note 1.

[230] ...lies in the fact that even today the designation "Gilyak" is often used by the Russian as a collective name for all the dwellers living along the Lower Amur River and the adjacent seacoast. For the Russian, the Gilyak are the same as the Tungus are the Goldi. and, as I myself became convinced, even the Orochi of de Castries / De-Kastri/ and Kaiarkhafen simply Gilyak. A traveler, for example, who had his arrangements on what was said by Russian settlers or Cossacks -- and many have done it -- could see nothing but false information about the territorial boundaries of the Gilyak and the other peoples named above. But even a traveler like Boschmak /Bodmak/, who clearly and correctly indicated the boundaries of the Gilyak and the Goldi, falls for him. Mangun on the basis of the radical difference between their dialects of languages, nevertheless, considers the Orochi part of "Kidzi-Gilyakan." though there are no Gilyak in the narrow and true sense in Kidzi at all (1). The use of this designation

2. See above, p. 52, note 2.

[231] as a collective name for many peoples of the lower-Amur region often renders the oldest Russian reports useless for an investigation of a possible shift of the habitation sites of the Gilyak and their neighbors. just as is the case. for the same reason. for all the Russian reports concerning the Amur Tungus.

While, according to the above discussion, there appears to be no doubt but that the Russian name Gilyak for the people around the mouth of the Amur some from the Chinese Kile or Kileng. the question remains as to how the origin of this latter

/104 cont./

[232] ...designation is to be explained. Unfamiliar with any kind of linguistic research. I shall permit myself in this connection. only to express a surmise to which I have been led by special facts. It is readily observed that many names of Tungusic peoples, tribes. or his groups have a final syllable gir. Corresponding the many examples of this kind among the Tungus of Siberia (1). I

3. Many such names may be found among the Tungus tribes from various regions of Siberia enumerated by Georgi (Georgi. "Allgemeine Nachrichten von Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, Vol. I. St. Petersburg. 1775. pp. 244-248).

give /105/ as examples among the Tungus tribes living or roaming in the Amur region the Mangiu. Ulkagir. Bogagiu. Lalgiu. Gorgir. Yengir. Bagir. Bagir. Bagir groups of the Nogiu. Jurki. Ju. Mulkogir. Turbutkhakagir. Nikuskagir. Tschumkagir (1. etc/(2).

1. Middendorff (Reise. etc., Vol. IV. p. 1183) erroneously writes the final syllable Mulkogir. Turbutkhakagir. Nikuskagir. Tschumkagir.

2. When this final syllable occurs in the name of a non-Tungusic people, such as Yengir. we then I suspect that the name is of Tungusic origin.

It is noteworthy that these are all dwellers along the left. northern and western tributaries of the Amur River. I do not know of any Tungus who. on the basis of this fact. gives vocabularies at my disposal (3) give no information concerning it.

3. Klaproth. Asia polyglotta. linguistic atlas. Prtia. 1823. pp. XLII ff. Castren's

/105 cont./

A. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer Tungus. Sprache nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungus Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/. ed. by A. Schiefner. St. Petersb. 1856.

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[233] ...Tungus and the Tungus. Although the Gilyak in the ...ordinary sense. the Russian designation Kiljaki and Gilyaks. And that there is no doubt. if my surmise is correct. the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic peoples. tribes. and groups of the Nogiu. ...Tungusic word by the Chinese. is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic.

After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples. and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak. they became acquainted with the Gilyak of the Amur. Already 25 years had [234] 1665. on their first expedition into the Amur region. under Maxilli Poyarkov /Poyarkov/. they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Usuri -- which Poyarkov. by the way. thought was the upper Amur -- the Russians encountered the Gilyak and Goldi. and the latter. who had discussed later. the Natkos (Natki) followed. and after them the Gilyak. who. as the report states. occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Poyarkov went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them. until he reached the mouth of the Amur. where

/111 cont./

[235] they visited the large islands within sight from their coast. [236] barely wooded. and still uninhabited. on which they could peacefully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals. [237] sable. etc.. and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed. I am even inclined to believe that [238] whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the main land. as we have seen. was first made by the Tungi and later did not go beyond it. they did visit the Shantar Islands. even the westernmost of them. and bear island (Medvéshiy) located beyond [239] Tyuy Bay. At least the Russian Tungus (Tungi) called the Tungus gave to this island. in its unidoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff. op. cit.. p. 110.

origin. in that "Ngarbach" /111/ in Gilyak means "animal rock"

1. From nga -- animal. and nach -- stone. rock. Middendorff. p. 175. note.

2. Similar Gilyak place names are Tschichachach. Tschurbach. Tchach. etc.

[240] But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar Islands. since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the mainland is very low and since navigation around these islands [241] difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changeable currents. the floating masses of ice. the frequent fog. the pounding surf. etc.. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russians appeared on the Shantars. wintered there. and in fact [242] the beginning of the 19th century. the Gilyak remained away there just as later. in 1820. they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Amur River and from the seacoast and up water quarters at the mouth of the Great Ulkon (2). It is very probable

2. Komura. according to the accounts of the priest from Ushkoi Ostrog.

/112 conc./

2. (conc.)
Dzielchowski, who learned it it while travelling through his diocese in the winter 1878/79 (Zap. Ghen Sem., Part VI, p. 38).

that it was because the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed off the Amoors by the Russians that they appeared so hostile toward them when the latter advanced from there into their territory on the mainland. It is no wonder that they took advantage of their greater number and simply killed off the Russians. Now since, as Maximovich has shown, the trips by the Russians to the Amoor took place during the most intensive time, the Gilyak lost their former hunting territory altogether. It seems, then, that while in the course of time they lost territory on the islands in the northwest of their area of distribution, they advanced on the mainland southward from there to the west.

Much less can be drawn from the oldest human reports from the lower Amoor about possible battle shifts in the south of the Gilyak territory, along the Amur River. In them only the Aljasean neighbors are named, and at most the naming of the required to cross their respective territories is given. Moreover, all these reports are written differently, as has, according to Pojarkof, the further border the Gilyak operators, according to Chabarof the Aincharon, and according to Isepanof the Dyalchonen. The next question is how are these peoples to be identified with those known to us today from the lower Amoor region and how are those apparently contradictory reports to be reconciled.

As Miller (3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 326.

4. Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 809.

/113 conc./

2. "Ta-ram ka ki" (Sieboldt, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3 also Nippon 6: p. 102).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'ynta," with which, according to him, the Aina and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Tanta" is the Gilyak name for the Gold. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Aina on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the means of communication between the islands is the trade with the Amur peoples up to Mancha, it is scarcely conceivable that the name could have become acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Gold, through the Gilyak, and that the Japanese would then also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with the Japanese tendency to add the name to the Ohiba, who in their eyes were members of the same people (5).

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1703, which Middendorff found among papers in the Jakutsk Uchlisch (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 10), Gold is called the Gilyak Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankar," one can only recognize in it, by the name for the island and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Aina designation, bearing the modification of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur region which was unknown to them.

/113/ Though the name Samatan or S'ynta is plainly used by the Aina and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Ulcha as well as for the Gold, this is not the case with the name Ulcha, which is the usual report by Siberia Russ. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

/113 conc./

2. Gold, Tungusic or Tschelchi (3), Manchu." Now since the

2. Among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk, Middendorff found the name Tschelchi, however, only plied tung on the Amur (see his travel report in Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1, "Tschelchi," but it, goes village, the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, on the other on the mouth of the Sea of Japan, and both are highly significant today (3).

3. According to Gilyak (Tschelchi, von der Insel Tschalcha /Tschelchi/ Tschelchi, Tschelchi Insel of Sakhalin)," = Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reiche, Vol. XXV, p. 1 Tschelchi." Now, the latter village has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, Middendorff, who visited it himself, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Gilyak, which, according to Pojarkof, was a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, the remainder consisted of a few yurts at present time only form of winter dwelling, on the island of Sakhalin, however, yurts are found only on the mainland, along the Amur, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with huts yurts, and all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only the hut form is found. Because of the distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the south yurt in the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally completely, from the mainland and in large part which came to relapse back into the historical period in the Amur region and on the island of Sakhalin, where it persisted longer the Gilyak occupy a continuous territory which extends approximately from the lower Amur along the Amur and the Ussuri at most to the sources of the latter, still into the tungusic region. But was not the case in the south—we can hardly assume that the Gilyak, when they first became acquainted with the Gold. When Pojarkof /Pojarkov/ (1646), Chabarof /Khabarov/ (1651), and Isepanof (1653) unanimously that both

/113 conc./

do they have to do with the Amur people at all? In order to explain the "Kordeiker" of Maxim Ismail one need only remember that the Japanese knew of the Amur only at least, which they lack. If one remains the latter and at the same time combines the relationship between the 3 and 4, he arrives at "Kordeiker" and "Codokiza" for that ethnic name. And also everything that has been said above about the Gilyak origin of the Gold-name is report fits the Gilyak.

The correspondence in the designations for the Gold on the part of the Japanese and the Russian points to a common origin of the name. It can only be the Gilyak one. The obvious assumption would be that they call themselves this. In fact, in answer to the question as to what they were or what they called, the latter frequently designated themselves to me as "Gold." Nevertheless, I do not know that they call themselves by this name. This may be only a designation that they use when dealing with the Russians, and perhaps they call themselves by the name when dealing with them, whereas among themselves, Nikjavkh, perhaps the origin of this name should be sought somewhere else entirely. In any case, it is not Gold-ki and it may be that the Gold, but from the Gilyak during his way on Sakhalin. It remained foreign to the Gilyak, and, according to the seventeenth century, to the extent and as a consequence of their contact with the Japanese; they were first acquainted with the Aina through the Gilyak and finally, on Sakhalin and the Kurilen. Since their whole area of distribution /113/ consists of islands which are separated by straits which they cannot cross, the Gilyak, in the initial stage, only spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the Gilyak are thus only concerning the northern one are for apart, and whereas the former are two and a half centuries old, the latter only go back to the middle of the seventeenth. According to Sieboldt (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

1. Ainu-, an mukamuk, tonichi, no Ainu-, an mukamuk, tonichi, no Ainu-, an mukamuk, tonichi, no

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complicated than the Goldi-Gilyak boats, but essentially and in general are the same in form and construction. For example, like the latter, the Manchu-Chinese boat also consists chiefly of three long boards -- a bottom board which projects for quite a distance beyond the prow, and two side or edge boards, which are bluntly closed off in the rear by a vertical stern-board, and in front, in a pointed prow, by two small boards of uneven length. Furthermore, the way in which the boards are joined and fastened to one another, the way in which the seams are stuffed with moss and covered with strips inside and outside, etc. are the same in both cases. The far larger dimensions of the Manchu-Chinese boats (the bottom board is from 7 to 9 1/2 fathoms long), however, permit or demand certain additions or modifications in contrast to the Goldi-Gilyak boat. For example, the sides are always raised by a second board on either side, which /513/ is attached to the first one from the outside; this is done among the Goldi and Gilyak only as an exception, in case a boat is to be used for a sea voyage. These upper side-boards project toward the rear about a fathom beyond the stern board serving as their support, and at their rear ends they are joined to each other by a plank, but on top are covered with boards placed crosswise so that at the rear end of the boat there is a wide bridge or platform. On this, at the rear edge, are placed two vertical rods, between which the rudder is stuck in order to be controlled by the steersman standing on the platform. The greater depth of the boat given by the considerable width of the lower side-board and the added upper side-board further permits laying a floor made up of crossboards loosely set against one another in the rear part, over which a piece of wickerwork made out of several rods bent into a semicircle and a few horizontal ones is erected, which, covered with reed or straw mats, gives a kind of tent or cabin in which one may sit, or even stand in a stooped position, protected against rain and bad weather. A similar, though much smaller and lower covering under which a few persons may crawl in case of an emergency is found in the frontmost part of

/513 cont./

the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the continuation of the bottom board there, bent toward the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast bearers put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the nearest rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the arrangement of the oars is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not bored, but are set into correspondingly deep indentations in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is heavy and, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the required direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the husked and pared down kernel taken, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvements and additions only in accordance with their needs. And so /514/ there remains only the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, conversely, the natives of the lower Amur region, first the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Olcha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

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boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and powers. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximowicz saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on prongs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

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transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The amount of local invention by the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance -- rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, just as in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

How could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed throughout the lower Amur region /515/ nevertheless remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? The explanation for this must undoubtedly be sought in the political policy, often mentioned above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which consisted of leaving its upper section as depopulated as possible and of isolating it by vast, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 332, 369.

this purpose the natives of the lower Amur region and, so it seems, also the Chinese traders on the Sungari, were forbidden by them to go beyond the mouth of the latter up the Amur, and, in order to enforce this prohibition, a permanent guard-station was established at the mouth of the Sungari (2). In this

2. See above, pp. 72, 119.

manner communications between the upper and lower Amur peoples on the water route connecting them, and thus also a compromise in the means used for it, was prevented by the measures of the Chinese government. But all the conditions for any possible independent imitation of the Manchu-Chinese boat on the part of the native were lacking in the upper

/515 cont./

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inbue the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment-escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

/536 cont./
hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it certain that they will prefer methods of fishing that are less common among the Gilyak. For example, the /537/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden clog, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular among the Olcha and even more among the Goldi, both on the Amur and in particular on the Usuri, and, judging by the striking correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1),

1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called tschabch by the Gilyak, tschabbe by the Olcha and Goldi; the main rope fastened to the bottom by means of it is called tyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the clog equipped with the hook is called kita by the former, kuital and kuitzale by the latter.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the teachers of their Tungusic neighbors, have borrowed this method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic in comparison with the Gilyak is the preference of the Olcha and in particular the Goldi for catching sturgeon and hausen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XII /p.1021/, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (tschak) is very similar to that of the Olcha-Goldi (dzhogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from their Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much simpler one-pronged harpoon, the tugnay, was probably theirs originally. In the preference of the Olcha and Goldi for this method of fishing, which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, their Tungusic hunter-nature is clearly to be seen. Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the boldness, ease, and adroitness with which they glide over the water in small

/568 cont./
Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass (Gilyak tutsj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make ornaments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

/568 cont./
grounds (4), before they came to the mouth region of the Amur,

4. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

they already had a homeland on Sakhalin, where they were directly in contact with the Ainu and thus also indirectly with the Japanese -- this circumstance points to the latter as the source of the Gilyak's knowledge of iron and other metals, and as their teachers, even though only indirectly, in the smith's art. And a series of facts corroborate me in this view.

If the use and the working of iron had come to the Gilyak from the Chinese, that is to say, down the Sungari and Amur through the intermediation of the Manchu and Goldi, one would expect in the opposite direction, going uptream from the Gilyak, an increase in skill in the forging of iron. Actually, however, in the direction mentioned there is not only no increase, but, on the contrary, a decrease in the fineness and neatness of the metalwork. For the Olcha, to be sure, may be scarcely less skilled ironsmiths, and especially armorers, than their teachers, the Gilyak, but the Goldi are far behind the Olcha in this (5),

5. This is Maack's opinion also (see his Puteshestvie na Amur", pp. 175 and 207).

though they are extraordinarily skilled at many other things, such as boat-building, sewing, embroidery, and plaiting. In this connection, they do something different from the Gilyak in forging in that they use only one bellows, and also accessories that are not insignificantly /569/ different, for instance, an anvil shaped quite differently, and the like (1). Finally, it is not to

1. See Maack, op. cit., p. 207 and Plate II, Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 24.

/569 cont./
be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to that, they had devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Sisiranusi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak; he mentions the two bellows made out of seahkin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

/570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsô's Testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

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their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1).

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Braune ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahrerber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr.-u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

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of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1034/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, round ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body pi (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

1. Op. cit., p. 194.

/403 cont./

000 3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 194 191 326 714 I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas

[99] the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
194 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
[196] what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation taftsch for
[192] salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabssun (Mongolian: dabassu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture, livestock breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

263 Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
438 general, sugar (Gilyak ssäta), on the other hand, finds great approval among them, and to be süre, in the form in which they became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

[192] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian ("ssachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/447 cont./

323 similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/
114
191
[113] 2. Mamia Rinsô, "Tôtats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

323 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not
114 originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese
191 pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not
194 remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Mankô) near Kidsi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidsi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Ussuri, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Ssilbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however,

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinsô's reports, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored
323 the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as
194 much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion
191
648

323 /448 cont./
191 of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the
194 Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment,
648 it will suffice to make the general remark that it most probably was brought about by violent seizure and devastation plotted by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinso's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, executed, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, like their neighbors upstream and downstream, the lower Goldi and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of this sort made in China or Japan could not find approval and acceptance among them. This
415 destruction of the pottery manufacturing in the lower Amur region,
194 on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the
191 mass production of wooden implements, to turn those large bowls
322 and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kota, respectively.

Whereas the pottery and porcelain industry was destroyed
323 along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded
191 progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tribu-
[648] taries. /449/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

[113] 1. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

[113] 2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

Ainu ABG

/487 cont./ Just
as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak, even the construction of the sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

Eskimo ND2
Ainu ABG
Goldi RK3

/490 cont./
Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality. The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/ the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region, the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all; whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

/502 cont./ Two Persons are required to work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung, as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated, but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is sselgefó and sseldschefó.

instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pófo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

But after this digression let us return to the construction of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical stern-board, and above it and between /503/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ott(o)mo), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The boat is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alo), the left one always rising a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longer ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

Tungus RU5
Goldi RK3

/512 cont./
like the dsaï in form and nature, but twice as long, while the width remains about the same. Thus, among the latter I saw such a boat that was 35 1/2 feet long and only 2 feet and 2 inches wide. Such a boat, like the multiple-seated Aleutian bidar and, incidentally, also like the large mango, if the latter are not propelled, say, by poles, is propelled by two or three persons equipped with double oars and rowing uniformly on one side and then the other, and thus shooting forward with great speed.

It is very noteworthy that the above-described boat made out of boards, which is distributed throughout the lower Amur region, among the Goldi, Olcha, Gilyak, and Orochi, is completely absent in the upper Amur region. At least, I never saw any there, and Maack, traveling down the Amur from the Schilka, did not meet the first boat of this kind until at the mouth of the Ussuri (1). And, correspondingly, the form of

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 178.

the hollowed-out boat that is patterned after this boat, the unjmagda or awarpe, also seems to be absent in the upper Amur region. I must therefore designate this boat made out of boards in a specific fashion as solely and exclusively peculiar to the lower Amur region and characteristic of it. And yet, I believe, one may not regard it altogether as an invention of those peoples or one of them. Whereas the hollowed-out or birch-bark boats bear the stamp of originality, the Amur boat, or, as I would prefer to call it in accordance with the above, the Goldi-Gilyak boat, reveals in its more ingenious form and construction a certain cultural influence, and I believe that I do not err if I trace this back to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari. For centuries Chinese traders and sometimes also Manchu officials have traveled from the Sungari into the lower Amur region, the former in order to engage in trade with its peoples, the latter in order to collect from them the tribute owed to the Chinese government. The boats in which they made these trips are, to be sure, much larger and more

/575 cont./

411 114 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During 411 [115] the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchä-Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary, appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in 411 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional 174 weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

/591 cont./

175 648 159 2. (cont.)
whaler that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was [114] plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very 439 essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to [174] exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the 184 648 Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, [123] when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

SS /620 cont./

175 648 439 622 questioned them as to how they came to be tributary to Manchu, he received the following information from se inhabitants of the island: "In former times," they said, they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came every year in order to buy furs. The crews, however, in an unfriendly and dissolute manner toward the inhabi the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke tween them, whereupon a great number of Manchu lan day, inspected the island everywhere, and took possessi Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fea some of those who had remained on the coast were sum by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointe them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took p the west coast of the island near Itoi (Itoikotan, Itoje). larly, they invested two men from the northern part of coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they

3. Mamia Rinsô also knows the names of these three harata who were the first to be named.

appointed kasinta, or second elders. A black sea-otter agreed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders bring the Manchu, for which the Manchu gave them as gift a piece of silk fabric interwoven with gold and pro SS G sell them all the other trade commodities at a very che 175 That "Itoi, Itoikotan, or Itoje," which, according to th 174 drawn by Siebold on the basis of the original notes by M 361 Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô (4), is near Cape Otsisi (the s 648

4. Atlas to Siebold's Nippon, Plate XXV.

tip of the Bay de la Jonquière), is undoubtedly the Gily of Duĭ, and thus the whole of the above incident refers subjugation of the Sakhalin Gilyak, or making them tri

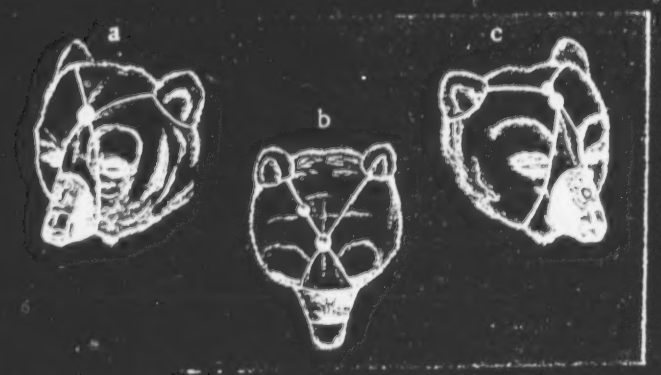
/719 cont./

that led him to it and was the cause of it all. It itself thus recognizes the toad as the culprit. The Gilyak, on the other hand, have shown it only kindness: they have received it as a guest in their houses, put it in the seat of honor, offered it some of all the foods, in general did everything only with its knowledge and permission, and their women show it a final act of kindness by consolingly drying the tears in its eyes. Therefore no guilt for its fate or responsibility for it falls on them. At the same time a second symbolic act is carried out on the bears, the explanation for which, it seems to me, must be sought somewhat further afield. In addition to the tschudbas, a second head-band is put on them: a strap tied crosswise, on which are found one or two agate balls about one and a half inches large, which rest on the forehead and a little to one side (2). The small bear was given a band with one agate

2. See the woodcut, p. 1163.

ball which lay above its eyes in the middle of its forehead, the large bear was given two such balls, that is, in addition to that one, a second one which rested over the right parietal bone, and, finally, a band with two agate balls in the middle of the forehead, one directly over the other, was put on the medium-sized bear displayed in another house (that of its owner). On this point it seems that if more balls than bears are available, there is room for choice and only the ball in the middle of the forehead is obligatory. These agate balls are of Chinese ("Manchurian") /720/ workmanship and are highly prized and never sold by the Gilyak. Their exotic origin seems to me to suggest an explanation for the entire procedure. /Illustration appears here./ During the many years of frequent intercourse between the Gilyak and the Chinese on the Sungari, it could certainly not have escaped them that the Buddhist divinities of the latter as a rule had a bump or swelling on the forehead above the eyes, indeed, it is possible and probable that they viewed this as a sign of the special holiness of the divinities concerned in the eyes of the Chinese. If one now considers the striving of the Gilyak to imitate Chinese ways, it is quite

/720 cont./



Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine, and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give themselves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it simple circular

Goldi RX3

/731 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites, of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them; determined chiefly by the different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (zach) hanging down from their crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Duĭ, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/741 cont./

and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the Gilyak: on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray" (mjägratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be explained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with connection with each other and also historically distinct. -- The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the attribute of "God," kīngulätsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

771 /741 cont./
174 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
812 Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[126] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kägn and tschngai (1).

[192] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped säwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises
532 him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

10 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of
[361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-ğan—big dog). The agglutinating
[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting:
802 in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

174 In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[361] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[342] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
[343] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[291] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[231]
[262]
[439]

116, 174

several Trees cut down, by the Mantcheou Soldiers, to make room for our Observatio
of the Sun's Meridian.' (2)

2. Du Halde's 'History of China,' translated by R. Brooks, 1736.

The good father runs on in his interesting way, telling of strange peoples with curio
dress and food, but closely resembling the Gilyaks, the Golds, and the Orotchons, wh
still inhabit the banks of the lower Amur to-day. And, though they never reached
Sakhalin, he has something to relate of it which he learnt from the Ke tcheng ta se,
whose country, he says, 'extends along the Saghalien oula, from [96] Tondon to the
Ocean. . . . They were the first that inform'd us, of what we did not know before,
that opposite to the Mouth of Saghalien oula was a great Island inhabited by People lik
themselves; the Emperor afterwards sent some Mantcheoux thither, who passed over
Barks of these Ke tcheng ta se, who live by the Sea-side, and trade with the Inhabitan
of the Western Parts of the Island."

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e
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CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

parallel, and named a prominent headland on
name it bears to-day.

Nothing had been known by the Russians, be
termities of Asia for Yermak, the pioneer of
border in 1581. Yet within less than seventy y
and Vasili Poyarkov, in 1645, having descend
from the natives of an island lying at the mou
about this time was made in an old Russian re
says that, 'On a great island lying over again
the Gilyaks; who keep in their villages 500 to
and bring up bears to do peaceful work.'

It is therefore strange that after a lapse of
the contrary, the island should still be though
nineteenth century.

The first authentic information on the subje
court of the great Chinese Emperor K'angshi.
so seriously his study of mathematics, astron
proposed that they should make a map of the
Great Wall lay. This region he knew well fro
was so well pleased with the work of his tuto

the east coast, Cape Patience, which

efore this date, of the north-eastern ex-
Russia in Siberia, had only crossed the
ears the vast continent had been crossed,
ed the Amur, reported confused rumours
th of the river. On other reference to it
ecord of the seventeenth century, which
ast the mouth of the river dwell a people,
1000 dogs; all possible animals they eat,

200 years, notwithstanding all reports to
t a peninsula as late as the middle of the

ct came from the Jesuit Fathers at the
This indefatigable ruler, who prosecuted
nomy, etc., with the reverend fathers,
district in which the nearer portion of the
n his frequent hunting expeditions, and he
rs that he deputed them to [95] go out in

couples and map out the whole of hi

It was in the year 1709 that the th
verse Manchuria, or as it was then
reached Sakhalin, they managed to
Dundun), which is on the right bank
had something to say of the island.

I will let them tell their story in

'We felt it very sharp at the begin
which we were at Tondon, the first

1. Fish-skin Tartars, from thei

oblig'd to get us Habits lin'd with L
began to fear that the Saghalien oula
be froze over, and that the Ice woul
Morning to a certain distance from
few Days the Navigation would beco
fell down the River: The Cold is al
Country, which are more numerous
Eastern Ocean: We were nine Days

s vast empire.

ree PP. Regis, Jartoux and Fredelli set out to tra-
called, Eastern Tartary; and, though they never
get as far as the village of Tondon (to-day called
, about 400 miles from the mouth of the Amur, and

their own words.

nning of September; and the eighth of that Month, on
Village of the Ke tching ta se Tartars, (1) we were

r dressing in fish-skins.

amb-skins, which we wore all the Winter. They als
(Amur), though so large and deep a River, would
d stop our Boats; accordingly it was froze every
its Banks, and the Inhabitants assured us that in a
me dangerous by reason of the Quarries of Ice which
so very much prolong'd by the great Forests in this
and thicker of Wood the nearer you advance to the
in passing through one of them, and obliged to have

"Before narrating my experiences on the journ
to give the reader some idea of the general cond
its history, and a slight sketch of its inhabitants
Chinese annals, yet untranslated, contain some
record in existence concerning it, is the report
in the year 1613. On their return they drew a ma
they had seen, and called it Karafto, (1) by whic

1. Kara in many languages of the East, Mong
means black, and it is tempting to see in thi
as Sahalien, a Manchu word also meaning bl
in favour of the interpretation adopted in the

it to be a portion of the mainland of China (Easte
Japanese name for that country. [94]

Thirty years later, a Dutch captain, Martin V
general of the East Indies, Antonio van Diemen,
eylant,' i. e. a legendary island rich in gold and
coast of Yezo anchored in Aniva Bay, the southe
European to land on this terra incognita. Round

ney to the north-east coast, I propose
itions of the island, a brief résumé of
and physical features. Unless ancient
reference to Sakhalin, the earliest
of an expedition made by a few Japanese
p of the southern portion, the only part
n we may conclude that they imagined

gol, Urdu, and Manchu, etc.,
s name the same signification
ack, but the probabilities are
text.

ern Tartary), Kara being the old

ries, sent by the famous Governor-
to discover the 'Gout en Silverycke
silver, sailing north-west from the
rnmost bay of the island, being the first
ing Cape Aniva he reached the 49th

Gilyak

de, are very
f hut, and from
and exit was
North. The
o sink and to
authorities
lwellings of
hern origin
ention only the
rly inhabitants
er Han dynasty
the depth of
(later

that the Gilyak
easy to see
ers his winter
ot."

101 themselves "Mangun" (1), sometimes also "Chedé". The
131
182

1. "Uni" means "river" in the language of the Goldi. The name "Amur" seems to have derived from the Goldian designation for water: mu.

former means "river people"; the latter, "the lower ones" The Russians regard them simply as Gilyak and know no other name. Beyond the Gorin, the Goldi begin to appear, but they are also found scattered among the Mangun-Gilyak. The latter differ from the Goldi in certain external characteristics and customs, and from the true Gilyak in their burial ceremonies and in their language which is nothing more than the somewhat modified language of the Goldi. Among these Mangun are to be found, here and there, some nomadic Orochon and Tungus or Sofiysk-Gilyak, as they are usually called in those parts (from the town of Sofiyskoye on the Amur).

On the river Amgun which flows into the Amur from the left side at the so-called Tyr, about 80 versts above Nikolayevsk live the so-called Negidal who are considered a mixed race of Gilyak and Tungus. They speak Tungus, and in their way of living rather resemble the Gilayk who do not, however, recognize them as kin.

The following is the picture: 1) The full-blooded Gilyak live on the island of Sakhalin (northern half), on the continental coast, and on the Amur as far as Bogorodskoye; but they fall into two sub-groups of which the island Gilyak differ from the continental ones only slightly in language and in the way in which they build their dwellings. 2) The second group are the Mangun who are probably a mixture between Gilyak and Goldi and who have little more than their language in common with the Goldi. 3) The third group of Negidal is no longer very closely related to the Gilyak and will therefore not be considered in this essay.

174 We do not know how long the Gilyak have occupied their present habitations [99], but we surmise that they came to the mainland from Sakhalin.

The Goldi consider themselves the original inhabitants of the Amur country, but among the Gilyak it is frequently assumed that they formerly all lived on the island of Sakhalin. And, as a matter of fact, if the opposite were the case, the Sakhalin-Gilyak would probably have brought along with them the more complete type of dwelling which is common on the

Seeland--3 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

4 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as the language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legends which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascertain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

61 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de-
77 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk).

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
161 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearance, they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assume that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

20: Bush --77 [2] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 161, 174

"The pair [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were members of a tribe numbering about 8000 souls, called Gilaks, a branch of the Tungusians--so stated, though, as we afterwar found, a very different people from the Tungusians whome we encountered in our journeys. The Gilaks were the original inhabitants of the country of the Lower Amoor at the time of the first visit of whites to that section, and for an unknown period previously."

9: Hawes--98-100 T-3 (1901) 19
116, 174

solved. . . Saghalien is an island, and sea
of the Amur both from the north and the sout
I now report to you that the truth has been di

1. Vladimir. 'Russia on the Pacific.'

This discovery, however, did not become
the Anglo-French war with Russia, an Engli
ing upon six Russian vessels in De Castries
and await reinforcements, thinking that an is
position a cul de sac. Meanwhile, the Russia
steering north, navigated the narrow strait b
reached the mouth of the Amur."

-going ships can penetrate into the estuary
h. An ancient error is completely dissipated;
scovered.' (1)

public property at once, for, in 1855, during
sh commander, with a small squadron, com-
Bay, retired to the south to block their exit
sthmus to the north had rendered the Russian
an squadron slipped out of the bay, and,
between Capes Lazarev and Pogobi, and

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

9: Hawe
116, 174

"In 17
Anville
lands.
the map
the sout
clusion
much fu
Proce
left us a
tion are
Beyo
Tartary
whether
that the
their ca
divides
Nine
althoug
his thre
surveyo

87, the famous explorer La Pérouse, following the coast of Tartary, with d'
s map before him, determined to steer eastwards to reconnoitre the Kurile is-
le was then in latitude 48°, and, to his surprise, soon encountered land, though
marked nothing nearer than the southern end of Sakhalin at 49¼°. Neither to
h-east nor to the north-east could he find a channel, and he came to the con-
that this was the island called Saghalien by the geographers, and that it stretched
rther to the south than they had imagined.
eding in a northerly direction along the coast, he landed in three bays; and has
n interesting account of his meetings with the natives, who from his descrip-
recognizable as Ainus.
nd latitude 51°, the Straits becoming shallower, he made over to the coast of
, and found and named the De Castries Bay. In answer to his inquiries here,
there was a passage between the isle and the [99] mainland, the natives indicated
re were sandbanks, that marine flora grew thereupon, and that they had to drag
noes over the shoals. He therefore turned south, and navigated the strait which
Yezo from Sakhalin, to which he gave his name.
years later an English captain, W. Broughton, attempted to pass, but failed,
h his brig drew only ten feet. Krusenstern met with no greater success during
e years' expedition in East Siberian waters, from 1803 to 1806, but a Japanese
r, Mamia Rinzo, two years later, succeeded where all others had failed.

9: Hawes--98-100 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 174

He was despatched by the Japanese Governmen
by the arrival of a Russian embassy at the Mikad
pedition was fitted out to survey the coasts of Ea
the Straits (hitherto called the Gulf) of Tartary,
plans and charts. These were pigeon-holed in the
many years later by P. von Siebold.

The insularity of Sakhalin therefore still rema
Gevrilov, [LSS: Erratum; It should read 'Gavril
who was despatched on a Government expedition,
is a peninsula.' It was left to Captain Nevelsky t
of Sakhalin.

The great Count Muraviev, whose brilliant adm
in conjunction with Captain Nevelsky at sea, had
base on the Eastern Siberian coast, with a view
and hold on the Amur. They had parted in Europe
East. No news of the latter had been received fo
of the loss of his vessel, when on September 3,
Ayan (Sea of Okhotsk). It is said that [100] Mur
out to meet him in a row-boat, and was hailed th
in the following words: —'God has assisted us. .

t, whose suspicions had been aroused
lo's Court in 1805, and in 1808 an ex-
stern Tartary. Mamia Rinzo navigated
and returned with carefully drawn up
e archives at Yeddo, and only discovered

ined a secret. As late as 1846 Lieutenant
ov'; 'Nevelsky' should read 'Nevelskoy']
and was wrecked, wrote, 'Sakhalin
o establish once and for all the insularity

ministration I have already referred to,
been searching for a suitable naval
to strengthening the Russian position
e in the year 1848, both bound for the
or months, and fears were entertained
1849, she appeared on the horizon off
aviev, impatient to hear the news, set
rough a speaking-trumpet by Nevelsky
. . the main question is happily

9: Hawes--191-192 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 174, 342

"The winter huts, when covered with snow and
cosy. Dr. Schrenck and Mr. Sternberg have su
the survival of a custom in the bear festival ind
originally only by the chimney, that the Gilyaks
words used for entering and leaving the hut, ku
emerge, also witness to the use of the chimney
are not lightly to be differed from, but it shoul
this kind have been used over wide areas by dif
has not been attested, e.g. in Yezo, the Primo
surrounding regions; and what is also importan
of Manchuria, the Yih-len, are described in the
(A. D. 25-219) as [192] 'Troglodytes living in ca
their dwellings, the most honourable having a d
chronicles) the 'entrance being at the summit.'

Whatever may have been the origin of the win
summer dwelling is traceable to Northern Chin
how it would have appealed to the Gilyak. The n
hut damp and wet, and the increasing heat of th

lit up by a blazing fire inside, are very
rmised from this pattern of hut, and from
icating that their entrance and exit was
' ancestors came from the North. The
sind and jigind, implying to sink and to
as entrance and exit. Such authorities
d be remembered that pit-dwellings of
fering peoples, whose northern origin
rsk, and Manchuria, to mention only the
t in this connexion, the early inhabitants
e Chinese annals of the After Han dynasty
ves, their rank marked by the depth of
escent of nine steps,' and (later

ter hut, it is fairly certain that the Gilyak
a through Manchuria. It is easy to see
nelting snow in spring renders his winter
e sun makes it stuffy and hot."

21: Golder--253-255 H-3 (no da
116, 174

eighteenth century. (470) [254]

470. Du Halde, J. B. Description .
12.

The Japanese knew a little more about Sal
several efforts to learn about it. Japanese

471. Klaproth, J. Aperçu des Trois

tell that in the time of the Shogun Fido-tada
sent two parties in two successive years (47

472. Siebold, Ph. Fr. von Nippon,

the southern portion of the island and turned

473. During the remainder of the se
eighteenth century, Japan was too bu

. . de L'Empire de la Chine, vol. iv,

khalin than the Chinese. At least they made
historians (471) of the early eighteenth century

Royaumes, 192-193.

(1605-1622) the prince of Matsmai, Kin-firo,
2) to draw a map of Sakhalin. They reached

vol. i, 259, gives the years as 1613, 1614.

back without completing the task. (473) In

venteenth and the greater part of the
sily occupied with political problems

9: Hawes--115-116 T-3 (190
116, 174, 197

"A study of the Orochons suggest tha
in its veins, mingled by intermarriage
Golds, etc. [116]

The Gilyaks are even more difficult t
and customs from their neighbours, the
adds to the puzzle; for while many have
ancestors, perhaps, have intermarried
of hair. The most plausible suggestion
race. Philologists of the Smithsonian In
Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg,
the dwellers on the Pacific coast of Nor

t they are a tribe which has mostly Tungus blood
with various neighbours, such as the Gilyaks,

o classify racially. Separated in speech, manners
ey yet have some affinities in feature. This only
e scarcely any hair on their faces, others, whose
with Ainus, have bushy beards and copious heads
is that they are of a semi-Tungus, semi-Mongol
nstitution, Washington, and of the Imperial
hold that their language knits them in origin to
rthern Asia, and America, and the Aleutian isles.'

21: Golder--253-255 H-3
116, 174

"The survey of the coast of Sakhal
the nineteenth century. Although Ru
to a successful termination, she is l
France, and England also made cert
investigation of this topic is, therefo
the navigations and the cartography
into these waters until the insularity

469. Sakhalin had various na
named it Tchoka, Krusenste
that Tarakai was its proper
as Bolshoi [large].

It is quite evident, judging from
has always been communication betw
strange as it may seem, little to ind
The Jesuits, who occupied themselv
did not hear of the island before the

in and East Tartary was delayed until the middle o
ssia deserves the chief credit for carrying this wo
by no means entitled to all the credit. China, Japa
tain contributions towards its accomplishment. Th
re, somewhat involved and necessitates a study of
of this region from the time the Europeans first ca
of Sakhalin was definitely ascertained. (469)

ames. Witsen called it Amoerse, Laperouse
rn spoke of it as Karafouto, Klaproth claimed
name, the Russian Senate referred to it in 1732,

the physical similarities of the inhabitants, that the
veen the island and the Chinese mainland; there is,
licate that Sakhalin was generally known in China.
es with the geographical questions of that country,
went on their astronomical expedition in the

9: Hawes--113-114 1-3
116, 174

"The story of the earliest occupa
To-day, in addition to the latest co
on the island. They are the Ainus,
a Turki tribe whose habitat is East
are only ten men and three women

Which of these five peoples, it w
home is also in Eastern Siberia, a
Ocean, and from the Yenisei river
[114] arrived since the Russians. T
land before the Orochon, and wheth
to have been made not earlier than
traditions testify to their meeting t

tion of Sakhalin carries us back to prehistoric times.
mers—the Russians—five different peoples are found
Gilyaks, Orochons, Tungus and Yakuts. Of the last,
ern Siberia with the town of Yakutsk as a centre, there
on Sakhalin.
ill be asked, were the aborigines? The Tungus, whose
nd who roam from the borders of Korea to the Arctic
to the Okhotsk Sea, are certainly not, for they have
he Gilyak hunters probably came over from the main-
er we are right in conjecturing their first settlement
two and a half centuries ago, it is certain that their
he Ainus already in occupation of the island."

21: Golder--255 H-3
116, 103, 174

Istoricheskim, vol. iii, 50-55
had other names. According
Ula, the Chinese Helung Kian
Schilk or Silkar, and the anci
Japanese name as Manke. Wi
name."

5]. In addition to the term Amur the river
to Muller the Manchoux called it Sachalin
g, also Chelundsiam, the Tungas Schilkar,
ent Mongols Karamuram. Siebold gives the
itsen says that Ngam-Cumkiam is the Chinese

21: Golder--256 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-2
116, 174

the treaty of Nertchinsk, in 1689, the Amur River and Sakhalin were removed from Russia's sphere of influence, and the citizens of that country were forbidden to go near these places."

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-3
116, 133, 174

to such erroneous conclusions. It is not surprising that stay-at-home cartographers adopted their views. Some made Sakhalin a peninsula of Tartary, connecting it with the mainland just at the spot left unexplored by Krusenstern and Broughton. (503)

503. Heinrich Keller, Weimar, 1814. Probably a copy of the map in Langsdorff's Reise um die Welt.

Others, although not distinctly uniting the two bodies, yet indicated that they are joined by sandbanks and called Sakhalin a peninsula. (504) There are a few, however, who

504. Vandermalen, P.H. Asie (Bruxelles, 1827).

still picture Sakhalin as an island, (505) but it is not probable that they mean that it is

505. Malte-Brun, Traite Elementaire de Geographie: 'A peu de distance des cotes de la Mantchourie s'etend la longue ile de Saghalien...'

circumnavigable. (506)

506. Laperouse seems to be the first to have given the name Manche de

21: Golder--253-255 H-3 (r
116, 174

northern Jeso in 1808, and sailing in the
succeeded in entering the mouth of the A
chart and journal and later used them in
did not appear [255] until 1852, Europea
praiseworthy efforts of these courageou
With no intention of discovering Sakha
to explore the mysterious land of Jeso,
from Japan in 1643. The chart and jour

477. Siebold, Discoveries of Ma

by comparing them with what is known of
touched on the southern part of the east
made use of his chart had any clear con
were identified with the Terra de Jeso c
a long time obscure."

Tartary Strait close to the Sakhalin shore, Rinso
Amur that same summer. Siebold obtained Rinso's
the publication of his Nippon. But as this work
ns derived little benefit from the painstaking and
s Japanese navigators and geographers.
alin, whose existence was unknown to them, but
the Dutch East India Company sent Captain Vries
nal of the expedition are in existence (477) and

erten Gerrits Vries.

the North Pacific Ocean it is quite evident that Vries
coast of Sakhalin. But neither he nor those who
ception as to where he had been. His discoveries
of the Jesuits, and the whole subject remained for

21: Golder--255 H-3 (no date)
116, 103, 174

"Our earliest knowledge of Sakhalin comes to
Dutch, nor Jesuits, but from the Russian hunter
plore the Amur regions came in contact with Sak
sented himself at Jakutsk and announced the exis
of which grain and metal were to be found. (478

478. Found in instructions to Poyarkof.
Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskic

the woewod sent in 1643 Wasili Poyarkof and a nu
headwaters of the Amur (479) and sailed down th

479. There has been some discussion as
and as to the date when it was first used
but of Mongolian origin. In the instructio
name Amur is not mentioned, which indic
the Russians. On his return in 1646, Po
this is the first time that it appears in th
'From the Shilka to the Amur in six days
gal . . . and from there the Amur contin

us neither from the Chinese, Japanese,
s of Siberia, who in their efforts to ex-
halin. In 1641 Maxim Perofilyef pre-
tence of Shilka River, along the banks
) To investigate the truth of this report

See Chtenia V Imperatorskom
n (Moscow, 1861), no. I, I-14.

umber of other men. They struck the
at stream to its mouth.

to the origin of the word 'Amur'
by Europeans. It is not of Russian
ons issued to Poyarkof in 1643 the
cates that it was then unknown to
yarkof makes use of the word, and
e Russian documents. He says,
. . . The Amur falls into the Shun-
ues to the sea' [Dopolnenia K Aktam

21: Golder--256 H-3
116, 174

"From there they went out to sea in
this point they left their boats and p
In his report Poyarkof makes the st
ocean' (480) referring no doubt to Sa

480. Dopolnenia K Aktam Is

giving authority) that Poyarkof was
Amur. (481) There is no need, how

481. Sadovnikof, D., Nashi

were aware of Sakhalin, for sailing,
help but see it. Although trade rela
waters of the Amur, the Russians r

482. In addition to Poyarkof
parties came to the mouth of
no. 100, 354].

a northerly direction as far as the Ulja River. At
roceeded overland to Jakutsk, arriving early in 1646.
atement that the Giliaks live 'on the islands of the
khalin. A reliable Russian writer says (without

toricheskim, vol. iii, 50-55.

wrecked on a large island soon after leaving the
ever, of direct evidence to prove that the Russians

Zampleprochodtsi, 78.

as they did, in the Tartary Strait they could not
tions were established with the natives of the upper
arely went down to the mouth of the river. (482) By

's voyage only two or three other Russian
the river [Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim,

21: Golder--256-258 H-3
116, 131, 174

(488) and a critical comparison of

488. Schrenck, L. Reisen u
95-98.

owes a great deal to the latter. (48

489. Middendorf, A. Th. v

mouth, situated between the fifty-fo
large 'Amoerse Eylandt,' and a lit

490. The word 'Memcoy' i
century manuscripts found
is made to a Stolp Kamenno
Kamchatka. Witsen often n
and he may have done so in

Witsen's and Remezof's maps shows that the former

und Forschungen in Amur-Lande, vol. iii,

39) On Witsen's map the 'Amur'River is traced to its

von. Sibirische Reise, vol. iv, 36-38.

ourth and fifty-fifth [258] parallels. Opposite to it is a
tle to the north is another island, 'Stolpka Memcoy, '(490

s meaningless. In two of the seventeenth
in Titof's Siberia [pp. 54, 110], reference
oi [stone column], opposite the mouth of the
nade mistakes in translating from the Russian,
this case.

21: Golder--256-258 H-3
116, 131, 174

probably intended for one of the Sha

491. At Jakutsk the existenc
they were not explored until

distinctly tracing and naming the Ar
name of Sakhalin.

Witsen's map was copied by other
Herman Moll in 1701 reproduced the
them where Witsen did. Guillaume
his map of Tartary which he publish
the reasons for which are not appar
Riviere d'Amour, emptying itself in
Amoerse Eylandt is transformed int
it by Witsen. A small number of m
the majority still followed Witsen; a
mouth of the river between the fifty

492. L'Asie (Amsterdam, a
Ghammas, a term which he

(no date) 1914 Gilyak-

ntars. (491) Here then is the earliest published m

e of the Shantars was known about 1644, but
many years later.

nur River and indicating the island which bears th

cartographers. Edward Wells in 1698 or 1699 an
Amur River and the Amoerse Eylandt and located
Delisle is indebted to Witsen for the good points o
ed in 1708. Delisle, however, makes some chang
ent. In his hands Witsen's Fluvius Amur becomes
nto the ocean about six degrees farther south.
to the 'Isle d'Amour' but retains the position given
ap makers were temporarily influenced by Delisle
nd even Delisle himself, in a later map, located t
-fourth and fifty-fifth parallels. (492)

fter 1721). This time he calls the river
borrowed from Sanson. Delisle's

21: Golder--256-258 H-3 (no date)
116, 131, 174

"The charts which Poyarkof and some other
traversed have disappeared. There have, how
both drawn at the request of the czar, one in 16
by Semen Remezof some years later. (483) C

483. Godunof's map and memoir accom
Titof, Siberia in the Seventeenth Centur
C. J. Prutz, who was at Moscow in 1669
brought it home with him. This copy ha
duced by Nordenskjold in Ymer of 1887.
Remezof's map and notes have been p
'Tscerteznaya Kniga Sibir.' Remezof s
his own explorations and the maps he fo
his maps were completed as early as 16
between that date and 1701.

represented, but Sakhalin is not, due probably
Siberia (484) and not the islands. That it was

484. Titof, A. Sibir V XVII Weke,, 25.

Siberians drew of the regions which they
ever, come down two maps of Siberia,
67 or 1668 by Peter Godunof, and the other
On these two maps [257] the Amur River is

npanying it may be found in
y. A Swedish ambassador,
, made a copy of the map and
as been preserved and repro-

published in 1882 and is known as
ays that the bases of his map are
und in Siberia. Several sheets of
73, and the remaining somewhere

to the fact that they were asked to describe
well known in Siberia that there was a large

116, 174

to give much attention to geographic

1785, Mogami Tokunai, a well known Japane
coast of Jeso along the western side of Sakh
On his way back he doubled the southern poi
to Cape Aniwa. (474) He made two other a

474. Siebold, Ph. Fr. von Nippon,

third is not definitely known, and was fortu
fifty-second parallel (475) and the eastern

475. —Ibid.

made also excursions into the interior. Th
of Siebold, who reproduced them in his atla

476. —Ibid., 'Atlas.'

Mamia Rinso accomplished even greater

al questions.

ese geographer, sailed from the northern
alin as far as forty-six degrees, fifty minutes.
nt of the island and followed the eastern shore
ttempts, the second in 1786, the date of the

vol. i, 260-261.

nate in reaching the western coast near the
near the forty-ninth (Cape Patience). He

e maps which he drew came into the hands
s of Nippon. (476)

deeds than Mogami Tokunai. Departing from

116, 131, 174

island at the mouth of the Amur may be
uscript of 1666 to that effect. (485) Oth

485. Witsen, N. Noord en Oost

century make mention of a large island a
scription of the inhabitants. (486)

486. Titof, A. Sibir V XVII Wek

Godunof's and Remezof's maps are val
Siberia, and because they fell into the ha
his great map of northern Asia. (487) H

487. Witsen was one of the great
painstaking and had the historian'
position as burgomaster of Amst
ing and becoming the teacher and
through him, when Witsen visited
literary undertakings.

proved from Witsen, who quotes a Russian man-
er documents of the latter part of the seventeenth

Tartaren, vol. ii, 825.

t the mouth of the Amur, and one gives a de-

e, 84, 110, 111.

luable because they give the Siberian's idea of
nds of Witsen who used them in 1687 to construct
He acknowledges that he used Godunof's map,

test geographers of his time. He was
's eagerness to get at the sources. His
erdam gave him an opportunity of meet-
friend of Peter the Great and of securing
l Russia, very valuable material for his

21: Golder--259-261 H-3
116, 133, 174

On the map accompanying this wo

508. For a somewhat simil
(New York, 1849), vol. ii."

(no date) 1914 Gilyak-5

ɔrk Sakhalin is represented as a peninsula. (508)

ar view see M'Cullouch's Universal Gazetteer

21: Golder--259-261 H-3
116, 133, 174

"With the exception of Poyarkof and
century (499) and the efforts of Bering

499. See footnote 482. [LSS: i

is no record that other Europeans sai
in 1787. This famous Frenchman set
this region. After touching at Jeso Is
stopped by the shallow water in the ne
report and chart he announced that the

500. Laperouse, J. B. Voyage
53. 'Cette stagnation des eaux
point de chenal.'

Ten years later Broughton, followin
farther north by fifteen miles, (501) b

501. Broughton, W. R. Voyag
vol. vii, 302. Broughton was

one other party of Russians in the seventeenth
's lieutenants in the eighteenth century there [260]

n category 174, p. 256]

ed in Tartary Strait until the coming of Laperouse
about clearing up the cartographical confusion of
land, he sailed into Tartary Strait until he was
ighborhood of the fifty-second parallel. In his
re was no navigable channel. (500)

de Laperouse autour du Monde, vol. iii,
paraissait etre une preuve qu'il n'y avait

g the course of Laperouse, succeeded in reaching
ut without finding a passage. Krusenstern, in 1805,

e of Discovery in the North Pacific Ocean,
'fully convinced that there was no opening

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no date)
116, 133, 174

to the sea in this direction, the whole be
we could plainly distinguish at intervals

undertook to solve the problem in another way.
of Sakhalin he sailed along the eastern, and in s
of the island. He doubled and named the northe
course through Tartary Strait, hoping that in th
those of Laperouse. But when within two hundr
sighting the Amur River, he was brought to a st
back, believing Sakhalin to be a peninsula. (50

502. Krustenstern, A. J. de. Voyage A
'Il est par consequent demontré que Sakl
une isthme très-bas, et ainsi n'est qu'u
possible et meme tres vraisemblable qu
meme a une epoque peu eloignée, Sakhal
les cartes chinoises le representent.'

It is probably unique in the annals of modern
the greatest naviga-[261]tors of their day, study

eing closed by lowland, which
s.'

Instead of following the western shore
so doing determined the northern extent
rn capes and then steered a southerly
is manner he would join his efforts with
ed miles of his desired goal, and before
tandstill by the sand banks, and turned
2)

Autour du Monde, vol. ii, 247.
halin est uni a la Tartarie par
ne presq'ile. Toutefois il est
-anciennement, et peut-être
lin etait isolé du continent comme

geography that three scientists, among
ying the subject on the spot should come

21: Golder--262 H-3
116, 174

"Krusenstern's view as to the s

509. Captain Golownin in
Penninsula.'

were at this time other expedition
(510) and Podushkine in 1809-1811,

510. Asiatic Society of Ja

511. De Sabir, C. Le Fle

which was already known. There
(512) Towards the middle of the n

512. Barsukof, I. Count N
Among the documents ther
this interesting statement:
to the Sakhalin shore and
Okhotsk boats nor those of

hape of Sakhalin was accepted in Russia. (509) There

his Japan and the Japanese speaks of 'Sagalin

s to Sakhalin: Davidof and Chwostof in 1806 and 1807,
(511) but these touched merely on the southern point

pan. Transactions, vol. i.

ıve Amour (Paris, 1861), p. 47.

is no record of any others between that date and 1845.
ineteenth century Russia, for various reasons not

Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 268.
e presented is one dating 1850 which has
'He [American whaler] sent three boats
had dealings with the Giliaks. Neither our
the Russian American Company ever allowed

21: Golder--258-259 H-3
116, 103, 131, 174

"Until the early thirties of the eighteenth c
authority for this part of the world. By that
accessible. Three Jesuits, Regis, Jartoux,
1709 (493) and came near enough to the mouth

493. Du Halde, J. B. Description.
i, p. xxx.

there was a large island close by. (494) Ab

494. —Ibid, vol. iv, 12. 'Ils nous app
ne scavions pas, qu'il y avoit vis-a-v
une grande Isle habité par des gens s
l'empereur y a envoyé des Mantcheou
de ces Ketchengtase lesquels demeur
avec les Habitans de la partie occide

was completed in China and a copy sent to F
D'Anville who was constructing a map to go
map the mouth of the Amur, or Saghalien ou

century Witsen was the generally accepted
time new and scientific data had become
and [259] Fidelli went down the Amur in
h of the river to learn from the natives that

. . de l'Empire de la Chine, vol.

out ten years later a map of these regions

rirent les premiers, ce que nous
is l'embouchure du Saghalien oula
emblables a eux. Dans la suite
x, qui y ont passé sur les Barques
ent au bord de la Mer, et ont commercé
ntale de l'Isle.'

rance. This copy fell into the hands of
with Du Halde's China. On the Jesuit
a, is situated near the fifty-second parallel,

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no c
116, 133, 174

Tartarie to the waters separating th
was the first to apply the term Gulf
such as Mamia Rinso Strait, Tartar

The following extract from Findlay's wor
the Pacific Ocean (507) gives the generally

507. London, 1851, part i, 618.

It is not absolutely determined
or peninsula, but as all evidenc
ion, that appellation has been r
be considered that Sakhalin is j
sandy neck of land over which,
when the strong southerly gales
ters to a higher level, and that
tively recent date, and still on
of the Amour, so that the older

date) 1914 Gilyak-

ne island from the mainland. Broughton
of Tartary. There are other names
ry Strait, etc.

rk entitled A Directory for the Navigation of
accepted English view regarding Sakhalin:

whether Sakhalin be an island
ce tends toward the latter opin-
etained . . . it must therefore
oined to the continent by a flat
it is possible, the sea may wash
s which occur here drive the wa-
the isthmus may be of compara-
the increase from the deposits
Chinese charts may be correct.

21: Golder--258-259
116, 103, 131, 174

and the island facing it is much larger
which D'Anville possessed no name wa
were written: Saghalien Anga Hata, me
(495) In his ignorance of the Chinese l

495. Klaproth, J. Apercu des

of the Black River.' (496) In the cours

496.—Ibid.

leaving Saghalien for the name of the i

497. The name is also written

Witsen's superseded it, and the term S
given to it later. (498)

498. D'Anville's map was publ

than the Amoerse Eylandt of Witsen. On the copy
s given to the island, but close by these words
eaning, 'Rocks at the mouth of the Black River.'
anguage, D'Anville translated the words as 'Island

Trois Royaumes, 188.

se of time the words 'Anga Hata' were dropped,

sland.(497) D'Anville's map, being superior to

: Saghalin, Sagalien, Sachalien, etc.

Saghalien superseded Amoerse and all other names

ished in 1735."

older--256-258 H-3 (no date)
131, 174

principal contribution to the cartography
word 'Amour,' which certain map make

of this part of the world is the
rs still prefer to 'Amur.' "

themselves this privilege a
specially ordered to do so.

necessary to enter on here, decid
the Amur. Not having any govern
American Company to send an exp
command of Gavrilof, was put in
off as a non-Russian (513) and in e

513. He was ordered not t

natives, particularly the Chinese,
his movements. Gavrilof entered
work all summer. He died soon a
what uncertain (514) and of little i

514. Barsukof, I. Count N
Muravyof says that Gavril
north, but did not find a pa

and never went near Sakhalin except when
.'

ed to examine a little more closely the regions along
ment boats in the Okhotsk Sea, it asked the Russian
pedition. In 1846 the brig Grand Duke Constantin, in
commission. His instructions were to pass himself
every possible way to leave the impression with the

o take Russian but Virginia tobacco.

that the Russian government had nothing to do with
on his duties that very same spring and remained at
after his return and the extent of his efforts are some
mportance, since it had no influence on the events tha

Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i. 171.
of entered the gulf of the Amur from the
assage to the mouth of the river. De Sabir

21: Golder--263-264 H-3 (no date) 1914
116, 133, 174
636.17

particularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof suspected and dreaded England above al
He accused her of desiring to become the leading power
Pacific and to deprive Russia of all influence and power
that England had designs on the Amur and that her ships
In 1853 he predicted that the United States would secure
ican possessions, and suggested that an alliance should
the United States and Russia against England [Barsukof,
N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 323; vol. ii, 38, 46, 55]

Gilyak-3
Russia

l other nations.
in the North
. He believed
s had been there.
Russia's Amer-
be formed between
I. Count Nikolai
d."

21: Golder--263-264 H-3 (no date)
116, 133, 174
636.17

him at Ayan [Okhotsk Sea]; and when on th
the Baikal hove in sight, Muravyof went o
When near enough to be heard the governo
shouted back: 'God helped us. . . we have a
Sakhalin is an island. It is possible to en
by seagoing vessels either from the north

From 1849 to 1855 Nevelski and other Russian
the waters and harbors of the Amur and Sakhalin.
sailed into the Amur from the north in [264] 1850.

517. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Mura

518. De Sabir, C. Le Fleuve Amour, 63.

boat Wostok, coming from Japan, entered the riv
These important discoveries were known to ve
was maintained for fear of exciting China and aro

e morning of September 3, 1715,
ut in a small boat to meet her.
r called for news, and Nevelski
ccomplished our important task. . .
ter the gulf and the river Amur
or the south.'

officers were exploring and charting
A channel was found, and the Baikal
(517) Three years later (518) the gun-

veef-Amurski, vol. i, 274.

er from the south.
ry few people. The greatest secrecy
using the hostility of other countries,

21: Golder--262 H-3 (
116, 174

[op. cit., 52] claims that Gabril

followed."

no date) 1914 Gilyak-3

of did enter the mouth of the Amur.

175

175 RECORDED HISTORY--written sources (e.g., chronicles, reports of travelers, official records and documents) and their evaluation; evidence and inferences about prehistoric events from such sources; summaries of historical development within the periods distinguished under 101; specific historical information pertinent to an understanding of culture change; etc. See also:

Recent. . . . . 21 Historiography 814
Literary texts 839

1; Shternberg--160 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/13 cont./

●175 Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data
131 that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

The greatest density of population is found in the areas of
131 the most abundant fishing, such as the banks of the Amur and its
102 estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184),
162 Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkryvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

101 The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility
[149] of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives
[197] a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

1; Shternberg--499 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin Amur

/349 cont./

104 Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling
167 (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, these were the places closest to the continent: half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin,
[136] the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kaluga /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it even
●[105] now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the
[648] Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been
175 the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable
167 per person (we must remember that in the past sable was three
648 or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur
[435] sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of
[173] interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak went to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pay one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sables
[171] each. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

1;Shternberg--500 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/350 cont./

●175 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There
168 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

104 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

179 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent,
4 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows.
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
24 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous
202 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve
267 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes
247 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

170 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

2; Schrenck--193 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Southeast Siberia RX1

S.S. /94 cont./
175 peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time,
169 but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports
131 available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

G Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur
G ●175 region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak.
[121] The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map pub-
[113] lished by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Oostzer-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the Northeastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in

S.S. 1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI,
G 175 pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In
114 addition to the rare, original edition
[113] of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

cont./ 1. (cont.)
"Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Rus. Reich und die zunächst angränzenden Länder betreffen /Report on the Land and Sea Maps Which Refer to the Russian Empire and the Immediately Adjacent Countries/" (Samml., etc., Vol. VI) or by Adelung in his article, "Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland /Concerning the Older Foreign Maps of Russia/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IV). It bears the title, "Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Aliorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae," without date. The Dutch inscriptions of the original edition are rendered in Latin. The map has almost precisely the same borders, but with the addition of Korea in the east and, on the other hand, the exclusion of the course of the Volga in the west. I call it a copy of Witsen's map, because in fact it reproduces it in all parts, especially in the north and in the east, down to the smallest detail. Also, one finds on it, for example, the same curiosa as in Witsen, that is, misunderstood Russian words and expressions were taken for place names. At the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argun /Argun/, for instance, there stands in large letters the regional name "Otsel Poschel," evidently because in a Russian statement (and, to be

/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)
sure, on a map!) it said: otsel' poshel" Amur (that is, from here, from the confluence of the Schilka and Argun), begins the Amur); in the lower course of the Lena and east of it are likewise found the regions "Otmore" (from ot" morya -- from the sea), "Nasabate" (na zapadie -- in the west), and "Wostok" (vostok" -- east). The mountain range that separates the tributaries of the Lena from those of the upper Amur (Stanovoi) bears in Witsen the inscription "het /the/ gebergte /mountain range/ gori," or in Allard "montes /mountains/ Gori" (Russian: gory -- mountains), etc. With regard to the Amur region in particular, there is also repeated on the Allard map the peculiarity of the Witsen one in having so many rivers designated on it twice because of the direct posting from the various reports; thus, the Ussuri as Schur or Usiur and as Uschuri, the Dseja /Zeya/ as Sia and as Zija, the Urkan as Urka and as Urki, etc. The Allard map, however, gives the course of the Sungari River differently than the Witsen one: on the latter this river goes under the name of Singal to the Amur and at the same time in a further bifurcation as Schingal or Quentung to the sea; the Allard map, however, pulls it apart and has the Singal flow into the Amur, the Quentung -- which, as is well known, is the Chinese name for the Sungari -- into the sea. Incidentally, there should also be noted here a small map that is appended to the third edition of Witsen's work Noord en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/ of 1785 (Vol. I) and on which the Amur is entered twice: once under the name Amur, with its tributaries Schur (Usuri),

/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/ (1). In this connection several, often

1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

/96 cont./ elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as

3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally,

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bank of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map at three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amur

/96 cont./ mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their undoubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

/96 cont./ 9. (cont.)
Russian sources used by Witsen. The information that it gives is found in Witsen in literal translation, for example, the statements concerning the location of the Gilyak region (Gilianskaia zemlia) on the mouth of the Amur and on the coast to the south and north of it, concerning the rivers that flow to the sea in the Gilyak region: Lama, Ochota, Tawui, Todui, Penthin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan, Anadyr, etc.

/97/ as aids for the map, as he himself states, both several Siberian wooden panels and especially a map of Siberia which was made by the commander of Tobolsk, Peter Godunof, and his assistants in 1667 upon the orders of Tsar Alexei Michailowits /Alexis I Mikhailovich/ and was put on a woodcut in Moscow with a statement of the distances between the places recorded on it (1). Thanks to Middendorff's elucidation of the oldest map

1. Witsen, op. cit., Preface; also the ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 536, 537; ed. of 1705, p. 859. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 204.

of Siberia (2), we know that this was the first "Siberian Sketch"

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 34-38, 176-177.

(Ssibirskij tschertesh), which, to be sure, has since been lost, bu a revised and completed edition has been preserved in Remesof's

116, 133, 174
636.17

"Russia's success on the Amur is due
Nicolai Nicolaewitz Muravyof-Amurski.
Muravyof set about extending Russia's p
burg he selected Nevelski, a sea captain
to help him carry out his plans. Throug
Russian Government to undertake a secr
to explore the northern part of Sakhalin,
and the gulf and mouth of the Amur. (515

515. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai

in Kamchatka, and, as soon as he discha
carefully surveyed and charted the north
no longer able to find a channel for his s
his southward course to the mouth of the
his achievement, he pushed on still farth
Broughton, thus proving most convincing

516. —Ibid., vol. i, 198, 222-224

in large part to one of her great statesmen,
Appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1847,
ower on the Pacific. Before leaving St. Peters-
in the service of the Russian American Company,
h his efforts Nevelski was commissioned by the
et expedition with the following objects in view:
the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland,
) Early in the spring of 1849, Nevelski arrived

N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. ii, 37.

arged his cargo, he sailed for Sakhalin. He
ern point of Sakhalin and the Amur Gulf. When
hip Baikal he went into a small boat and continued
Amur which he entered. Not yet content with
her south to the most northerly point attained by
gly that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula. (516)

. Muravyof was anxiously waiting for

/97 cont./

175
114
[113]

/Remezov/ atlas. This atlas (3), consisting of 24

3. Under the title, "Chertezhnaia k
vsei Sibiri /A Sketchbook . . . of All
Siberia/"; see Middendorff, loc. c

sheets, was also thought to be lost until it was dis
by Wostokof in the Rumjanzof Museum. Althoug
not complete the entire work until 1701, the first
one in the atlas) was drawn as early as 1673; it is
in content -- the first ethnographic map of Siberi
the habitation sites of the many Siberian peoples
strongly contrasting spots of color (4). Middendor

4. According to Middendorff, loc.
I have not seen the Remesof atlas.

the first to put the significance of the Remesof wo
proper light, appended another sheet, perhaps the
portant one, which contains the survey map of Sib
whole, to the Russian edition of his travel account
[131] scale reduced fourfold (5). On this map one find

[113]

5. Putesh. na siev. i vost. Sibiri /A
Journey into Northern and Eastern
Siberia/, Pt. I, p. 37. The map b
the title, "Chertezh" vsiekh" sibirsk
gradov" i zemel' /A Sketch of All
Siberian Towns and Lands/."

tion "Gilyak Region" (Tsarstvo Gilyansko) at the n
the Amur and on the seacoast north of it, just like
Giletskaja" on the Witsen one. If one compares t
the Witsen one, there seems to be no doubt but th
Siberia is concerned, the latter was drawn, not m
help of, but directly based on the above-mentione
sketch" (6). This first "sketch," however, and th

97 cont./

6. Also arguing in favor of this are the curiosa on the Witsen map cited above pp. 193-196, note 1), which arose through the transfer of the Russian inscriptions.

nd completed edition of Remesof's maps were made up for the mur region from the information that the Russian military ex- editions brought home, which, however, in its full extent, as it as set down in the reports of the leaders and participants in those xpeditions, at that time still rested untouched in the Siberian rchives.

According to Müller's explanation (7), the map that /98/

7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 32.

ccompanies the oldest description of the voyage of Ysbrants Ides, ublished in the Dutch language (1), also comes from Witsen:

1. Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides /Three Years' Travels to China by Land, Performed by the Muscovite Envoy, E. Ysbrants Ides/, etc., Amsterdam, 1704. The map bears the title, "Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipsa locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides," with a dedication to Peter the Great.

/98 cont./

175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own only with respect to the information -- and better -- that Ysbrants Ides obtained on his

175 114 13 him. On this map the Gilyak are shown on sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the sea Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whol

[101]

2. "Nova Descriptio Geographi Tartariae Magnae tam oriental occidentalis in particularibus e Territoriis una cum Delineatio Imperii Russici imprimis Siberi ostensa." With a dedication t King of Sweden; without date.

northern tributaries of the Amur River, fro the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum known work on the northern and eastern pa it is said that the "Kilani," who are called Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live a

175 114 101 Amur River (3). So incredible did the info

[113]

3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, I und Ostliche Theil von Europa /The Northern and Eastern Par and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., p. 69) says that the map appea with this work in the year 173

on them sound -- though, as we shall see tirely lacking in truth -- and in any case derivation of them from the Avar, who are moved in the thirteenth century from the to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu --

1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

map and changed
not always for the
travels and gave to
ly once, and, to be
coast between the
we see on the much
e region along the

ica
lis quam
t generalibus
ne totius
iae accurate
Friedrich I,

n the Dseja /Zeya/ to
, whereas in his well-
t of Europe and Asia,
"Kilett" by the
round the mouth of the
rmation that he gave

Das Nord-
und Asia
t of Europe
p. 386.
Vol. VI,
ared together
.

later, it was not en-
o fantastic was his
said to have been
Caspian and Black Seas
he saw confirmation

2: Schrenck--203 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/98 cont./

175
114
101

for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Never-

[113]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

theless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed here. According to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first information about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

/103 cont./

they also have the Kile and Kileng begin in the lower Amur region all the sooner or all the farther upstream the less their knowledge of the region and its population. The most distant of these peoples, the Negda and even more the Gilyak, were therefore most frequently and most generally included under this collective name.

As we saw above, the first information about the Kiler people on the mouth of the Amur came from the Chinese via the Daur and the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus to the Russians, among whom this name, provided with a Russian ending, became "Kilorzy." Only a little later, when they themselves took their expeditions down the Amur, they must have, in the lower course of it, repeatedly heard of the Kile or Kileng living downstream, until they reached the last of these peoples and discovered in them a people actually completely different from the Tunguisic tribes whom they already knew. For them they now retained the traditional name, only, of course, provided with a Russian ending, as Kiljaki, Kiljajzy, Kiljany, etc., out of which developed, according to the spirit of the language, Giljaki, Giljajzy, Giljany, etc. Thus we come to all the versions of this name which Witsen gave from Russian sources and which are explained in part by the aforementioned various versions of the Chinese name for the Kile people and in part by the arbitrary selection of the Russian ending.

/104/ It could not have failed to happen, however, that some of the Russian Cossacks who went down the Amur in boats did not become aware of the tribal difference between the adjacent Tunguisic peoples and the Gilyak. They, therefore, since they used that designation, like the Chinese, more or less as a collective name, had the Gilyak begin much farther up on the Amur than their true boundary lies. During the later, more precise examination of the statements concerned, we shall see, for example, that, according to some, the region of the Gilyak begins with the Cicha area: according to others, even sooner, shortly below the Usuri, and therefore in the midst of the Goldi area. And, significantly enough, this is repeated, like an echo of those times, to this day. It has been stressed above how

/105 cont./

3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tunguisic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/. ed. by A. Schiefner. St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gir becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tunguisic tribes end in kil in Chinese. Consequently it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur region, including as well the, in their eyes, not essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, alone, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kiljaki and Giljaki. And this there results, if my surmise is correct, the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tunguisic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tunguisic word by the Chinese, is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tunguisic in origin.

After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russian learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Wassilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Usuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Djutschezem (Dyuchere) people come to end, who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Pojarkof went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

2: Schrenck--'218 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/105 cont./

stopped on September 29 and at a place on the left bank where there was a large village he erected a fort. Auchankoi gorod, for a wintering place. From there one could supposedly by a ten days' journey reach the Gilyak, who lived all the way to the sea and around it (2). Chabarof, however, did not visit them.

2. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., pp. 320 ff; Fischer, op. cit., pp. 808 ff.; Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, pp. 364, 368.

but in the next spring, after successfully enduring the siege of his fortress by the Djutschezen and Atschanen, set out again upstream with his expedition. On the way, however, presumably in the region of the mouth of the Sungari, he missed the Cossack Ivan Nagiba who had been sent to look for him and to inform him of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 26 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Bashulayo gorod (above the Dseja /Zeya/) for four weeks, then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a guide, but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to try to break through the ranks of the besiegers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as

3. Acc., to Müller, op. cit., pp. 328 ff.
Here Müller gives June 26 as the date of Nagiba's arrival at the mouth of the Amur.

2: Schrenck--'220 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/106 cont./

3. (cont.)
and at another place (Büching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip, as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 817) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Dwarof, a participant in the expedition (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these dates are lacking, except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that Nagiba had been sent to look for them and to inform them of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 26 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Bashulayo gorod (above the Dseja /Zeya/) for four weeks, then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a guide, but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to try to break through the ranks of the besiegers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they constructed a larger vessel and begun the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1), however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2).

1. According to Dwarof's report (op. cit., p. 355), on the tenth day.

2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Ochotsk as unconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

/107 cont./

2. (cont.)
others, we know that it is a characteristic feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea of Ochotsk. See the present work, Vol. II, p. 758, and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Ochotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Ser. VII, Vol. XXI, No. 3), p. 10.

during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel, with which

3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account, but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Ochotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days, by rowing they reached the Utschalda River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Dwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassachnoje Simowjo," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (1).

/107 cont./

4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak which we know about from this period of the first Russian military expeditions into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutschezen territory, "in the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the

5. Müller, Samml., loc. cit., p. 343.
In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyshenskij (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 354), it is said "v" Dyuchenskoi zemlie, ne doply" Gilyatskie zemli, that is, in the country of the Djutschezem, above the Gilyak country.

"Syn bojarskoi" Fedor Pustchtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutschezem to the Gilyak bordering them(7). Shortly before, the latter had killed a

6. Müller, op. cit., pp. 354, 355;
Fischer, op. cit., p. 849.

company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Ochotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof, moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kossogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, took from the Gilyak

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

/107 cont./

7. (cont.)
"Kossogirskoi"; see Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs, and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Paschkof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur, wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 367; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. IV, p. 176.

no other reports concerning the Gilyak during this visit of the Rus among them.

So much the oldest Russian reports concerning the Gilyak and their closest neighbors. What may be drawn from them with regard to the mutual boundaries of these peoples at that time? Nagiba's expedition acquainted us with the Gilyak along the coast of the Sea of Ochotsk westward at least as far as the Utschalda River, and, to be sure, in the company of the Tungus, who apparently at that time occasionally roamed to the sea to hunt and fish, as is still done today (2). To be sure, the

2. See above, p. 25.

location of the Utschalda River has not yet been ascertained (3).

3. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 178. It is incomprehensible how Stuchenberg (Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches, Vol. II, St. Petersbg. 1884, p. 749) could identify the Utschalda with the Udj. In doing this he confused the very simple and clear account from the expedition of the shipwrecked, and

/108 cont./

3. (cont.)
was forced to a second and likewise unacceptable assumption, namely, that their "Tugur" referred to the Utschur, a tributary of the Aldan. But then how did they reach the ocean, going down it in boats? And how incorrect this hypothesis is ethnographically: the Gilyak would have lived along the Udj!

but there is scarcely any doubt that it is to be sought in the east and perhaps not far from the great bays -- Uliban and Unalgin -- which cut deep into the land and which probably caused Nagiba and his companions to give up any further travel along the coast, about whose nature they had heard from the Gilyak and the Tungus, and instead to wait for the winter, in order to go inland along the Tugur, probably in the company of and guided by the Tungus. Neither Nagiba nor Uwarof mention the Gilyak along this river, but only numerous Tungus, although, as their reports show, they could perfectly well distinguish these peoples from each other. Hence it seems that at that time the Gilyks had not yet spread to the Tugur River. This is confirmed by the fact that in the account of the first trip of the Russians to the Shantar Islands, on which they spent the whole summer of 1712 and the winter until May of the following year at the mouth of the Tugur, the Gilyak are not mentioned at all (4), whereas

4. Müller, Samml. Rus. Gesch.,
Vol. III, p. 98.

during the later trips by the Russians along the coast farther to the east conflicts with the Gilyak did take place. There is further confirmation in the fact that in 1737, on the basis of reports collected in Yakutsk, Müller wrote that along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk the Tungus did not extend much beyond

/108 cont./

the Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at

5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

But every one that time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the mouth of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian handwritten map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the last century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the narrow, stem-shaped part of the Siegneka Peninsula from Uliban Bay to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 50) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Gilyatskaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which emptied to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kulj or Kulj

come across Uliban Bay and Siegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Uliban Bay to Siegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

/109 cont./

1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a book of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hinka Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or g vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Gilyatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Miller refer to the towpath on the Ukskyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. der Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Miller.

when The Russians under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

/109 cont./

purposes (2). Miller thought that their name was of Gilyak

2. Müller, Samml. Rus. Gesch.,
Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 310.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

4. In Gilyak "island" is pölio-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land": thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Lasan-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pölio. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Luchin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandanskij."

5. (cont.)
p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars confirmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second trip, in 1718, under the Syn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

3. Müller (Samml. Rus. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. Accordingly, therefore, the statements by Sokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ost. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Departa., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

/110 cont./

Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Through carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the island caught fire and a ship that happened there. On the return trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tugur and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4).

4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Sokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1855, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Ivan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1738, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

/110 cont./

4. (cont.)
the number of Russians originally present on the island, in which case the number of years of the stay would have been omitted, for the Russian original reads: shitya ibk" bylo na tom" ostrovie liet" s" 20, kotorye khodilip v" tu semlyu dlya rybnoi lovli..., etc. This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (not 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others), Schestakof had actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (op. cit., pp. 130 ff.), expresses doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schestakof on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated around the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. The latter assertion, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schestakof's trips, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself never expresses doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schestakof had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regards being unable to give more detailed information about this trip because of the absence of the logbook.

It is noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the temporary visits of the Gilyak to the Shantar Islands are inadequate and

/110 cont./

1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. puteshv. po Rossii, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 130).

is said to have received its name because it had no forest at all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly it had been quite densely wooded and rich in table, but the Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Krascheninnikof,

2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Krascheninnikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it, just as it is also by the name "Snuhoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Huft Schantar" west of the island of Bjelinchij, just as Krascheninnikof, too, gives it, but this

/99 cont./

Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-

1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor. /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

Islands lie there all in a
from west to east.

Kraschenninikof
however, must have obtained this info
and stories, since he himself was never
or even near them. Moreover, it is ve
above-mentioned story about the burni
Shantar Island, which does not exactly
credibility. Kosmin's statement in the
Large Shantar Island not far from Lake
dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were
lived (3) seems more important. But w

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart
p. 46.

even with respect to this report, in tha
Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostro
these yurts to Russian fur trappers (4).

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV,
note 1. Middendorff add
seems much more probab

uncertain reports, I do not doubt but th
the Shantar Islands in former times. F
given to the above-mentioned report to
Tungus, which came with the very firs
islands. Whereas the Tungus along the
primarily hunters and come to the sea
the Gilyak stay there continually and a
seafarers than the former, as Müller ha
mised (5). Hence it seems entirely pla

5. Samml. Russ. Gesch.

/116 cont./

do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Konogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Sustuchu located in the Amur near Kidzi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Konogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

1. D. Romanov". "Ocherk" mientnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Vietns. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 136, note 4). Miller (Sammlg. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Konogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Konogorskoi, but Konogorskoi Ostrog (Sopln. k" ist. Amur., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Dzutschuen bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as it still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessor, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

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vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 224, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natkem, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereat, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the reverse.

The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasski and in Witsen, have already been discussed. (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

The text detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to light much more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different quarters, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinō /Rinō Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sahalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visited the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sahalin he went over to the mainland, followed in

1. Sahalin, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinō /"Tō-tan ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

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1. (cont.) Nippon, Pt. 3, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the ŋ sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it. Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

coast southward to Cape Muibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidzi, and thus reached the large village of Kidzi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sahalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sahalin and as frequent visiting traders in Sisanusi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinō even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Notesito (2) among the Sahalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk. There was no village there in my time.

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyt, who

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buyers of the fur pats captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sahalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Vietns. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from mainland to Sahalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'santa." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinō's predecessor, the Japanese

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sahalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polotskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 486, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sahalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Atsiwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

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3. "Tō-tan ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3; also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyne also gave the name as "S'santa," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Santan" or "Santa" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the other hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sahalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middleman in their trade with the Amur people up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with the Ainu language, and extended this name to Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Ushkui Ostrog (Sopln., etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sahalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'santa is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sahalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamia Rinō. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

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Apart from along the Amur River, we also learn from Mamia Rinō's travels that he visited the Gilyak along the seacoast at that time. In the Amur-Liman he visited the village of Tsjomen, which consisted of large dwellings of the Smerenkur, scattered along a small river of the same name (1).

4. "Tō-tats ki ko," op. cit., p. 178.

Today's Tschomi, the southernmost coastal village of the Gilyak, is arranged in precisely the same way, as I can confirm from experience. And that at that time, too, it was the last is shown by the dotted line that on Rinō's map runs from Hoso on the Amur to the seacoast directly south of Tjsjomen and undoubtedly is intended to designate the southern boundary of the Smerenkur area on the mainland. From there southward to beyond Taba Bay stretched at that time, too, only an uninhabited coast, as one likewise understands from Mamia Rinō's statements on his return trip to Sahalin, he sailed around Cape Waiibundi (Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/, called Wafun by the Olcha) and into the channel which Siebold rightly named after him, but on his outbound voyage he had sailed along part of the coast north of Taba and named on it a series of place names, but with the express remark that the coast was uninhabited and these places were only anchorages (5). Thus, in

5. Op. cit., pp. 170, 178.

/120/ Rinō's time, too, the boundary situation between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors was the same as it was in my time.

In general, then, no shifts at all along the entire southern boundary of the Gilyak on the mainland are observable from the time of our first acquaintance with this people, that is, in about 200 years. The oldest reports are so inadequate, however, that one cannot with certainty deny that there may have been changes; they permit us to know scarcely more

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than that the neighbors adjacent to the Gilyak on the south were the same 200 years ago as they are today. The only thing known with absolute certainty is that the boundary situation which I found there in the fifties was exactly the same as it was half a century earlier.

If we now go back to the island of Sahalin, we are faced there with an even greater scarcity of useful older reports. In the above-mentioned reports from the seventeenth-century tale the Russians conducted to the mouth of the Amur and beyond, no special attention is given to it, though in one of them it is generally noted that the Gilyak also occupy the nearby islands in the ocean (1) which however, could just as well refer to the

1. In Pojarkof's report (see Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302).

Shantar Islands (2). Not until the above-mentioned "Tale from

2. Fischer, in this connection, actually confused Sahalin with the Shantars (see his Sibir. Gesch., Part II, p. 788, and the map, "Sibirjae veteris," Pl. II).

the Great Amur River," likewise from the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent also in Witsen, it is said more precisely that opposite the mouth of the Amur there is a large island on which numerous "Giliyak peoples" live (3). Elsewhere Witsen

3. Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information from the Russian concerning the Amur River in the seventeenth-century)" (Vietns. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20). Witsen, Noord en Oost

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carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian ang hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known, the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian ang chada" mean only "rocks (or island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the bays of the Amur at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks standing from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinō (1808-1810). In 1618-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

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to Kzafto under the governor Kinfiro, in order to draw up a map of this country, but they did not advance very far, and they supplied hardly any information about its peoples; Siebold, at any rate, to whom we are indebted for the information (2),

2. Nippon, I, p. 128.

has nothing to say about it. There were no further expeditions to Sakhalin by the Japanese until Mogami Tok'nai and, soon after him, Mamia Rinsō set foot on the island. To be sure, Sakhalin was geographically explored at about the same time by European seafarers -- La Pérouse (1787), Broughton (1797), and Krusenstern (1805) -- and the Hollander Vries had landed on its east coast about a century and a half earlier, but they came into contact with its population only at odd coastal points, and therefore could give no more than odd bits of ethnographic information, which shall be mentioned later. The Japanese, however, studied not only the two coasts -- the west coast almost to its northern end, and the east coast as far as the bay of Patience -- but even a part of the interior of Sakhalin (3). We

3. Mogami Tok'nai, for instance, went from the Bay of Patience along the Poronai (Ty or Flyi River) across the island to Onisi (in the vicinity of Dui). Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

are indebted to them for the first information about the three indigenous peoples living on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok. Since their reports, however, and especially the one by Mamia Rinsō, are not very old, and since, as we have seen, there has been no subsequent border change on the mainland between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors, /122/ we cannot expect any considerable border changes on the island within this short space of time. In fact, Mamia Rinsō states that the area of the Smerenkur territory on the west coast of

/122 cont./

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitoni region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tō-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or of confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinsō 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

it, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a large portion of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinsō's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

/122 cont./

began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

In maintaining everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether and how much might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nipon, then on Jesso, /Yezo/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from Island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half millennium old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

1. Aardr. en volkenkund, toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maerten Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voorthesgn. der Aino-landen

/128 cont./

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 288, 289; see also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tiou ran to tett (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribe."

Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Ezd Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of the name Ezo Tsikugo, the Pacific Coast Province.

7. Arai Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tiou ran to tett, pp. 191, 193, 195. Following the Chinese Japanese Source,

/136 cont./

6. (cont.)
(2.4) p. 8. Russ. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr. Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Umurinskie Man'tzy /The Usurie Man-dse/" (Izvieztia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 83, 123).

repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Usuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kikar," but once also only generally and vaguely as "Litimka" (see Appendix). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsō learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

7. "Tō-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kōraī (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

8. Op. cit., p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (op. cit., p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjächkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Tykyra in the

9. Travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

/148 cont./

do they have to do with the Amur peoples at all? In order to explain the "Kordeikke" of Mamia Rinsō one need only remember that the Japanese substitute sh r for the d sound, which they lack; if one restores the latter and at the same time considers the relationship between the k and g, he arrives at "Koldeikke" and "Goldeikke" for that ethnic name. And also everything that has been said above about the Kordeikke on the basis of Mamia Rinsō's report fits the Goldi.

This correspondence in the designations for the Goldi on the part of the Japanese and the Russian points to a common origin for them. But what could this origin be? The obvious assumption would be that they call themselves this. In fact, in answer to the question as to who they were or what they were called, they repeatedly designated themselves to me as "Goldé." Nevertheless, I do not mean to say that they also do this among themselves. This may be only a designation that they use when dealing with the Russians, just as the Gilyak call themselves Gilyak when dealing with them, whereas among themselves, Nihkyvk. Perhaps the origin of this name should be sought somewhere else entirely. In any case, Mamia Rinsō did not hear it from the Goldi, but from the Gilyak during his stay on Sakhalin. It remained foreign to the Russians in the beginning, in the seventeenth century, when they went downstream and visited the Goldi area; it was not until they again occupied the Amur region in the fifties of our century and advanced from the mouth of the Amur by first establishing themselves among the Gilyak of the same Goldi appeared among them for the former Natken and Atchanen. This situation suggests the conjecture that the name Goldi /149/ in the Russian version and Kordeikke in the Japanese version may be of Gilyak origin. Now, to be sure, as has already often been mentioned (1).

1. See above, pp. 245, 303, 304.

the Gilyak designation for the Goldi is "Jam", but if one asks the Gilyak about the peoples living upstream from them along the Amur, they enumerate them in the following order: "Crongsch,

/192 cont./

3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/"(Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49),

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischi," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa (5)."

4. Therefore, when in a handwritten document from 1744 found by Middendorff in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog there is mention of the "Ssysaizy," who are said to have destroyed a village in the mouth of the Amur (cf. his Reise in den Äus. Nord. etc., Vol. IV, p. 165), it is undoubtedly the Japanese who are being referred to by their Gilyak name transformed by the Russians. Middendorff himself, by the way, had heard the name "Ssissan" among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk, but he thought that it referred to the southern Kurile Islands (cf. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619).

5. See above, pp. 29, 219 ff. above.

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of time. At the time of Krasheninnikov and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the last third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk

/353 cont./

hunting matter it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom of the winter houses of the Ainur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself to the rats, which are excedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refrain from to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their beds. If superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter to whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

/192 cont./

3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/"(Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49),

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischi," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa (5)."

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5. See above, pp. 29, 219 ff. above.

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3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

/111 cont./

175 131 484 they visited the large islands within sight from their coast, densely wooded, and still uninhabited, on which they could peacefully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the mainland at first did not reach the Tugur and later did not go beyond it, they did visit the Shantar Islands, even the westernmost of them, and Bear Island (Medwäshij) located beyond [103] Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ngorbak," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (6), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ngarbach" /112/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nga -- animal, and pach -- stone, rock (see above, p. 175, note 2). Similar Gilyak place names are Tschcharbach, Tschorbach, Tebach, etc.

175 174 648 131 133 But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar Islands, since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the mainland is not large and since navigation around these islands is difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changing currents, the floating masses of ice, the frequent fog, the pounding surf, etc. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russians appeared on the Shantars, wintered there, and in fact took possession of them, the Gilyak remained away from them, just as later, in 1829, they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Tugur when a party of Russians took up winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Uikon (2). It is very probably

2. Kosmin, according to the accounts of the priest from Udskoi Ostrog,

G /112 cont./

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that it was beca
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Gi As Müller
175 109 114

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2. (cont.)
Djatschkovskij, who learned of it while
traveling through his diocese in the winter
of 1829/30 (Zap. Gidr. Dep., Part VI,
p. 36).

ause the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed
s by the Russians that they appeared so hostile
hen the latter advanced from there into their
mainland. It is no wonder that they took
eir greater number and simply killed off the
since, as Middendorff has shown, the trips by
the Shantars took place almost without interrup-
k lost their former hunting territory altogether.
that while in the course of time they lost terri-
nds in the northwest of their area of distribution,
on the mainland somewhat more to the west.
can be drawn from the oldest Russian reports
Amur about possible border shifts in the south of
ory, along the Amur River. In them only the
ors are named, and at most the number of days
their respective territories is given. Moreover,
ents run differently, in that, according to
tken border the Gilyak upstream, according
Atschanen, and according to Stepanof the
e next question is how are these peoples to
those known to us today from the lower Amur
re those apparently contradictory reports to be

3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II,
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ibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 809.

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175 /114 cont./
101 a language other than the Tungusic one (1). Now, even though

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536. Though this statement seems to leave no doubt but that "Ngatku" was a Tungusic designation for that Amur people, Middendorff says elsewhere (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618) that he had received information on this people from the Gilyak. But in this case, too, these must have been border Gilyak adjacent to Tugur Bay, who obviously gave the traveler the name customary among their neighbors, the Tungus, for those people, for as much and as frequently as I myself inquired among the Gilyak on the Amur, the Liman, and on Sakhalin about the peoples known to them, I never heard the name Ngatku. In any case they have other designations for the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed later.

Gi
175 the above description by the Tungus of the Natka, their place
101 of habitation, and their way of life agrees with Pojarkof's statements concerning the Natken and Chabarof's concerning the Atschanen, who likewise lived only from fishing and without agriculture and livestock-raising, and even though in this direction it fits the Goldi as well as the Olcha, it is not therefore to be assumed that the Tungus, especially the Negda, were likewise unable to distinguish between these two peoples
Gi
101 not too far away from them. Experience has shown that, on the contrary, primitive peoples are inclined to regard even minor branches of one and the same people, individual families,

/115 cont./

syllable in order to recognize in this designation the name Olcha only slightly changed. And this is the name that this people gives itself. I shall come back to this later. Chabarof also named the fort which he erected for winter quarters Atschanskoi gorod after this people. It cannot be learned from his report where it was located. I believe that one may assume, however, that it was already in Olcha territory since it was the last place he reached along the Amur and since he must have learned the name given for the Olcha people, appearing before us here for the first time, from them themselves. Or else it may have been that Olcha staying in Goldi territory were accidentally involved in the learning of the name, which, however, is less probable. Chabarof must therefore have proceeded quite far below the Ussuri on the Amur. In view of the relatively short duration of his voyage from the mouth of the Sungari (3), however, that would have been possible only if he followed the main stream and not the right bank with its many bays. And this appears to have been the case in fact, for otherwise he would surely not have overlooked the mouth of the Ussuri.

3. The duration of this voyage cannot be determined very precisely; from what can be learned from Chabarof's account, however, he seems to have been at the mouth of the Sungari on about September 15 and to have gone downstream from there for 14 days, for he reached the place where he set up his winter quarters on September 29.

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Although we learn about the present neighbors of the Gilyak on the Amur through Pojarkof and Chabarof, nothing can be learned from their reports about where the boundaries between these peoples were at that time because the statements of the distances in terms of days of travel, without any designation or mention of recognizable localities, are too vague and

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Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Ssarytschof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, so-called isba) had been built everywhere; only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are likewise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

1. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinsô on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjare), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinsô was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region were too different to have produced an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

/385 cont./

are, on the contrary, of such a type that they abundant food with a nomadic life because of grazing areas and therefore in a way give the tional motive for the nomadic life.

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Section 5

External Appearance: Clothing, Hai Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, eve dwelling, is intimately bound up with their t means of subsistence. For insofar as the mat them for clothing are not obtained through b people, they secure them from the same sou whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raisi mals used for food or for transport, and give to their life and activity, their crafts and oc

As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall cussion, it must first of all be repeated that hunting are their chief occupations, whereas second place among them; furthermore the domestic animal, the dog, but this in large animals; and finally, as the oldest reports t about them said (1), they maintain constant

1. See p. 203 above.

Chinese. Accordingly, their principal mat sides cottons, which since ancient times the the Chinese and at the present time also fro possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skin fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves,

5 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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total way of life and
terials required by
arter with a civilized
rce as their food,
ng of domestic ani-
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y keep only one
numbers as draft
hat the Russians had
trade with the

rials for clothing, be-
y have obtained from
n the Russians (Gilyak,
of dogs and seals and
ox, otter, sable,
or for smaller articles
etc., but otherwise

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/388 cont./

Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use

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1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorations several little brass crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wair or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], p. 218). To supplement the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair was named for me as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uftsch) to destroy a piece of paper with

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/388 cont./

1. (cont.)
characters on it -- no matter whether written or painted -- I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in obtaining possible diaries or other written notes of de la Brunière. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of D'Orville's maps of China were brought to me by them after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Amur region.

[192] 2. MAKE THE GILYAK SKIN COATS, THE GILYAK USE the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur region, namely the large pink (Gilyak tygk-tscho, on Sakhalin lagki-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them have the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skin in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleansed of the adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are performed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protection against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attached to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII). [192] The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though they were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the body of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, fig. 2, 3 and 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never lacking on them.

[See category IIa, p. 448--Analysis]

/394 cont./

[191] the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the house. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-pasi, is worn there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Julin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on black chintz material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that is noticed in particular among the Tao Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied around the loins and as far as the thighs and knees. For the Gilyak sitting astride their sledges it is especially important to protect the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak pasi) made of seaskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

[193] The footgear has already been mentioned. In winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots, as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das innere von Grönland, The Interior of Greenland,"in Petermann's Geogr. Mitthell., 1871, p. 384).

/395 cont./

[193] ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchus there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

1. Dr. Schrenk, "Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1854-1856, 1857-1858, 1859-1860, 1861-1862 RXZ Gilyak RXZ

/387 cont./

[194] (1). Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure, [195] they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid [196] and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the actual intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the fact in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration with sacrifices and zach taken place. The Gilyak then go out on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit: the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak nakki-tscho) and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak pakt-tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the Ussuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the haluga of the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occur in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka (Pallas/ and in the Argun/ Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

1. Pallas, Reise durch verschi. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 207; The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

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(1). As dasticoi, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Reise, as cited, p. 1.) assure us that the Argun in the Amur/, p. 27), is too shallow and tony for it. When in other older as well as more recent reports Dauria, Chinese and Russian ones, reference is made simply to hausen (hielugo) and sturgeon (ostro) in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in its rivers, as, for instance, in Hedenström (Otrywki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, 1830, p. 146), Paroschin (Poiezdka v Zabaikal'skii kraj /Journey to the Transbaikalia Region/, Moscow, 1846, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibiri /Statistical Survey of Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1854, Vol. I, p. 251), Kaschin ("Nachlese über die Fische des Kalmyk uw to kill birds and small animals. Sopel (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obi for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1576, woodcuts 1 and 2), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

226 above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The [227] situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is [228] eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

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[411] [412] [413] [414] [415] [416] [417] [418] [419] [420] [421] [422] [423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446] [447] [448] [449] [450] [451] [452] [453] [454] [455] [456] [457] [458] [459] [460] [461] [462] [463] [464] [465] [466] [467] [468] [469] [470] [471] [472] [473] [474] [475] [476] [477] [478] [479] [480] [481] [482] [483] [484] [485] [486] [487] [488] [489] [490] [491] [492] [493] [494] [495] [496] [497] [498] [499] [500] [501] [502] [503] [504] [505] [506] [507] [508] [509] [510] [511] [512] [513] [514] [515] [516] [517] [518] [519] [520] [521] [522] [523] [524] [525] [526] [527] [528] [529] [530] [531] [532] [533] [534] [535] [536] [537] [538] [539] [540] [541] [542] [543] [544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566] [567] [568] [569] [570] [571] [572] [573] [574] [575] [576] [577] [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594] [595] [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602] [603] [604] [605] [606] [607] [608] [609] [610] [611] [612] [613] [614] [615] [616] [617] [618] [619] [620] [621] [622] [623] [624] [625] [626] [627] [628] [629] [630] [631] [632] [633] [634] [635] [636] [637] [638] [639] [640] [641] [642] [643] [644] [645] [646] [647] [648] [649] [650] [651] [652] [653] [654] [655] [656] [657] [658] [659] [660] [661] [662] [663] [664] [665] [666] [667] [668] [669] [670] [671] [672] [673] [674] [675] [676] [677] [678] [679] [680] [681] [682] [683] [684] [685] [686] [687] [688] [689] [690] [691] [692] [693] [694] [695] [696] [697] [698] [699] [700] [701] [702] [703] [704] [705] [706] [707] [708] [709] [710] [711] [712] [713] [714] [715] [716] [717] [718] [719] [720] [721] [722] [723] [724] [725] [726] [727] [728] [729] [730] [731] [732] [733] [734] [735] [736] [737] [738] [739] [740] [741] [742] [743] [744] [745] [746] [747] [748] [749] [750] [751] [752] [753] [754] [755] [756] [757] [758] [759] [760] [761] [762] [763] [764] [765] [766] [767] [768] [769] [770] [771] [772] [773] [774] [775] [776] [777] [778] [779] [780] [781] [782] [783] [784] [785] [786] [787] [788] [789] [790] [791] [792] [793] [794] [795] [796] [797] [798] [799] [800] [801] [802] [803] [804] [805] [806] [807] [808] [809] [810] [811] [812] [813] [814] [815] [816] [817] [818] [819] [820] [821] [822] [823] [824]

/759 cont./

(1). Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (3).

1. Zagoskin", Pešehodnoje opis' chatni russk. vlad. v^ Amerikje /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. It is therefore in the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior of interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sledges, etc., and always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even the earliest reports they are described as old-known. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the bends of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russian call "Kilaki, Tatarzatch," make excellent, fine weapons, and forge their best bows, and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given to little credence

/566 cont./ Dunning was Century in Siberia at the beginning of the previous century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the bends of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russian call "Kilaki, Tatarzatch," make excellent, fine weapons, and forge their best bows, and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given to little credence

2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia/ /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Pentan province of Gilan and the Awans /Avas/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which «an especially distinguished by its weapon-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

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that it is known under the name of "bemu," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct: in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners a great extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare remnants of fabulously high values. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Manzia Rimd also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (1)

2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verreisten Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Chan u. memnalt nach Chinen. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Netherlands to the Tartarian Khan and Two Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 384. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Nüntschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellae placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

/573 cont./
empere himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descrip. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Lakof, the well-known member of the Russian mission in Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts prescribed by law which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances, it

(115)

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the lower Amur region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Goldi, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transaction, the purchase of a wife.

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsö (2) specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kordekke" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only objects that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

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Section 10

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all their needs. They cannot procure some of their necessary items in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the Japanese sources for the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that in the first information which the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Ivan Ivanof gave to the Russian Prince Vasilii Tsugin in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilkha) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do move trading with the Chinese and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /592/ live farther from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in the of the two civilized peoples with each other.

/591 cont./
the two civilized peoples with each other. Thus, they stand in the center, so to speak, of all international trade relations in the lower Amur region. This is especially true of the Amur Gilyak, while those on Sakhalin and the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk have hardly less a peripheral position in this respect than the other peoples of the region. The former however, are also favored more than the latter two by their geographical position, in that, besides the sea route to the Japanese by way of the Liman and along the west coast of Sakhalin, they also have a second water artery on the Amur River, which leads them to the Chinese living on it as well as on the Sungari. Finally, in the trade with the Russians, too, the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River, occupy a central and intermediary position, so to speak, in contrast to the neighboring peoples, merely as a result of the fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the Russians started at the mouth of the Amur and the first settlements were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the Nikolayev post, which for some time remained the headquarters of the Russian administration and from which the further exploration of the lower Amur region and of Sakhalin took place.

If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seventeenth century (1) and considers that by nature they are by no

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but rather, far to the contrary, are mutinous, spiteful, and deceitful, while at the same time energetic and even ready to shed blood if humiliation of greed are involved (2), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brunière by the Gilyak mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) is evidence of this. Shortly before my arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

/591 cont./
whalers that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tymovsk and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Pogbobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

/609 cont./
(Sakhalin), and which he therefore calls "kraft-oti" (1).

1. "Jenoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jeso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Timing (Annales des Voyages, publ. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 162, 164). Cf. also p. 561, note 3 above.

There is an even more definite statement in Rinsiže's work, San hyō kokf tsou ran se sets, published in Iedo (Tokyo) in 1785 or 1786, where it is said that the inhabitants of Jeso (Sakhalin) exchange their products on Karafuto with the "islands" for blue glass beads, eagle wings, tobacco pipes, silken fabrics embroidered with dragons, and colored linen and cotton materials (2). This undoubtedly refers to the trade which

2. Klaproth, San hokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes (General Survey of the Three Kingdoms), Paris, 1832, p. 180. Cf. also Hirter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 487.

the Manchu-Chinese, Gilyak, and Olcha, with the above-named, mostly Chinese commodities, but in part also indigenous products of the Amur region (such as the eagle tails), conducted on Sakhalin with the Japanese and Ainu of this island and, through their intermediation, also with the inhabitants of Jeso, and which the last-named indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region and some of the Goldi still conduct. To be sure, there are not named there, but this is not to be expected in view of the tact of Klaproth, that the peoples of the lower Amur region at that time on the part of the Japanese, and, rather, it is to be assumed that under "Manmin" in the collective sense they meant all those people there carrying on trade with Manchu-Chinese

/609 cont./
commodities. The Gilyak and Olcha coming to Sakhalin to trade with the Japanese are simply designated as "Manchu" even by many a more recent Russian reporter (3), though at present

3. For instance, by Radonitski (cf. P. Tikhmenev", Ist. obozr. obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii i deiatel'nosti do nastoiashch. vrem. /Historical Survey of the Founding of the Russian-American Company and of its Activities up to the Present/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 127), Bunge, (Otrov "Sakhalin" i Elepod. 1853 g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 62, 72, 85), and others.

neither they nor the Chinese merchants referred to as a rule under this name by the Russians visit Sakhalin. The first Russian report concerning the trade in question is almost as old as the latest Japanese accounts. In 1785, Adm. Lassburg heard the Japanese on Jeso speak of the "Sandan-ains" who bring beads and fabrics to "Karap" (Kraft), Sakhalin and barter for animal furs, skins, etc., for them. To be sure, he thought that

4. Cf. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, pp. 493, 541). Similarly see p. 245 above.

these "Sandan People" must be Koreans, but since, as was discussed above at length (3), "Sandan" is the Japanese and Ainu

3. See pp. 245 and 247, as well as the footnote.

/609 cont./
designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the Japanese is Nairanuki, the foremost settlement of the latter and located close to the southeastern tip of the island (1). It is,

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Susam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The voyages are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Taking allowance for these peculiar vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsö Strait in calm weather, in its narrower part, the so-called Gilyak Pilias-ishy (2) that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Waifun)

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Nairanuki by the Japanese but only as far as Dushungoro, and in the following year the Olcha trader were prevented from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kusunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2).

2. Byliksin", "Pis'ma" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Book VIII, St. Petersburg, 1851). Also Schmidt, "Ist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebaoch, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Nairanuki and can well know them; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, originating from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our present book.

/610 cont./
their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of the Susam, they know only that it is a land of mountains (Mamia Rin-ssö) and separated from it by a "small sea" (Mamia-kaikyō). /611/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians, however, the Gilyak were forbidden to sleep the traders from there away from Nairanuki and Dushungoro, third second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1850, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

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questioned them as to how they came to be tributary to the Manchu, he received the following information from several inhabitants of the island: "In former times," they said, "we did they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came to the every year in order to buy furs. The crew, however, landed in an inferiously and dissolute manner toward the inhabitants the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke out between them, whereupon a great number of Manchu died. Thus, inspected the island everywhere, and took possession of Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fear, but some of those who had remained on the coast were taken by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointed one them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took place the west coast of the island and Tonkiu (Tonkiu), Ainu, lately, they invested two men from the northern part of the coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they also

3. Mamia Rinsö also knows the names of these three harata who were the first to be named.

appointed kaiinta, or second elders. A black sea-otter fur breed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders were bring the Manchu, for which the Manchu gave them as a tokens of gratitude. Since the inhabitants of the island were tributary to the Manchu, they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came to the every year in order to buy furs. The crew, however, landed in an inferiously and dissolute manner toward the inhabitants the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke out between them, whereupon a great number of Manchu died. Thus, inspected the island everywhere, and took possession of Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fear, but some of those who had remained on the coast were taken by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointed one them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took place the west coast of the island and Tonkiu (Tonkiu), Ainu, lately, they invested two men from the northern part of the coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they also

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Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

/621 cont./

Manchu language. Rinso continues his report, "The successors of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives, from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Sautaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

/622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tributary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region, among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves, by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate [114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

Ainu AB6

/622 cont./

and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

2: Schrenck--1055 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RI

/648 cont./

It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinso, either misunderstood the conditions just described, and especially the position of the slaves among the Gilyak, or else intentionally put them in a different light and thereby gave rise to completely false conceptions concerning their domestic and marital situation. With reference to his stay among the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Cape Noteito on the west coast /649/ of Sakhalin (1), he says that "there it is the custom of the country

1. Cape Noteito is not given on Mamia Rinsô's map as reproduced by Siebold (op. cit., Pl. XXV), but on Mogami Tok'nai's map it is shown somewhat diagonally across from Taba Bay or the entrance into Taba-Kidsi Straits (see above, p. 964).

that the women give orders to the men, treat them like servants, and have them perform all the work. He himself, it is said furthe had to bend under the yoke of the mistress of the house, and he, like the rest, had his daily work imposed on him by her, but since the mistress of the house was particularly well disposed toward him, her other men became jealous, and he, who was well aware of this, was careful not to become involved in things which he would have had to conceal, but rather occupied himself solely with domestic work under the eyes of the other men, and, as a result of this modesty, he gained the confidence and esteem of the former, who presented him with meat and fish" (2).

2. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tatskiko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 169.

[191] It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

/649 cont./

114 171 175 569 592

of this statement by Rinsô, could express the conjecture that the kojektschutsch or kojachtschitsch of the Kamchadal known through Steller and Krascheninnikof (4), that is, men being used

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's con-
114 595 175 jecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from the same statement by Rinsô, that polyandry exists among the Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accurate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinsô, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./

114 175 595

case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the

114 175 592 595

Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tôtats (on the opposite mainland), which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time,

[357] [567]

then, he entered the ranks of persons obligated to perform domestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged

[515]

custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 175 569 435

Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

/650 cont./

114 175 569 [435] [439]

and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4, often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services, are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations

[304]

named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

[184]

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be-
175 567 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say,

[648]

they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

567 171

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/663/

Section 12

000 Social relations: political and legal position. Social organization on the basis of wealth. National communism. Inviolability of property. Hospitality. Caution and indecision on journeys: wind and weather tests. Superstitious calming of storms. Greeting and expressions of thanks. The custom of giving gifts and return-gifts to one another. Reliability in business affairs. Time reckoning. Calender. Cosmic conceptions. Amusements: singing, music, dancing, games.

128 In connection with the family, the basis of all social organization, the most essential and important characteristics of the latter among the Gilyak and the neighboring peoples in the lower Amur region were discussed in the preceding section: morality, slavery, blood revenge. It remains for us to consider those aspects of their social life which are less directly and immediately connected with the family.

195 648 At the time of my stay in the Amur region the Gilyak were not subject or tributary to either China or Russia. At the beginning of the century the Chinese government had exercised some authority over them on the Amur as well as on Sakhalin and in several places appointed elders from among them, who were to collect a certain amount of tribute in their districts and deliver it to Deren. In the twenties, however, as was discussed in detail above (1), it relinquished this authority and confined it to

1. See pp. 970 ff. above.

those parts of the lower Amur region located farther upstream around the Sungari, so that the Gilyak and the Olcha remained only nominally subject to it, and since from them on no tribute was collected and delivered to the Manchu-Chinese government, the posts of village or district elders created by it automatically perished, too. For the Gilyak in particular, more conscious of their freedom, they had already in my time /664/ disappeared

/664 cont./

195 648 from memory to such an extent that I never heard them mentioned by them and learned of no Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russians, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held at individual points in the lowermost Amur region, for example, in Petrovskoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-181 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the 000 Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

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2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (Russ. starosta) appointed by them from among the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the district chief (Russ. ispravnik /ispravnik/) residing in the nearest post. Dr. Seeland, who had already met such village elders among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Russische Revue, Vol. XXI, p. 233), failed to recognize the wholly Russian origin of this arrangement, and generally failed to distinguish adequately between what was originally peculiar to the Gilyak and what they took over from the Russians -- and at that time this had already spread very far and deeply -- deprives his description of them of almost all its value.

195 648 Thus in my time the arrangements made by the Manchu-Chinese for governing the Gilyak had already disappeared, and none had yet been introduced by the Russians; the people were left to themselves and within the limits mentioned, could do as they pleased. The following remarks pertain

/698 cont./

231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 231 175 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in captivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story

[113] 2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

/698 cont./

114 231 175 of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the

3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" dlya raboty mirno."

beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found

[192] 1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur

[113] 3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yakut Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses:" (4).

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 886) was also told

/699 cont./

114 231 175

4. (cont.)

this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

231 *792 The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

[156] [109] [123]

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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101 [361] resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Tarasa, Poronaysky Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[196] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan-dog; pil'a-gan-big dog). The agglutinating

[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu-dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives

802 have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects, instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and mantlke spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'-r-n'ekh-one tree; k'u-n'ik-one bullet; ty-el'akk'-one house; tamkh-n'rikh-one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn-one dog; nivkh-n'in-one person; mu-n'im-one boat; t'u-n'irsh-one sled; and n'a-one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

174 In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits--marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware--flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation--the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Sternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lin-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasily Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of lashkina and animal skins; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

[361] [196] [193] 231 231 231 231 231

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
268 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur
clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange
and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly
fish and acid-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs
were used most as draught animals.

492 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
● [175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride
it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in
this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on
either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that
the dog pulled with the neck.

499 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
[546] and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[171] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
so-called Eastern-Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in
yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled,
170 its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
142 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most
143 valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his
directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a
brake-pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer
tow strap.

498 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
171 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former
were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-
hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips
nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
501 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled
[171] with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which
[824] the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was
rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the
left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn-
ing-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
ings of Amurmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi, still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[352] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

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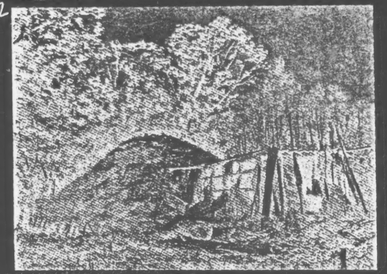


Mud hut.

342 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long
● 175 low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began
to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire
Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-
time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some
1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served
as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front
part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing
[171] various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling
was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to
that of the Nanaya. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the
knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical
birchbark hat (kh'ibkrakk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or
gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was
longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an
outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe.
During sled trips, the men wore a kind of sealskin above the fur garment, to
[531] save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing
differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was
[439] made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese
and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
[629] offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was
enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan repre-
sentative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the
ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and
other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
601 the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them
applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As
Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in
[178] his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[595] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically
forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
56 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
(tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the hus-
bands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4)
children (oba).

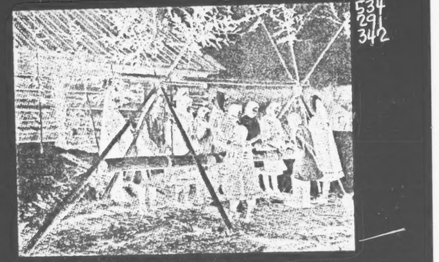
● 175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sangari to San-hsing, and
bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal
articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other
neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time
the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[556] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[595] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-
price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity
[560] relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs
and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a sub-
sistence economy.

195 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation
were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the
Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
195 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
648 and gosyanda—village elders.

672 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
195 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
198 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch
432 was divided according to the number of participants, plus the share to the owner.
[567] The implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about
trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in
their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural
phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master"
of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of



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Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi
and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the
bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers
were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved
with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given
bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they
indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt
or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so
forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played the
primitive one-string instrument (t'ngyrng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga).
During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an
ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu-
tion. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary,
Pitotod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

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In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Maritsk; two
others were opened in 1898, by 1905 they were closed for lack of funds.
Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

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In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the
Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be-
came the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized
to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted
several years.

● 175 In the beginning of 1920, the laboring people of Sakhalin overthrew
648 General Kolchak's appointees and reestablished the Soviet regime, which
immediately began to organize contacts between the Russian revolutionary
workers and peasants and the Nivkhi and other peoples of Sakhalin. However,
the Soviets lasted only three months in Sakhalin. In April 1920, the Japanese
landed on the island and seized the city of Aleksandrovsk. The poorly armed
Red Guard units were compelled to retreat and withdraw to the taiga. They
became guerrillas and, joined by men who escaped from the interventionists,
they engaged in a stubborn fight against the invaders. The Nivkhi took part
in the struggle side by side with the Russians, rendering substantial aid to
the guerrillas by transporting their units in dogsleds from district to dis-
trict. The occupants, afraid of the guerrilla movement, initiated brutal
retaliation against the population. Many fighters for the Revolution were
executed. The terror and violence went on for 5 years. It was not until
January 1925, after the Japanese troops were expelled from the Far East,
that Japan signed an agreement ceding the northern part of Sakhalin to
Russia. By May 15, the Red guerrillas mopped up the last remnants of the
interventionists in northern Sakhalin; since then, the Soviet government has
been firmly in control of the area.

In August 1945, the Soviet Army liberated southern Sakhalin from the
Japanese invaders, and Soviet people came to the immemorially Russian
lands, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk developed on the site of the former Vladimirovka.

The period of Japanese intervention brought great suffering to the Nivkhi.
Their economy was completely disrupted. The Japanese shamelessly took
away their fishing areas, fostered drunkenness, sowed dissension among
Nivkhi clans. Drunken sailors raped Nivkhi women and beat up their hus-
bands. The Nivkhi endured extreme poverty and entire villages died out
from hunger and diseases. The Japanese also made serious inroads into the
natural resources of Sakhalin. They carelessly exterminated sable, musk
deer, and wild reindeer; they devastated fishing waters, bays and small
rivers. They chopped down forests without any plan and did nothing to com-
bat forest enemies. A great deal of forest was destroyed by fires. Coal and
oil resources were also plundered.

In 1929, native village soviets and two native Rayon Executive Committ-
tees were established, replacing the initial village and rayon committees—
revkoms (revolutionary committees). In 1933, 63 Nivkhi were elected to
native and Russian village soviets, 30 Nivkhi were elected to the two native
Rayon Executive Committees, and 5 to the Sakhalinskaya Oblast Executive
Committee. The Nivkhi were equally active in the village soviets on the
continent.

Formerly illiterate and extremely backward economically and culturally,
the Nivkhi were gradually drawn into the work of various Soviet organiza-
tions—becoming a part of a new, hitherto unknown, culture. Their politi-
cal activity also expanded and developed. The former distrust of Russians,
resulting from the arbitrary rule of the tsarist administration and, later,
from the conduct of the Whites who worked with the Japanese interven-
tionists on the island and along the Lower Amur, began to disappear. We
must not forget the vast initial gulf between the Nivkhi and Soviet culture.
Of all the Amur peoples, the Nivkhi, particularly on Sakhalin, were the most
deprived. They were people who depended wholly on the harsh nature
surrounding them, who were isolated in the narrow circle of family and clan
interests, who fearfully shunned new and unknown people. The socialist
reorganization of Nivkhi life on the continent proceeded along the same
patterns as that of the other peoples of the Lower Amur region, akin to the
Nivkhi in their life and culture such as the Negidals, Ul'chi and Nanays.

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174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-
342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak
796 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the
178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu
[177] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a
[192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/94 cont./

As among all nearly primitive peoples, murder within the clan among the Gilyak goes unpunished (1). The clan

1. In clans that have combined with Ains, who retain maternity, in cases of murder within the clan the brother of the mother of the slain man and the closest agnate of the latter (father, brother) ransom the ransom, which they divide in half.

cannot shed the blood of a kinsman, which is the blood of an ancestor. This is not only a religious principle, but a dictate of self-preservation, a categorical imperative of the existence of the clan itself. The strength of the latter is in its numbers and internal peace, while every incident of vengeance within the clan would inevitably be the cause of /95/ new vengeance by the closest kinsmen of the punished man and would thus lead to endless internal war, which would end in the physical and moral destruction of the clan.

Murder and any serious infraction of rights and laws by a clansman do not go completely unpunished, however; in fact, it involves public punishment, since the criminal is compelled to leave the clan and move to a distant village, thus being deprived not only of all the benefits of the clan union during his lifetime, but of still weightier ones after his death, since the privilege of cremation is extended only to clansmen. In general, however, slayings within the clan are extremely rare; the many speech prohibitions among clansmen discourage the causes for quarrels and irritation, while the extensive communal conjugal rights weaken the fire of jealousy and make superfluous the abduction of women, which is the most frequent cause of bloody disputes and vengeance. Thus, the very practice of a life cannot favor the institution of vengeance within the clan.

/111 cont./

Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the designations, Tyvli-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yeskire-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yeshin), N'yenkhayf-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of N'yenkhay), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunow came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tskharung, the Chonli, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces its origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

/112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. Without complex, as we have seen, clan life, the clan does not know any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and at that not clan but settlement elders, but it had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode, but that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in some instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which, according to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated with the

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II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur land, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerable differences from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only instance of a complete genetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "ama" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "ama" signifies mother-in-law (wife's mother), aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

1: Shternberg--209 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/139 cont./ Each Gilyak, man and woman, uses one and the same term for "mother" (yma and synonyms), not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" of the mother (female tuvu) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan; all the "sisters" of persons of the ahlmalk class (concerning this, see below).

The clan of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in use for wives in both dialects is ayfin. Aifgr, the wife of the clan the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvu), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the clan of younger "brothers" (arkh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law (literally, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother ivy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvu class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvu), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

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Only in one case does pilang, in the form pila n'kryvyn (or pilang, appear as a kinship term -- namely, in the meaning of younger brother of the father; the synonym yik -- father -- is a term that has evidently been made up under the influence of the Tungus term ykt.

Plural kinship terms. Due to the classificatory system there has developed the custom of using the plural for such terms as father, mother, wife in reference to a single individual, for example, "n'i ykuntokh vind" -- "I am going to my father" (i.e., to the village where the clan of the speaker's fathers lives, even though his own father may no longer be alive); "ayfinar lo pymkkhun lo arv" -- "I fed my fathers and mothers."

/146/ Owing to the frequent use of such terms in the plural, a rather curious phenomenon has resulted. In the first place, they have also begun to use the plural a great deal in those cases where by the sense the reference is to only one person, for example: instead of "chur shaktokh vind" -- "where did thy father go?" they often say, "chur'kyn shaktokh vind?" -- "where did thy fathers go?" Another example: "aka, pyukhun kherja!" -- "O, elder brother, notify our fathers (1)!" I shall introduce one more characteristic example

1. L. Shternberg, Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, I, p. 13, line 173. Petersburg, 1908. Published by the Academy of Sciences.

from one of the texts taken down by me (2). The hero of a

2. Ibid., p. 88, lines 108-109; p. 86, lines 120-122.

Durins

/184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his yingi, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settlement of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvu, compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the community.

In the first two cases the violators had to go into voluntary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the influence of an alien culture (1).

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when the shaman is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

/201 cont./

Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families, but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an immediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and various other causes. Although according to the interclan rules the women are spared and the number of men who are killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outside peoples intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

/203 cont./

As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak offset went into the Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their homelands. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital relations with them or carried off their women. And although these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was no similar to the concept of property. The Gilyak were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or successful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate. Among the Gilyak appeared rich men, fortunate possessors of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousness of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the aim began to become related to their possessions. Among the poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The black turn of the obligatory marriage, where the woman was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circumvent the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the institution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/203 cont./ **Clans of brothers living together without a wife became ever rarer. In the words of the epos, such passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinzō Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.**

Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the thinking of one four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clan C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

/260 cont./

It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not having any traces of Gold-Manchurian borrowings and influences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal, which at the present time plays such an important role. All is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to take my wife." Father: "All right, take her." After this everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is immediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which I shall speak in detail later on, is the confaretatio, the joint smoking of the meal.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero: "Thou art a man from where?" Our Gilyak: "I am a dweller of the village in the middle of the bay. I have come to take thy daughter in marriage." Then the old man said: "My child, this guest has come to take thee, go with him." This woman said: "Very well, I shall go with him." This old man said: "Hey, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest... Our Gilyak ate with his wife. Having eaten, having finished, he set out with his wife" (1). Another example even better

1. Shternberg, op. cit., 47.

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, came in, made the bed, got in under one blanket, lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero departed with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

But along with such lawful marriages there are also described cases of the forcible carrying off of women. And this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the hero that the clans of his lawful fathers-in-law may become extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

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To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who, judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the lands of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

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XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

We have already had occasion to introduce in another place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the anguej the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter, do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/270 cont./

my children and your children also be akhmak'i. If you do not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure')."

After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmak is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied interpretations of the expression: "the other (or she) is not my equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek women who were famous for their special qualities, who were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine traits. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedure of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is expressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement", bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- anuej. The term johk, which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage johk is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

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it is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle" takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family, and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless. During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning the bride price in several settlements. They preferred, however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them marriage certificates, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

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from an Amur Gilyak named Tyx', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mibyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vāyda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak

(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Amur/) -- 35 people; nine finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'x. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhnut came down from the Goldi village of Choi'chi (1896).

/333 cont./

are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as sable. The remaining beasts are uigund kauk (i.e., there is taboo on them).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen is found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them by the Gilyak fucks.

During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir a'rkhund), a woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her wardrobe, even a button, even a thread, if that woman has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it without the hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed bear-goose may not be touched. Any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

/334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ekhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk. The wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot get free -- it is a sin to shoot at wolves.

Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tor' (?), the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together, then they go into the net.

Mon' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon, and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly still a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mon', and in summer catch a great number of bears will be pal (Yukola thousand). In general a great deal of fish, the sake of thousand.

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23 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers.... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

32 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" 74 (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the 76 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 25 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

56/76 cont. Once I myself became the object of a legend about the
23 omnipotence of a shaman. In the settlement Nyyvo, at the mouth of the Tym', I once ventured to offer medical help to a female patient of a famous shaman. Learning of my interference, the shaman not only prohibited taking my medicine, but decided to punish me severely for my insolence. Immediately after my departure he went fully dressed into the waters of the bay and began to adjure the god of the water to fall on me with all sorts of punishments. A day later I had to spend the night in an abandoned Orok shed on the lower shore of Nabil' Bay. At night there arose a strong wind accompanied by a most terrible downpour; the water began to spread beyond the shores of the bay and to flood the low area. We awoke at dawn, literally swimming on our bedding. It was necessary to build a platform and shiver with cold on it for many hours until the water receded. For all the Gilyak on the coast there was no doubt that I had borne the punishment sent down by the shaman, who, moreover, could have been much sterner, but this time spared the Russian "tyan'gi" (gentleman). It is remarkable that the death of my female patient, even though she had refused to take the medicine I had left, was charged, not to the shaman, but to her sacrilegious appeal to me for help.

77 The Gilyak, however, willingly and with full faith, are treated by the Russians, not, of course, because they believe in the power of science, but for completely peculiar reasons. "The Russian god," they reason, "is stronger than the Gilyak one; this means that the Russian shaman is stronger than the Gilyak one." /77/ And if you inquire why the Russian god is stronger than the Gilyak one, you might hear such an answer: "Behold how many centuries the Gilyak has been living here, and he still travels on paths, but the Russian arrived and immediately built wide roads, such roads as the Gilyak has never seen." It is curious that neither steamboats nor automobiles, nothing impresses the Gilyak and convinces him of the superiority of the Russian god over the Gilyak one as much as just these roads.

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1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the l sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

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coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

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3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1698, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

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175 Elsewhere Witsen
13 remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said
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4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast
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175 inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do
177 not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

M The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as
G slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli
175 drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them
177 that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

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VII.

Miscellanea

148 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's
170 story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone; she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

169 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not to laugh at anybody.

169 Slaves -- krygrys (1894). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about," "she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tengakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atk (see p. 222,IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

Sakhalin

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175 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There
169 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

194 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

• 177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent,
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows.
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous
292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

1: Sternberg--301 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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• 177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
[572] and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel. Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

614 /355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is
372 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it
169 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geyman) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

614 Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
225 of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
782 ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
[562] ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur niongu-khlai!" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
682 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
628 another khal'. The means is çlan vengeance.

• [177] The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/358 cont./

614 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the
628 condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the
682 murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A
614 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest
628 kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother
682 (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their
628 fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said
628 of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and
[537] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulged toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re-
[562] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between
628 clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but
72 the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell
• [177] of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

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614 620 685 among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-
614 622 geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His suc-
[177] cessor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The intervention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

614 11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from
621 one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to
[167] remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly
614 arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon
167 his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fish-
621 ing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This
[591] latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

/362 cont./

614 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak
182 to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan. No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become
• [177] completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual
[155] development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent
354 in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening,
521 and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

/362 cont./

504 Try entering into a conversation with anyone about their
[521] life, customs, and so forth -- the whole yurt gathers about you. The adults listen and reply with serious interest. The children will not tear their gaze from /363/ you. Their eyes glow with the fire of intelligence and fascination. They answer you seriously and conscientiously; only inspire trust in them. You will feel yourself drawn toward these barbarians... And never, so to speak, does life stagnate here, because each day brings some large or small occurrence in the life of the settlement, each day brings, finally, new guests with new subjects for conversation. In each yurt you will find many such guests, who often stay for weeks, and during all this time the hosts feed them and their dogs.

The Gilyak are very hospitable and love to pay visits and entertain guests. Not only do the clansmen and kinsmen of the wife pay visits, but also those outsiders who are simply friends. In the yurt there often live together people of different clans, on whom guests and clansmen from all parts of the Gilyak territory
[203] call. Imagine how much news each winter day brings. Winter is the preferred season for visiting. This noble custom of hospitality has still another good side. In a bad year, when the Gilyak does not have enough food for either himself or his dogs and nothing to buy it with, he does not have to stretch out his hands to a benefactor; he quietly sets off to pay a visit, knowing full well that in time his host will do the same. One encounters many guests in the summer as well. At this time of year, too, the Gilyak rarely lives alone in his yurt; there are always one or two families
• 177 of his brothers or other clansmen with him. Despite their long subjection to the Sinicized Manchu, despite the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region, the Gilyak, morally, preserve many of the virtues of primitive tribes. But the fate of their mode of life is irrevocably settled. One or two more generations, and the Gilyak of the mainland will become completely Russified and, together with the fruits of culture, will master all its vices. One must give his due to the Gilyak: he does not lightly abandon his ancestral traditions, but they involuntarily give way. At first they were indignant and perplexed, meeting

/363 cont./

• 177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
177 464 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
[439] Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

776 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
392 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
[771] at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/370 cont./

634 his wife half to death. Even his ruvn, in such cases, does not
184 escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak
614 even the ruvn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante
• [177] delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with
108 a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife grad-
583 ually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

/371 cont./

583 no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal,
178 it was in quite recent times. The wars of which Gilyak tradition
921 tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of
women, and they developed the practice of reconciliation by
177 way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russians into
583 the Amur region has led to a considerable diminution in the number of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduction of a woman, the display of a paper from a Russian office will incontrovertibly result in the return of the abducted woman. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russians under the term kalym. The bride price is ordinarily paid in articles, money, and labor. As bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is an "accomplished woman" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair. Here is an example of a not very considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitnidvo paid for his wife with two Japanese kettles (one large one, costing 60 rubles), one spear with silver fretwork, a fox-fur coat, ten dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after
583 which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /372/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Laban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes to himself a son-in-law who agrees, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The son-in-law, customarily a complete pauper, fishes and kills seals, and all this constitutes the common

/374 cont./ Yet

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortunate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she participates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourning they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father, and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
[589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the desire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradually acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
• 177 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow themselves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally
432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have
427 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract.
[184] No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known
• [177] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
[614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
[672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
• 177 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

/383 cont./

683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
411 with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
868 proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
859 childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
48 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
178 present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

121 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
128 ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,
464 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
244 also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
162 Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
177 Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
244 them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-
224 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
433 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
178 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
648 vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
239 in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
184 adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
171 the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from
177 whom it may have been borrowed.

133 As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
139 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
491 tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

Gold Rus

/15 cont./

G 131 that in itself indicates the role that sea and river play in the lives and the economy of these people. At the same time, with such
G 101 a location and limitation of their area of distribution, the Gilyak
177 have no neighbors to the north and east, and therefore, in a large part, in fact, the greater part, of it, but only some in the west and south. Here, however, they come in direct contact with many of the Amur peoples, for example, with the reindeer Tungus of the Sea of Okhotsk and of the Stanovoi Mountains, with the Negda, Olcha, and Orochi on the mainland, and with the Orok and Ainu on Sakhalin. Taken together, these factors give the Gilyak, on one hand, an isolated position among the Amur peoples and greater independence, but, on the other hand, they make them the natural connecting link between the peoples of the mainland and of Sakhalin Island, not excepting even the civilized peoples of the two areas, namely, the Chinese and the Japanese.

Though the Gilyak are sharply differentiated from all the Amur peoples through their unique language, nevertheless a manifold mutual intermeshing of the respective areas of distribution takes place on the borders with their above-mentioned neigh-
Gi 101 bors. It has already been mentioned above that on the Tugur and
177 Ulban gulfs, along with the Gilyak, the Tungus, too, pursue their
342 livelihood and erect their easily transportable birch tents beside
361 the Gilyak yurts (3). Indeed, they roam far to the east along the Sea

3. Poplonskij, loc. cit., found Tungus also in Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay.

of Okhotsk, even in the area permanently occupied by the Gilyak; in the winter of 1856 I myself saw their conical tent frames east
Gi 221 of Kulj. Some Negda, from the Amgun are said to come annually
225 to the Tugur and Ulban gulfs in order to hunt seals (4). The Negda
000

Gi 113 4. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-Amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbornik", 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 332). Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über

Gold Negd

G 101 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)
177 den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der
Gi 113 Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi The Negda
131 live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chl
G as well as along the river branch connecting them, althou
361 there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. Th
103 formation, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Ju
G in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later tra
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G 103 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu.
Gi 103 On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and
361 Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, ca

Gi 113 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

GM /121 cont./
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carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to th southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remai uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the na

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1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

F.J.
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We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first de tailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, t same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mami Rinsô (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Y

[121] cont./
to Krafto under the governor Kinfiro, in order to draw up a map of this country, but they did not advance very far, and they supplied hardly any information about its peoples. Siebold, at any rate, to whom we are indebted for the information (2),

2. Nippon, I, p. 126.

has nothing to say about it. There were no further expeditions to Sakhalin by the Japanese until Mogami Tok'nai and, soon after him, Mamia Rinsō set foot on the island. To be sure, Sakhalin was geographically explored at about the same time by European seafarers -- La Pérouse (1787), Broughton (1797), and Krusenstern (1805) -- and the Hollander Vries had landed on its east coast about a century and a half earlier, but they came into contact with its population only at the coastal points, and therefore could give no more than odd bits of ethnographic information, which shall be mentioned later. The Japanese, however, studied not only the two coasts -- the west coast almost to its northern end, and the east coast to the Bay of Patience -- but even a part of the interior of Sakhalin (3). We

3. Mogami Tok'nai, for instance, went from the Bay of Patience along the Poronai (Ty or Flyi River) across the island to Oxiai (in the vicinity of Dal'). Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

are indebted to them for the first information about the three indigenous peoples living on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok. Since their reports, however, and especially the one by Mamia Rinsō, are not very old, and since, as we have seen, there has been no subsequent border change on the mainland between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors, /122/ we cannot expect any considerable border changes on the island within this short space of time. In fact, Mamia Rinsō states that the area of the Smerenkur territory on the west coast of

2: Schrenck--294 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 ●
Orochi

/136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ykyrn in the Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "K'kkal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castri (Dze-Kamri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, belonging to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "K'kir-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names K'kkal or K'kis(a)r, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Ainu it would be just the same as among the Gilyak, with minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongor to the sources of the Umuri, the Goldi are the direct neighbors of the Orok, they have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contact between these two peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interests of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Sirarauni, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

2: Schrenck--456 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi, RX3 Orochi

/324 cont./
coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, partly spread it out, running together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could be folded back served as the door. The location of the pit and the ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth, and the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread out a larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

2: Schrenck--457 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/324 cont./
origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight handle and a thick blade almost equally broad at its edge, and as is shown on Plate XXX in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end. Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these emergency tents in building, general plan, and construction speaks for their quite primitive character.

As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it nevertheless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions are somewhat larger. The location of the pit in the ground, the carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no direct entry into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed, and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and ventilates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another, all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adventure, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often participating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened, a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway [See Category 116, P. 1010 -- Anchor]

2: Schrenck--458 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/325 cont./
in front of the door, but in no way eliminated, and if the door remains open, such a strong draft is produced between it and the smoke vent, filling the whole interior of the yurt, that the latter is deprived of all its warmth in no time and comes close to having the temperature of the air outside. And yet this experiment must often be repeated several times a day precisely during very cold and stormy weather, because then it frequently happens that a mass of cold air sinks down through the smoke vent, or an eddy of wind gets into it, forces back the smoke, and temporarily blows it into the interior. In the shortest time the small room is then filled with suffocating smoke affecting the eyes, throat, and lungs, and there is nothing left but to make a draft by opening the door, clearing the air again. This is why all the beams in the yurt are blackened by smoke and covered with a more or less thick layer of soot near the top. The change of temperature in the earth yurt is even more perceptible at night, for after the fire, beside which one has fallen sleep, goes out, the yurt is soon filled with cold air coming down through the smoke vent. To be sure, it is said that this can be closed, but I have never seen it done, though I spent many a night among the Gilyak. And to be sure this drawback is all the worse the smaller the yurt is and the lower the smoke vent is over the hearth and the sleeping benches. At night in the small tent-yurt of Tafiz-wo, where one could reach the smoke vent with the hand and where no big and lasting fire was therefore possible, /326/ we soon had the temperature of the outside, which, in addition, was accompanied by a noticeable draft. Under these circumstances how greatly to be preferred is a night's rest in the open air with a steadily burning fire, even if it should be very cold, as long as there is no snowstorm!

The winter yurt built after the Gilyak pattern tehadryf of the Gilyak, is completely different in character. It always has the appearance of a house provided with walls and a roof. It is an approximately square structure, though it is somewhat longer than it is wide, about 6-7 fathoms long and about 5-6 fathoms wide, with low walls and a large roof sloping down flatly toward the two longitudinal sides (see Pl. XI) (1). The walls

2: Schrenck--463 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/328 cont./
proportions in this respect and at the same time show other peculiarities discussed details in the construction and interior arrangement of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I must mention that along the walls (a), immediately to the right and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with other, when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse wall, which, as we have seen, is the place of honor, is not provided with a straw mat, whereas the bench along the front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a guest, a fur rug is spread, the two longitudinal benches furthermost also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter, and more comfortable, due to the plank bed, also warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature, nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms. There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even stronger along the two sides, because the door opens directly to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

2: Schrenck--515 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Aleut NA6

/351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tchadryf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reiches, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

3. "Iiatxx. Ber..." etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ochrn'" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

2: Schrenck--520 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/352 cont./
8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller (Ethnographie, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller)." Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this it by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur people.

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-behsu, the Chinese always put the sleeping place in the house

1. Cf. Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "ulxch, ulxch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason, why the Chinese always sleep in this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

/353 cont./

Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Saratychof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, so-called izba) had been built everywhere; only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadals, which are likewise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

1. Sarychev*, Puteši. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinō on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that at the same time it happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Simenmlar (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjate), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and even the style changed abruptly, because exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Kruzenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. Hence, he concludes from the fact that Mamia Rinō was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region are too different to have produced, at an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

/354 cont./

permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way and entering into permanent, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the customary one throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As we discussed above in detail (3),

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants, who live a few places where they have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese traders entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading down this river and the Amur among these peoples, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

/355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts are driven out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level grounds, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

/360 cont./

in general and in the individual areas. Such principal and essential points are of special importance for the ethnographer, because in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange, besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

/361/ The clothing worn next to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are not taken off even at night, trousers (Gilyak warněh), an under and an outer shirt (Gilyak larkěh) reaching to the knees and buttoned from left to right at the neck and girdled. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese, or nowadays also of Russian, blue or grey cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, since the Gilyak never wash their clothing, very soon turn a more or less dirty gray. As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always serve as footgear. As a rule, the lower part of the boot (Gilyak ki) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak kighitsch and kighitsch-langj), which, especially in the case of older specimens, is thicker and stronger than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (Ph. nummularis; Gilyak pyghi and pyghi-langr) (1) and

1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back heel-shaped in the middle, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

/386 cont./

represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese. Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange, besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

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1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

the sea of Okhotsk do we not have /361/ any data at all, except for the small stretch between Kulj and the Amur Liman likewise visited by me (1).

1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there have been large Gilyak villages between Cape Umelongte (Mykelāja), the point of this coast

/387 cont./

and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner skins of the Gilyak, pliable skin of the hair-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under the knee with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecessary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chih-bah, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on or fastened on by means of fine cargut (see Pl. XVII[a] and Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2)[a].

2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ provided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made of other material than that of the shirt. The shirt and robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put a decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of

[a] [See Category 116, p. 997 -- Analyst]

[a] [See Category 116, p. 1000 -- Analyst]

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Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use

1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorations several little brass crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wais or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in Wair, was martyred and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak and Goldi settlements on the Amur-cline, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1850 [Vol. III], p. 70). To substantiate the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Sabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair, pointed out to me, for example, the place as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uthwah) to destroy a piece of paper with

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royal beast. Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can show off the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always buttoned by the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5, and 6) and sometimes fastened by the Gilyak, His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak and Goldi settlements on the Amur-cline, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1850 [Vol. III], p. 70). To substantiate the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Sabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair, pointed out to me, for example, the place as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uthwah) to destroy a piece of paper with

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and in this latter, more common case, to put the cap on, the bead mentioned is first brought under the chin, and then the cap is pulled over the head. The cap is always lined with fox fur, which, standing out in front and on the outside, also forms the edging. The outside consists of either the same kind of sealskin throughout or various pieces of fur not infrequently put together artistically and tastefully. /394/ For example, the tom-hak of a Tschonsi Gilyak who visited me in Nikolayevsk, which is illustrated on Pl. XXI, Fig. 1, was of this type. The upper middle piece of this cap, brown in color, was of reindeer skin, the white arabesques on it are of short-haired dog-skin; the edging, separated from the middle piece by a blue band, is made up of pieces of dappled sealskin; the front edge, as always, consists of the fox fur emerging from the inside, but at the bottom the cap is trimmed all around with long-haired, white dog-fur. This trimming, by the way, is not lacking on the less elegant, indeed even on the simplest fur-caps, which, for a better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII and XIX). The konjiha seems to be an article of clothing that is genuinely Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, for example. /395/ The Gilyak always traveling astride his low dog-sled, the konjiha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a swathing fashion and tied on the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of fabric or leather (Gilyak tughahar; see Pl. XXII[a], Figs. 4, 5). The hand coverings (Gilyak womjaghi) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX, Fig. 3, 4, and disguised in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a

[a] [See Category 116, p. 1004, 998, 999, 1002 and 1000 respectively -- Analyst]

/394 cont./

291 the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which
[177] they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-passj, is worn there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of
[177] the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Judin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that I noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak sitting astride their sleds it is especially important to protect the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak panj) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

291 /395/ The footgear has already been mentioned above. In
171 winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots,
175 as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-
824

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das Innere von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/," in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 384).

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

/396 cont./

291 which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long
237 tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

291 /397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar
177 and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies
531 from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tulv-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2).* It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth.
[237] On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the
292 edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl.
177 XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is
531 more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are
[237] represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

[171]
[113]

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

* [See category 116, P. 1001--Analyst]

/397 cont./

1. (cont.)
en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

/399 cont./

531 and snail-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorate all the other implements in their household and their lives with all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the above-mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character of these decorations is always the same, as is described in more detail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less exact and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify to the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the use of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamentation, 531 294 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest development in the embroideries for the decoration of their clothing, utilizing for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of diverse lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting together various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular among the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liberal,

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as [439] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade from the Chinese.

531 I have previously described the general character of Gilyak 177 ornamentation as unique and completely different from that of the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, much of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

/400 cont./

531 177 artistic interlacing of bands, tapering ornamental borders with multiple points, and the like, can also be recognized on anci Chinese articles, costly garments and porcelain and ivory objects such as our museum has. Furthermore, quite similar orn mentation is found on some old Japanese objects, for example on the brass mountings of half decayed wooden scabbards in ou possession, which we obtained through Mr. Poljakof from anci Ainu graves on southern Sakhalin and which undoubtedly are o Japanese origin. I therefore feel justified in concluding that t [439] Gilyak ornamentation has developed largely under the influenc of ancient Chinese and, in part, ancient Japanese models, sin in view of the anciently established and constant trade relatio of the Gilyak on the mainland up the Amur and Sungari with t Chinese and on Sakhalin with the Japanese, and the Ainu com pletely subject to their influence, it could scarcely be otherwise (2).

2. The role that the Gilyak play as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and the Japanese will be discussed below.

531 /401/ Thus, as in other things, so also with regard to or 177 mentation, Chinese cultural influence spread along the natur 171 route of trade, down the Sungari and Amur to the Gilyak. If, addition to what has been presented above, more direct proof were needed, it is provided by the fact that the same type of ornamentation on clothing and other objects is found among al the other peoples of the lower Amur region, from the Gilyak upstream along the main river, as well as along its tributaries up to the Sungari. Though these peoples are from Tungusic tribes, they nevertheless have nothing in common with the Russian-Siberian Tungus with regard to the ornamentation custo ary among them, but rather are linked to the Chinese and Gily In this connection, however, we are met by the striking phenomenon that the feeling for ornamentation and the develo ment of the latter in the Amur region do not decrease but increase with greater distance from the civilized people concern

531 /401 cont./
177 the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest
171 from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is
531 not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned,
174 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep them-
648 selves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[439] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

294 Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must
412 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it.
[439] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the
294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,
415
412

[114] 2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2), worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the
[See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

294 /401 cont./
415 latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in
[412] it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This in-
415 genious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among
171 the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[177] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

415 Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration pro-
171 vided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone
531

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

[114] tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite
[789] crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilya and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting ther

415 171 531 789 /402 cont./
on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by success -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

294 283 The thread with which garments are sewed varies according to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd., etc. (5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fishing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

[177] [439] [171]

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chasa) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pans), which is

294 412 [177] [531]

/403 cont./

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3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 174 17 [126] [714] I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

[177]

/409 cont./

As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/415 cont./

southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuli, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

1. Gerstfel'ld", "O prikrashn. zhitel. Amura" (Vestn. Russk. Geogr. Obbich., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Buse, "Ocherk" ustovii zemled. v" Amurskom" krae /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chtenitia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

/416 cont./

and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the opposite lower end (Small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced, in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, however, is not limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Puteshi. na Amur", p. 224) see this

[See Category 116, p. 1009 - Analyst]

/417 cont./

1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway. Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with regard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-che, along the seacoast at least from Gulf Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, correspond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril, according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

From what has been said, it is readily seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

/417 cont./

however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and seven far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Mangeir, nor the Orochon. Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus of the lower Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

A more common customary ornament among all the peoples of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyiij) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XX, Fig. 5 /in the original, /418/ which the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop generally soldered and overlapping on the outside. This ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves there as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work, however, is not done by the men, but by the women,

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

[See Category 116, p. 1025 - Analyst]

/418 cont./

however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I myself have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring

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2. Maak", Puteshi. na Amur", pp. 75, 207.
Gerstfel'ld", "O prikrashn. zhit. Amura" (Vestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obbich., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

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3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely. Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrow, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 38), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples. Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

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4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

flat-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this

/424 cont./

custom of tattooing has always been foreign. As a matter of fact, if the customs of the Tungusic tribes who migrated to the lower Amur in the vicinity of the Gilyak, especially the Olcha, have become assimilated with the Gilyak in the course of time through constant intercourse, mixed marriages, etc. so much as extent that externally for the most part they can no longer be distinguished from them, it is not otherwise conceivable but that they must have also lost their original Tungusic custom of tattooing there. In part directly, in part through the mediation of the Olcha, the influence of the Gilyak extent penetrated even the Goldi and spread farther and farther upstream, so that finally a few scant traces of tattooing still survived only in the most remote part of their habitation area. Whether the branch of the Olcha that migrated into Sakhalin, the Orok, had already lost the custom of tattooing on the mainland or not until they were on the island cannot be ascertained, but in any case the absence of it among them indicates a greater influence on them by the Gilyak than by their other neighbors, the Manegir, among, as we pointed out above -with reference to their hair style and clothing, and as we shall have the opportunity to note in a number of other connections.

On the basis of all this one is justified in concluding among the peoples of the Amur region, on the basis of their total external aspect, the Gilyak present the most individual and significant appearance, which could not fail to have a decisive influence upon the Tungusic tribes living around them.

/425/

Section 6

Food. Animal and Vegetable Foodstuffs. Household and Table Utensils. Luxuries: Liquor, Tobacco

Since all the peoples of the Amur region are fishermen or hunters and only a small part of them living in the closest proximity to the Manchu-Chinese and Daur practice any field and garden cultivation, their food is predominantly animal, consisting chiefly of fish or meat. Vegetables play only a subordinate role

/437 cont./

Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a *Ural-Altaic stem peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the circumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the Amur region farther upstream, towards the Ussuri and Sungari, makes it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand

1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederland. an den Tart. Chan /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 273. Ysbrant Ides, Dreijaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by MM. Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakinf", Kitai i pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Hier, Journ.

/441 cont./

252 prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe,
[197] finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The
[197] Gilyaks also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially the
[192] reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chiwyth) (3), and

3. Among the Olcha: chiry.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwikh), and, to be sure, distinguished a lama (whitey) and piaia (black tschwikh), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vegetable food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak punch).

4. Giehn, Op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, whereupon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in
[192] small stacks for the winter, which they may have learned from
[251] the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu buy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

While the natural vegetable products discussed above are
[262] of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are avail-
[437] able to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

/442 cont./

[262] matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods
[437] which they do not produce and which the Gilyak can only
[197] obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the
Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals
[159] and legumes, are to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole
have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent
may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life
[262] they are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During
[437] the time of my stay in the Amur region, great quantities of millet
[159] turned, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently
[197] and, in keeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are
attended by numerous participants, the food of this kind, stored
up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese. The most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is
[159] Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria
italica (Gilyak hadi), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudi).
Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak nimu) (2).

[198] 2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called numa by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1856 in the village of Tebech, still had the remnants of a supply that he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Sisam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set [197] before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

/442 cont./ lower Amur region, in Petrovskoye Sinnoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk, the Gilyak began to obtain small quantities of various cereals from them. Buckwheat grain in particular found the greatest approval among them, and I saw it served in great quantities during the above-mentioned bear festival of 1856. They also greatly liked the inexpensive Russian rye flour (Gilyak [illegible]), since they /443/ could obtain from the Chinese only small quantities of wheat flour (Gilyak ihaly) at a high price. All the above-mentioned cereals are cooked by the Gilyak to a thick dry mush and eaten
[262] with a spoon or a small stick into a depression made in the groats. Flour
[437] has a variety of uses among them. The principal one is in the
[159] preparation of a kind of cake or small kind of bread. For this purpose, it has fish oil poured over it and is kneaded into a dough -- a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of water and, while kneading the dough, let as much of it as is needed run into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the hearth, and, finally, broken into pieces and sprinkled with fish oil. They obtain another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing
[159] the flour with fish oil and partly crushed blueberries or cranberries
(Empetrum nigrum L., Vaccinium vitis idaea, Vaccinium uliginosum, Ledum palustre, Betula fruticosa, Betula nana, and Betula exilis) (Gilyak [illegible]). Flour and fish oil are also used in the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind and in daily use will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above, [197] the Gilyak place the flour into a bucket made of birch bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other bowl-[262] fulls needed is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1 and 2) Gilyak ohanda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly [437] a wooden ladle has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak [illegible]). [197] [illegible] in the winter house is embedded in each of

/445 cont./
[243] few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinčô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 190) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the sugar that they use to be gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

[123] On the other hand, they are
[243] very afraid of Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very impertinent requests. Sugar, which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
[437] Not infrequently they also begged sugar in Nikolayevsk in order to
[159] add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
[243] and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like.
They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding food, particularly, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind and in daily use will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above, [197] the Gilyak place the flour into a bucket made of birch bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other bowl-[262] fulls needed is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1 and 2) Gilyak ohanda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly [437] a wooden ladle has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak [illegible]). [197] [illegible] in the winter house is embedded in each of

[See category 116, p. 1013—Ainu 157]

/446 cont./
[416] the earth to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
[412] earth yurt and in the summer yurt it placed on the platform of
the hearth on top of three stones. It always stands on the
[197] ground, and, in accordance with the fish broth for the dogs and
some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the
Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, those illustrated
[416] in these circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting
tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part like-
wise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated
on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 5, mauch-wuni (i.e., small kettle)
[416] and kogbi-wuni (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
[412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs.
5 and 6) Gilyak mytch and mitsyr are used, and for smaller
kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5, Gilyak kombi).
[197] To prepare and serve meals-both meat and fish-in order to
[416] cut and to serve them to the like, the Gilyak, according to necessity,
use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and oongi), which are quite similar to those out of which the Ainu feed their dogs
[416] and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind
[159] from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved
[412] arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. In other
[416] respects, for dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[159] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls
made of birch bark, wooden bowls and rims were decorated with
various arabesques; they are the so-called tortanga in Gilyak (Pl.
[323] XXXII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with
their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service,
[416] so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups
and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
[412] served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is sufficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachinchuch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid food, like the above-mentioned

[See category 116, p. 1014—Ainu 157]

/447 cont./
[412] (1-2) and already mentioned, several knives of special shape.
[416] Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of
various sizes, the ongi-wuni of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), [412] and is used for the same purpose, a knife with a very wide and very narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among [416] the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawig) (1)

1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tachachu. Among the Olcha: alaho.

[197] are known among them, which they have
copied from the Chinese but mentioned, a specimen of
which, from the village of Wanj, is shown on Plate XXXIII,
[416] Fig. 6. Finally, among the Gilyak there is also the imitative
instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard
to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

As one sees from the above, all the household and table
[416] equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood
[412] or the birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they
[416] neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in
spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain
[416] made by these peoples, at most a single plate or bowl, usually
one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese
for drinking beverages, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak
[197] as a rarity or as an article of value or as an object. The fact that pottery, even
[323] in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite
[197] their being exceedingly skilled in other things, for example, in
woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade,
certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting
myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put the fact itself
[197] still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite
my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of
pottery of any kind in their household and I never heard of any
[197] among them. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia
Rinôô's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur
region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthen-
[197] ware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

/463 cont./
[197] 5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore
only quite recently -- was by no means the
case at the time of my travels on it, or
Schmidt's and Giehn's.

[197] They did not know how coffee at all and considered it, when they saw
[197] me drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor
[197] was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be
[197] sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland,
under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) arakí or arki, also
customary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic,
[197] Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (8). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araka, aiaki, etc.

[197] [illegible] undoubtedly
[197] acquaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the
[197] time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread
[197] rapidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha,
and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must
[197] have soon been introduced into the Gilyak region. There, to be
sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from
another direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained
[197] their liquor, the so-called sake, and learned from them to make
[197] a weak saki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

[197] 7. Mitsui', Ocherk" ogn.-Sakhalina, p. 102. Dobrotovskiĭ, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinôô's report of

[197] 8. "Tŭ-tan kiu" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

/464 cont./
[203] made out of willow switches and lined on the
[197] paper, or in square sheets made of six boards
paper stuck on the inside, on which an open
[197] bolt, is found on top on one of the edges (4).

4. Williamson, Op. cit., p. 68. op. cit., p. 113. Maack, Op.

of a Sungari journey by the Gilyak, and
such a chest (Gilyak kylme-wakke) (5) of ara

5. Wakke means box or chest in

is naturally much cheaper at the place of pro
the Chinese retail merchants along the Amur
Along with the liquor the Gilyak and
[197] lower Amur region have also adopted the ma
[197] from the Chinese. Like them, they always d

6. Marco Polo already remarks t
Chinese do not drink the "rak" o
after they have first heated it (8)
Adelung, the German by Bisch, P
284).

of tiny porcelain bowls which they likewise b
for the purpose, just like the metal can in wh
heated beforehand by putting the can into lo
ashes of a basin filled with glowing coals and
[203] purpose as well as for lighting the pipe (7).

7. The Chinese way of drinking
often been described, for instanc
(L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854,
p. 290) and others.

[197] [illegible]
[197] [illegible]
[197] [illegible]

/468 cont./ No. 5. Now the Orochi, who carry on barter with his customers and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Cikiha, or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamia Kindi describes the manner in which the Hinerchor on /469/ Sakhalin drink their "arka" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation performed by a Cikiha, which consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger with the liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Cikiha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadda Bar. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these people is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage. Even peculiar foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this circumstance, besides the mentioned above, the great movement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur people in impeding and limiting ways and tra'ted them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. Thus, it is not the Goldi to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak; when I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russian along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless no little drunkenness among them during the first few years. Afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the summer months, when I was in attendance. This last seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the heat festival is regarded by them as a great foolhardiness — a conception which may own its origin to the feeling for the

2: Schrenck—725 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

/468 cont./

1. (cont.).

the Manchu (damhago) and Nongolo (namachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too; thus, among the Goldi and the Gilyak (amgach, namachi, and namachu), among the Gilyak (amgach), among the Aino (amhaku), etc.

Later, after the Manchuian tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable article for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian, Chinese, and traders with the Orochon, Mangir, and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Tatsu merchants who in part followed these tribes and in part maintained trading points at which they established relations with them as well as with other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was the predominant tobacco among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who also made their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kamamai and Mamiur, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Amur by the lower course of Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Cikiha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

2: Schrenck—726 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

/468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped bowl, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or /469/ cylinder, is of metal (brass) only for a chamber, serving as a well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a fine mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsihar and Ninguta.

3. Jarabash', "Sungarsk. elop." (Vostc. Sibir., 1874, No. 2, p. 35).

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called by the Gilyak in the mouth-piece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them tawamsik.

The greatest correspondence prevailing among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the pan making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made; only the Gilyak on both sides have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from the Russians, from the Japanese.

Low pots of the same shape among them are made of a tray made hard, quasi-off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, they also made for themselves their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

2: Schrenck—727 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

/473 cont./

the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the combination of the stern-board and the bottom board near the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast beaters put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the mast rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the sternpost, or rudder, is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not hinged to the boat, but are set into corresponding mortises in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is being used, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the desired direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the lightly altered and pared down version, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvement and additions only in accordance with their needs. And if /474/ there remains only the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, only in Amur by the lower course of the Sungari, the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Cikiha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

2: Schrenck—728 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2.
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

/473 cont./

2. Barabash', "Sungarsk. elop." (Vostc. Sibir., 1874, No. 2, p. 35).

3. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called by the Gilyak in the mouth-piece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them tawamsik.

The greatest correspondence prevailing among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the pan making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made; only the Gilyak on both sides have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from the Russians, from the Japanese.

Low pots of the same shape among them are made of a tray made hard, quasi-off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, they also made for themselves their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

2: Schrenck—799 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

/474 cont./

boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form as they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts, satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their needs and powers. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the native for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Cikiha living next to the Manchu-Chinese, those who, whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of the Sungari Chinese boats and are in the habit of having their people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximovicz tells us that a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a half fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid 1,000 taels, cost fifteen tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet grain. This is the price, as he adds, which, however, is there as important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, that, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars much so prong, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occur among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Tungusian peoples; on the other hand, it occurs generally among the Aino of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Aino-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Cikiha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

2: Schrenck—800 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

/474 cont./

transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The amount of local invention by the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance — rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, just as in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

Here could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed among the lower Amur peoples by the latter (1) remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? We can answer this question undoubtedly in the sense of the political policy, often mentioned above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which consisted of leaving its upper section as depopulated as possible and of using it by rare, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 320, 369.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the most skillful people, have not taken over the Chinese method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic is the conjecture with the Gilyak in the preference of the dwelling in particular the Goldi for catching mugwon and bauxen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XLI fig.1017/1, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (nchi) is very similar to that of the Cikiha Goldi (dhogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from these Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much simpler one-pronged harpoon, the tuggu, was probably their originality. In the Sungari region, the Cikiha and Goldi for this method of fishing which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, they have hunter-nature closeby to be seen, Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the holiness, ease, and adornment with which they glide over the water in small

2: Schrenck—837 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX3 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
OK49

/486 cont./

hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it certain that they will never, or very rarely, use it for the common among the Gilyak. For example, the /487/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden sleep, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular among the Cikiha and even more among the Goldi, both on the Amur and in particular on the Ussuri, and, judging by the mining correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1).

1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called nchikch by the Gilyak, nechakhe by the Cikiha and Goldi; the rope connecting the anchor with the means of it is called nyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the line equipped with the hook and bait is called kiha by the former, kuinai and kuinake by the latter.

2: Schrenck—868 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/527 cont./

5. (cont.)

Gmelin (Reisen in 1759 and 1774, translated from the English by Hübner, Vienna, 1803, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Mexico and therefore are by no means very old.

6. The Gilyak also have two words meaning "ammunition" in general — a meaning which we shall see later, when we come to speak in the following, but also "medicine" and in the general sense of "medicine" — a native-instinctive identification of evasive and deadly agents, medicine and poison.

when I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all, though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two directions: on the first place by way of those northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Dogdo, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut trade, one of the well-known, small-bodied, Russian matchlock guns, called in Yakut ilmek (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (porok?).

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Cikiha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only seldom, one of those often-described, long and clumsy, known matchlock guns of the Chinese

2: Schrenck—869 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/527 cont./

same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity or fear on the part of the Gilyak, whereas a pistol shot made a great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had threatens them -ith the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they bestowed the opprobrium of a liar on me, and I would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Perhaps it may be assumed that this fear is not great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unpercived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, whereas a pistol shot is felt seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely out of question that I have obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how superstitious and fantastic impressions gained through unusual experiences, especially when they are experienced by a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout the entire tribe. I have noted one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Shilakpaye post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was unknown and he fishing, I had actually pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me not to do the thing any and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

2: Schrenck—870 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/558 cont./

Gmelin (Reisen in 1759 and 1774, translated from the English by Hübner, Vienna, 1803, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Mexico and therefore are by no means very old.

6. (cont.)

mamchu-ochi, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet — ndamcha-ko, i.e., "gun arrow," shot — ntamchu-ko, and the powder horn — ndamchu-ko, "gun arrow," 000 and the piston — nachlan-tu, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the lock fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply nantchch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression nomoni, whose etymology is unknown to me.

8. According to horns (from short Cuban ox (antelope der geschwänzten Cuban Gazelle) in pen Jahre 1782 und 1783 (Journey through Cuba in the Realm of the years 1782 and

/168 cont./
Gilyak (I).

1. See p. 580 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1089, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wimm), other metals, as far as we ascertained, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak ngyalk, i.e., red), lead (Gilyak tonp), and silver (Gilyak ketsi) (2). The more of the

2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was unknown to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "onta-nchash" that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make omamental [illegible] beasts, such as dragons, snakes, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to fix their purposes (3).

3. A few centuries ago, silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is not practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg (Stran in agreement with this. Nevertheless, however, they have borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

/168 cont./
Gilyak (II).

with the latter probably extend back into earlier times than those with the former, in that, as I have tried to show on other grounds (1), before they came to the mouth region of the Amur,

4. See p. 214 above /unannotated/.

they already had a homeland on Sakhalin, where they were directly in contact with the Ainu and thus also indirectly with the Japanese — this circumstance points to the latter as the source of the Gilyak's knowledge of iron and other metals, and as their teachers, even though only indirectly, in the smith's art. And a series of facts corroborate me in this view.

If the one and the working of iron had come to the Gilyak from the Chinese, that is to say, down the Sungari and Amur through the intermediation of the Manchu and Goldi, one would expect in this opposite direction, going upstream from the Gilyak, an increase in skill in the forging of iron. Actually, however, in the direction mentioned there is not only no increase, but, on the contrary, a decrease in the firmness and neatness of the metalwork. For the Orchi, to be sure, may be superior to the Goldi in wooden implements, and especially armours, than their teachers, the Gilyak, but the Goldi are far superior to the Orchi in the art of

5. This is Maack's opinion also /see his Ussuri, p. 174/ and 207).

though they are extraordinarily skilled at many other things, such as bone-building, sewing, embroidery, and plaiting. In this particular, they do something different from the Gilyak in forging in that they use only one bellows, and also accentuate that are not insignificantly (Gilyk) different, for instance, an anvil shaped quite differently, and the like (1). Finally, it is not to

1. See Maack, op. cit., p. 207 and Plate II, Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 24.

/173 cont./
that it is known under the name of "nerm," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "nemch" shortened in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in ear was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the latter can be perfectly correct. In my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, however, they are only rare antiques of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statement by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Manda Ilimd also states, are highly prized by the latter nowadays.

It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

2. Cf. Neubof. Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt Niederlanden an den Kaiser von China. Übersetzung aus dem Holländ. Leipzig (The Embassy of the East India Company of the Netherlands to the Tartarian Khan and Son Also to the Chinese Emperor), Amsterdam, 1666, p. 294. Also witness, based on Ostiz Tartaryie, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Kitatchi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the other Tungus, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

/180 cont./
Gilyak.

characteristic of the Gilyak is that they adopted the hunting conditions of the lower end of the upper Amur regions is presented by the subtle hunting of the roe ibex and the squirrel pursuit of the otter.

Contributing very essentially to the change from the former to the latter in the upper Amur region, however, in addition to the causes given above, are the handy firearms, the small-bore Chinese rifles (Gilyak ngyalk) which came from Siberia and whose importation and adoption are growing more and more in the hinterland of time. Whereas in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay in it there were no guns at all, with a few minor exceptions (3), these rifles were already in general use among the

1. See p. 868 above.

Orochon, thanks to their immediate proximity to and long association with the Manchu, and among the Nanaigir, who, they were already gradually pushing out the long and unwieldy Chinese matchlock gun, which were not very serviceable for hunting. Since the occupation and colonization of the entire Amur region by the Russians, the spread of good or at least serviceable firearms has made rapid advances in the lower part, which, in combination with the growing number of hunters must lead to a heavy decline in its wealth of sables and other animals in the future. How disastrous the consequences of this will be for the indigenous population of the region living on this wealth is easily grasped and can be judged in greater detail on the basis of the following discussion.

/184 cont./
relative position which the former occupy in the trade with them. Among the Goldi, who are the greatest or lesser Chinese and Manchu influence, and who thus stand in the middle between the Orchi and the Gilyak in the trade relations with them, a tenth part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver ounce cannot give consideration, which makes it necessary for them to giving a price in name also for pentiment unit of value ta or dichin. For the more distant Orcha and Gilyak, however, who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods in larger quantities in State-unit on the Sungari, the tenth and the hundredth part of the ja are of very practical significance -- for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its multiples, and therefore they use the tenth part only when it is expressly in making appraisals, but rather it suffices to give only the tenth part. Another concerned, if it should trade any investigations into this question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite direction, starting from the Gilyak to the Orchi, the unit of value upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent to us yesterday and today, and, in actuality, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not expressed in the silver ounce ja, but, in fact, it always only in an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to learn only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of Chinese coins of parity and goods or other articles. As it well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver ounce is used as a monetary unit, and the round brass coins with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tedulu), which are usually strung one and a thousand on a string. On account of their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellas, they are used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also for the chest and back. Now, the Chinese, in Russian coins, likewise called tschin (dim.), probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak, have the peculiarity of not counting the silver ounce in a fixed standard in that the ja part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear in the value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

/186 cont./
1. (cont.)
found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the Amur region were Spanish (Mexican) piastres, yen, yuan, yuchuk coins, and even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

[illegible] ЗАБЛУЖДЕНІЯ ЦЕНЪ ТЫ. ВЫЯСНЯЛ however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the use of their coins (2).

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian coins as payment. As proof of their great discretion in monetary and trade matters the following incident, which occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. Finally, one morning the last of shares not received

[illegible] Gilyak, who had been close to the Russian crew since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk to Sakhalin in the hope of exchanging and vaxes, evidence of which will be given in the following.

In my room of many and varied inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn, for the first time, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russian, and the foremost articles in their life and household, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Then, among them,

A table pelt, depending on its quality, has a value of equals 1-2 ja.

A pelt from the Ussuri-Gilyak (pfaidi) . . . equals 3 ja.

1. The j is pronounced soft, like the French j.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pfaidi) . . equals 3 ja

/186 cont./
after the Nivx or seller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less amount of them which are found among the Gilyak, Orchi, and Goldi, and which in itself determined in turn in large part by their more or less trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities nevertheless have taken place in the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, who came in contact with the Russian, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian, which has begun in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. Of the commodities, therefore, to be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that the Amur region -- the Chinese in the upper and the latter in the lower part of it. But it is noteworthy that these two peoples somewhere come in direct contact with each other except in the one place on the Tugur located outside the Amur region -- a consequence of the above-mentioned trade relations determined by geographical and political conditions in which the upper and the lower Amur region are found with regard to the trade of their peoples, by means of many and varied impulses among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn, for the first time, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russian, and the foremost articles in their life and household, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Then, among them,

/188 cont./
Manchu officials there, in that the privilege of collecting tribute from the Tungus and Gilyak is conferred upon them by the latter, though presumably in return for a suitable guarantee and substantial payment, for which, however, they know how to get ample repayment in the trading. If one looks at their entire trading activity locally outlined above, they can be compared, on the one hand, with the Orchi and Goldi, and on the lower Amur region, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, who came in contact with the Russian, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian, which has begun in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. Of the commodities, therefore, to be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that the Amur region -- the Chinese in the upper and the latter in the lower part of it. But it is noteworthy that these two peoples somewhere come in direct contact with each other except in the one place on the Tugur located outside the Amur region -- a consequence of the above-mentioned trade relations determined by geographical and political conditions in which the upper and the lower Amur region are found with regard to the trade of their peoples, by means of many and varied impulses among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn, for the first time, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russian, and the foremost articles in their life and household, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Then, among them,

Gilyak household equipment: 1 — bucket of birch bark, and 2 — wooden bucket; 3 — Tiss bottle of Japanese workmanship; 4 — dishes of Manchurian workmanship; 5 — iron ladle out of a scoop; 6, 7 — wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 — bowl of birch bark for serving food.

Gilyak: 1 — Old arrow-shaft of the Gilyak; 2 — old Manchurian arrow; 3 — piece of an old Manchurian arrow-shaft; 4 — Gilyak bow with the bowstring on the inside.

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no doubt that the greater moral austerity of the Gilyak is tied up with character traits in which they excel beyond these tribes, namely, their greater energy, self-control, and moderation, which, as has been pointed on (1), they also show in their

1. See above, p. 718.

drinking of liquor. On the other hand, however, in comparison with the other Amur peoples, the Gilyak were always in a more favorable situation with regard to mortality insofar as their dwelling sites were the farthest from the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, and insofar that do not have any settlements in Gilyak territory. How demoralizing an effect they have upon the native is evident from the fact that the Japanese and Chinese always come, the former to Sakhalin and the latter into the Lower and Lower Amur region, without their wives and, supplied with liquor and other tempting commodities, try to acquire concubines among the women and daughters of the Ainu, or the Orochi, Goldi, and Oltchi. It was therefore to the advantage of the Gilyak, not merely with regard to taxes, but also in connection with morality, that they remained the Chinese traders entry into their territory, to see that no also evidence of their /132/ intelligence and energy (1).

1. See above, pp. 145 and 948.

With the occupation of the Amur region by the Russian in the fifties, conditions changed, much to the disadvantage of the Gilyak. For the occupation began precisely in their territory and they were the first and the most drawn into close contact with the new civilized peoples approaching them from the south, a contact which, with regard to morality, was not of the detriment to them, as it always is to a primitive people in such instances, and as subsequent reports have abundantly proven. But I shall return to the conditions and situations which I myself witnessed.

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people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the most most involved in this slave trade. Finally, indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is the fact that the slave dealers sometimes appropriate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the leading expo of the trade in women is Sakhalin. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have been been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to their peoples, to be note by slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain circumstances they must be considered morally sinful keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do so, he /132/ would come to grief, meaning he would perish, thus he would be in constant danger of his life.

On the whole, the condition of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal slaves are the Ainu, and the high price that they can both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in particular in their sales to the Gilyak, is a strong incentive to acquire a slave in trade then to buy a wife. The Gilyak begin to Udi, for instance, a slave for a wife, and the Ainu woman named Kot, then for his second wife, Mingak from Langr. as noted above, he bought the latter for 40 to 50 rubles, but the former can hire 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 or, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind her two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, or at most only one, and they are wealthy about 8, or, for instance, Bogin ua. Such a possession seems at strikin to them and is considered by many a Gilyak does not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the Purchase price in some other form

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example, in the above-mentioned case of Nimlgun, drive one to bloodshed, and thus the interest of self-preservation may keep many one from plunging into the horror sum of a strong and large kin-group. Overchrome and experience members of such a kin group, however, confident in the protective power standing behind their, may be goaded on all the more in their wantonness and may let themselves be carried away in contact acts that lead to blood feuds or that are a direct challenge for blood revenge, as, for example, a raid of the Tamnia-wi Gilyak on Sakhalin by their countrymen on the Amur. On the whole, however, this alone does not nullify the beneficial effects which blood revenge with its rules has among the Gilyak, in that with the legal relations still unregulated, it gives the individual a certain amount of protection, and, to be sure, it strengthens the basis of every social arrangement and development, the family.

Concerning the family relations of the Amur peoples living adjacent to the Gilyak, I have already, and I shall yet, present out at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks about the Gilyak.

/132/ In the preceding chapters the high degree of equalization that his tribe has attained with the Gilyak and the Ainu, in an analysis of the external life has been discussed — an equalization which must have been the result of a long-lasting contact between the two tribes. This kind of equalization has also taken place with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which, in fact, become the basis for the more penetrating and enduring manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally. And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent mixed marriages which have taken place between these two peoples since the Gilyak migrated to the Amur and, after the loss of their remnant, settled among them as a subject tribe. Among the other peoples, blood conflicts are unavoidable, although they are controlled between them continually. In this manner the

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tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the tribal settlements (3). Thus in my time the arrangements made

2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (kun, ninnun) appointed by them for every village, the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the direct rule of the Russian authorities (cf. reining in the nearest port. Dr. Seelmad, who had already been in the Amur region among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Sibirische Reise, Vol. XII, p. 188, Bibl Index), p. 38) mentions the term "Schulzeiten" for a high official who enjoyed the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such. It was in the district just of Ulewkach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where I was staying during my stay in the Tymy Valley. Nevertheless, but evidently he merely wanted to show off and I was not offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. So wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/132 cont. /

The Gilyak are typically Tungusic Paleasian and yet to which so much an extent that I never heard them mentioned by them and learned of no Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russian, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held as individual points in the lowermost Amur region, for example, in Petrovskoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-185 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the tribal settlements (3). Thus in my time the arrangements made

2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (kun, ninnun) appointed by them for every village, the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the direct rule of the Russian authorities (cf. reining in the nearest port. Dr. Seelmad, who had already been in the Amur region among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Sibirische Reise, Vol. XII, p. 188, Bibl Index), p. 38) mentions the term "Schulzeiten" for a high official who enjoyed the special confidence of the emperor.

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which were to follow (3). This method was, in fact, more in

3. Concerning this, see p. 682 above.

peaceful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from conversations with Gilyak, they would find it very odd, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too. With me they likewise constantly came and went without a greeting, and I, in turn, did the same. "Good morning" and "goodnight" learned from the Russian. Only in the presence of the Manchu Manin, who was accompanying me, I felt obliged to greet people by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in contact with the Manchu and is not only being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Sanchuan-ti, of Gorbatsi, are accustomed to this and show of adoration.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the Gilyak never, or at most very seldom, thank one for a favor. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Unfortunately, I was not able to make observations, I would like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which it in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always shaded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. It is possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notassignment, by the Gilyak, and who have received a meal and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do, thank one another, but I never observed it in the case of thanks? It everything based only on national communism or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

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in the rear let themselves be taken in tow by the boats and dragged up the hill. During the whole procession the women agree drummed incessantly on their heads. A short pause followed, during which a few games were played in front of the house, such as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two, which I had previously described, and the game of ball, and then the game of bear-baiting, never using the Gilyak began again and continued for into the night. The bear-baiting consisted in the Gilyak, standing with the bear, so to speak, the bear, which, as I mentioned, was tied to a stake, and, in turn, the Gilyak, with a strap tied around the neck, and, in turn, the Gilyak, with a strap tied around the neck, and, in turn, the Gilyak, with a strap tied around the neck

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a sense of what different patterns. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and hunting collectives, and by 1937 the Sakhalin Nivkhi had established a fishing collective farm, the Nivkhi in 1937, fishermen, hunters, and craftsmen had pooled the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and were working in a more or less collectivized way. Nivkhi collectives were formed in 1939. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, other Nivkhi formed their own farms.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop an attitude toward their traditional beliefs and practices. Some people, particularly the young people, the men of the Pioneer Productive Organization, particularly on the sovetschoum, where villages had a communal meeting place, and the women, who had been under more marital spirit, were in old women. The shamans' duties among the Nivkhi were not so well defined as among the Nanai, and the shamans were not so well organized as among the Nanai. Nevertheless, they had a strong influence over their own religious spirits (kekhes). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take part in the clan cults.

Folk Arts

The traditional poetic material of the Nivkhi was related, from the standpoint of its content, to the Nanai and Ulchi folklore. The epic tales, which were the most ancient of the Nanai, were not known among the Nivkhi

9: Hawes--158 T-3 (1901) 1

116, 177, 291

"In summer they used to dress in fish-s

1. Salmon (Salmo lagocephalus and S.
Eastern Siberia as kita and gorbusha r

Gradually Chinese cotton (ta-pu) has filter
the place of fish-skins, though this materi
cially of the Gilyak woman; and when visit
skins, stitched together, spread in my hor
skins, but the women favour seal-skin, th
their domestic occupations. The men add
seal-skin. In summer they go bare-footed
use mocassins of seal-skin, the hair on th

For underclothing, a ta-pu shirt, 'short
the Chinese, are worn by the men; and by
two of cotton or fish-skin. The outer tunic
possesses sleeves, has Chinese cash coin
below the knees."

skins, (1) and in winter in seal-or dog-skins.

proteus, which are known in
respectively).

red in through Manchuria, and largely taken
ial is still used for parts of the dress, espe-
ting a Gilyak headman I found a mat of salmo
nour. In winter the men wear coats of dog-
e short bristly hair being less in the way in
to their coat in winter a short petticoat of
, except on journeys when, as in winter, the
he outside of the leg portion only.
ts,' and long gaiters, or spatter-dashes, lik
the women long gaiters only, and a shirt or
of the Gilyak woman, or rather frock, for
s strung round the border, which reaches ju

9: Hawes--116-117 T-3 (1
116, 177, 563, 631

"The Russian occupation [LSS: of
closed in a radius of thirty miles fr
smaller one around Korsakovsk in t
The island is divided into three a
and Korsakovsk okrugi. Each of the
okruzhni nachalnik, over whom is t
great authority, but in his turn is s
oblast.
The biggest prison centre is at A
Timovsk dostroct has two, one at D
forty-four miles, respectively, by
Immediately around these centres
villages dotted about in the forest,

Sakhalin] is practically confined to the district en-
om Alexandrovsk on the west coast, and another
he south.
dministrative districts—the Alexandrovsk, Timovsk
se is presided over by a chief of the district, or
he military Governor of the island. The latter has
ubject to the Governor-general of the Pri-Amursky

exandrovsk. The next is at Korsakovsk, and the
erbensk and the other at Rikovsk, thirty-five and
road inland from Alexandrovsk. [117]
clearings have been made, and beyond are a few
with a population varying from 200 to none at all."

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Ch. Taksami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

Today the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse medical institutions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most remote collective-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet government was to bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy among the adults. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years after the establishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi young people were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at centers for the liquidation of illiteracy.

A Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbooks were published. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children were already at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Nivkhi children of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only after the establishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In the village of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Nogliki there is a ten-year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade schools in Komsomol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

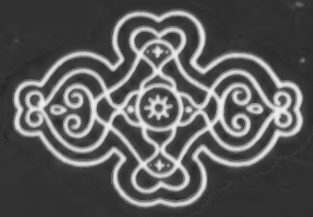
The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

endangering her own health and that of the child. The force of tradition was so strong that even in 1932 some of the women stubbornly refused to have their babies in hospitals, despite the good care and the free clothing and blankets which were given to the infants. It was only after wide medical-educational work that women began to turn to maternity hospitals. The new understanding of the role and importance of medical institutions has also led many Nivkhi women to go to work in them as attendants and later as nurses, educated at the medical school in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

Today the Nivkhi woman manages her own life and does not enter into forced marriage. Polygamy, the levirate and remnants of the old group marriage have become things of the past.



225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552
198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ĭevropy ĭ severnoĭ Azĭĭ"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Ĕtnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.
mu 'boat' they say orq.
ke 'sun' they say am.
la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.
t-lu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiuləd.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.
va s 'lake-salmon' they say vətik.
al o 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 ti r 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket tuχr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'
la r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say lərŋ.
i d 'to kill' they say ŋazd.
pət 'tomorrow' they say mandəχa.
e r vida 'let us return' they say pəχtkuda.
saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvəta-mu.
kər-χoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-χod 'tava hurts.'
krəzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqŋ-taŋgad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-χod 'the hand hurts.'

9: Hawes—VIII
116, 177, 563

"Of the faulty state of the penal admini
'exile-settlers' described in these pages
investigations no trace may be found. At
the reader should found a generalization
Sakhalin is the colony to which all Russia
very name of the island is banned in St.
capital—the sign-post in front of the pos
(6752 miles)—and the threads of control
Mr. George Kennan's two volumes, (1) g

1. 'Siberia and the Exile System.'

ditions of prisoners, throughout Siberia
lags, as ever, many years behind the av

istration, and the unfortunate condition of the
, it is devoutly to be hoped that in any future
t the same time a word of warning is due, lest
for Siberia upon this particular settlement.
a's worst criminals are despatched, and the
Petersburg. Moreover, it is a far cry to the
st-office at Alexandrovsk says 10,172 versts
cannot be pulled tight. Since the publication of
great improvements have been made in the con-

, not excepting Sakhalin; but that island still
verage penal settlement on the mainland."

116, 177

"The Russian connection with the
was sent to explore Sakhalin, the p
to guard the entrance to the Amur,
planted. During the following year
Muravievsk Post, in the Bay of Ani
work in the coal-mines at Dui, on t
Trans-Baikalia.

The Japanese, who had been alar
the beginning of the century, were
Russians.

For decades back, Japanese fish
of Sakhalin. Now Russia wanted to
arrangement was come to, with a j
territory. This, of course, could n
pleted by which Japan gave up her
of she received the cession of the K
number of years. A Japanese consu
and to pay a pro rata tax levied on
Sakhalin waters."

island dates from 1852, when Lieutenant Boshniak
ossession of which had become necessary in order
at which a year before the Russian flag had been
Ilinsky Post (Kusunai), on the west coast, and
va, were formed. In 1858, forty convicts were at
he west coast, and in 1869, 800 were forwarded from

rmed at the landing of the Russians in Aniva Bay at
now considerably disturbed by the activity of the

ers and traders in skins, etc., had haunted the coasts
claim the whole island. For the time an amicable
oint ownership and freedom to occupy unoccupied
ot last, and finally, in 1875, negotiations were com-
claim to the southern half of the island. In lieu there-
Kurile islands, and an annual payment for a fixed
l has his residence at Korsakovsk to receive this,
the Japanese fishermen who still ply their trade in

"A Gilyak village was therefore so
down an excaped Russian convict.]
unfortunate ex-captain. The soldie
him, one of their number fell upon
attempting to wrest the soldier's g
be captor. 'Then,' they added, 'the

ıght, [LSS: By the Russian authorities to help track
and natives and their dogs brought to track down the
rs' version of the sequel was that, coming up with
him and tried to make him captive, but the brodyaga
un from him, was shot in self-defence by his would-
Gilyak tracker fired the fatal shot.' "

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
427 1 N. V. Sliunin, Sovremennoie polozhenie nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋγəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ¡argun (?) now living in the village
471 Cγarvaγ (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Ṭəlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-nək and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-nək.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilʃatskiʃe chislitel'nyʃe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuĭ Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

7: Kreinovich--26 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.
263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.
On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of qosk-ʼeks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanɣ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pes. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (ma t) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

"The sources of our
if little has been hea
and Orochon natives
not impending, deve
[viii] native in the p
abandoning his relig
on record before the
If in the course of
what every travelle
the same time no on
my task among almo

Gilyak

who was a political
on. He recognized
g to fail them, and
settlements to
o it, the work was
cause 'his back ached,'
I fear, unaided and
amount of persuasion

9: Hawes--239-24
116, 177, 578, 692

"His [LSS: The
losing ground, as
said to a Russian,
'Then why do yo
'He is needed.
It is true that it
divine anger to fa
accused of crime,
the last word, he

knowledge of Sakhalin, even in Russian, are few, and in English,
ard of the convicts there, nothing has been written about the Gilyak
. With the expansion of the penal settlements, and the future, though
lopment of the resources of the island, must follow the decay of the
resence of the white man. Already the former is modifying or
ious rites and ceremonies. It therefore behoved me to place these
ey became lost to the investigator or buried in tradition.
the narrative faunal and floral species have been noted, this is only
owes to the scientist and the ever-increasing body of students. At
e regrets more than I do, that I was so inadequately equipped for
ost unknown peoples and amid strange physical conditions."

T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
756

cham or medicine man] moral influence among his tribe is certainly
the Gilyaks come more into contact with the Russians. One of them
'A cham tells very many lies.'
u call him in?'
f he got angry it would be bad for us,' was the answer.
may result badly for the Gilyak, not because the cham can cause the
upon his head; but when the Gilyak has a misunderstanding, or is
the cham may remember his [240] omission or insult, and as he has
an make the punishment very severe."

9: Hawes--242 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 182, 764

"If a Gilyak dies in the winter, it is usual t
is an easy matter in this frost-bound world, u
ceremonies may more easily be carried out.

Let me describe, first, the rites observed
with this, as with many other of the more cur
ference in detail among tribes (of Gilyaks), a
Where the khal has been much influenced by R
fication. With some of the latter, such is the
giving up cremation for burial."

o wrap the body in bark and keep it, which
ıntil the breaking up of winter, when the

on the death of a woman, premising that
ious customs I describe, there is a dif-
nd even between one khal (clan) and anothe
Russian contact there is considerable modi
influence of example that the natives are

9: Hawes--245 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 372, 764

"The corpse is placed on the pyre ready for
fire, which must be procured in a special mar
methods of obtaining it, flint and steel may n
rather Japanese, matches. A pointed stick is
placed on the ground. Four men take each an
the stick, and pull it. This rotates, generates
placed in close proximity. The top of the stic
of wood, or if need be a Gilyak applies his ch
plies his chest. Torches are lighted, and fire
if the deceased leave one."

cremation, and all is now ready save the
nner. In memory of the earliest traditiona
ot be used, nor of course the Russian, or
inserted in a hole made in a piece of plan
end of a thong attached to and twisted rou
friction, and ignites the dried tinder
k is steadied by pressing on it a flat piece
est. Torches are lighted, and fire is ap-
is applied to the pyre, first by the widow

9: Hawes--252 T-3 (190
116, 132, 177

"The sea on the east coast here is frozen i
this breaks up the great sealhunt commenc
in the Straits of Tartary, opposite the mou
Winter has long reigned over the land. T
and ice-bound sea, have been for six or se
spring comes the wind from the mountains
Gilyak awaits with patience the change in th
floes will be driven shorewards, not empty
yeat in the Straits of Tartary a thousand se
lie upon the ice sunning themselves, uncon

n winter for two to four versts out, and whe
es. The great field of operations is, howeve
th of the Amur, and a busy scene it is.
he snow-covered taiga, the frozen rivers,
ven months the only outlook. At length with
driving the ice-floes out to sea. Then the
ne wind, for he knows that this time the ice-
, but laden with many a passenger. In a goo
als (Phoca vitulina, Gilyak, langerr) will
scious of any danger."

9: Hawes--261 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 422, 556

"The headman of Nivo was counted rich an
the weapons and produce of the chase. There
arrows, bear-spears, strangely shaped kniv
baskets, though of a ruder make than those o
my special attention, one, a miniature of the
double-barrelled fowling-piece mounted on a
used by these natives and the Tungus in the

nong the Gilyaks, his hut being littered with
e were nets and snares, automatic bows and
es, seal-skins, dog-skins, as well as bark
of the Orochons. Two other objects attracted
e Tsar Alexander III, and the other, an old
wooden biped, a cumbersome affair, but
winter hunts."

turned my attention to two or three 'works of art.'
to the forms of a disc and a crescent hung from a be
d the moon, and were used as charms. There were
milar to the one I have described as protecting the c
il spirits; but these particular ones, I learnt, were
ould ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there, no graven imag
sible to mortal eyes. Charms there are, though with
ience and the contact with Russians these are losing
lyaks, and they laugh when questioned about them by
rking sense of fear at the bottom of their hearts."

Two small flat pieces of wood cut
am. These represented the sun
also two sticks, with shavings on,
anoe during its construction from
for placing over a sick child, and

es, for the great 'Kiskh' is in-
the decline of the cham's in-
their value in the eyes of the
the foreigner, yet not without a

161, 177, 621
62

: Gilyak on Sakhalin. . . . . will surely d
pean. The chief causes of the dying out of t
owing limits of their hunting-ground, the de
ility to adapt themselves to another mode o
; forced upon them. The Government's attit
gnizes them as Russian subjects, interfere
nization, and prohibits the sale of intoxican
ardly to be expected from officials whose f
patriarchal government which shall interes
itions."

ie out with the further inroad of the
he natives is [**LSS**: sic] disease, the
ecay of the spirit of the race, and their
f living which is gradually but surely
ude towards them is a 'correct' one. It
s as little as possible with their scant
ts to them. What is really required now,
unction is the safeguarding of criminals,
t itself in the race and its changing

, 177, 241, 433

"If there were more friends of the Gily
ile on the island, they indeed might yet
at their means of livelihood, hunting an
erefore endeavoured to induce those wh
ltivate potatoes and to salt fish. To the
traordinarily exhausting; and one gave
ile others eagerly sought permission t
t followed up, [230] his efforts have fai
got several puds sown."

aks like Mr. Pilsudski, who was a political
be saved from extinction. He recognized
d fishing, were beginning to fail them, and
o dwelt near the Russian settlements to
natives utterly unused to it, the work was
it up after two hours because 'his back ached,'
o eat the seed potatoes! I fear, unaided and
led, though after a great amount of persuasion

ese schooners, of the adventuring junk clas
come up here to the mouth of the Tim to b
earrings, etc., for furs, and to fish and s
d been going on here certainly since 1868,
e and Russians for unoccupied spots, and

s, from the island of Yezo, had been
arter rice, kettles and cauldrons,
alt salmon during the spawning season.
when a scramble was made by
probably from long before that."

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--276 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 177, 273
636.27

"Many of the peoples of these northern cl
stance the Yakuts, who manufacture a spiri
sidered an exception. There is, however, a
them from the 'burrs' of birch-trees. Thes
of the wood, of the size of a lump of sugar,
beverage. The decoction is sweet to the tas
the organs of respiration.

To-day Russian vodka, though prohibited
and frequently obtained."

imes make intoxicating beverages, as for in-
t from toadstools. The Gilyaks may be con-
a decoction, but little heard of, made by
e exude a black juice so strong that a piece
is sufficient to make a big cauldron of the
te, and has a welcome softening effect on

by the Government, is eagerly sought after

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

9: Hawes--263-264
116, 177, 586

"Mr. Pilsudsky, whom
an intelligent member of
by the Russian Governme
his wife. He had migrate

1. Which discharges
of the Tim.

day that he arrived at Mr
they told the story of the
Gilyak to the Bay of Okho
less to do anything, and
wife live with the man sh
ing upon it. He had seen
bring about the arrest of
portunity was such that a
good to take away the wif
and went away; and after
body in taiga could read,

I found to be a great and true friend of the Gilyaks, tells how this tribe, whom he knew—one of those appointed as overseer ent to track brodyagi—came to him in difficulty one day about d to a far-off village on the river Nabil (1) and married. On the

on the east coast at a spot a few miles south of the mouth

. P.'s hut, his father-in-law accompanied him, and together newly married wife's desertion and elopement with another otsk. This was hundreds of miles away, and Mr. P. was power- advised the young husband to acquiesce in his fate, and let the e loved; but nothing would satisfy him save a paper with writ- such effect mighty things; buy (ruble notes) untold wealth, and a criminal, and so he would have this magic. [264] His im- t last Mr. P. gave him a paper, on which he wrote, 'It is not e of another man.' The Gilyak took the paper, in an envelope, wards on the strength of this paper, the writing of which no- he got his wife back again."

9: Hawes--273-274 T-3 (1901
116, 177, 433, 461

"After all, regrettable as it is, the d
with the white man. The immediate res
ment of the native hunting preserves; a
side of their main settlements, made l
ing-grounds, e.g. the river Tim and th
man, and in so far limited the possibili
and especially the fires—in some cases
naturally driven off or destroyed the wi

[274] Some of their elders told us tha
of bears, sables, and reindeer, but sin
become poor. In those days the poor m
(i.e. with as large a following of helpe

ecline of the race must be attributed to contact
ult of the latter's presence has been the curtail-
nd though it is true that the Russians have, out-
ittle impression on the taiga, yet the best fish-
e west coast, have naturally attracted the white
ties of the Gilyak fishery. Then the clearings,
carelessly left to spread destruction—have
ld game and restricted it to smaller compass.
t 'before the Russians came there were plenty
ce they arrived and burnt the woods the rich had
an could go into the taiga as the rich man to-day'
rs and as many snares to collect from)."

9: Hawes--273 T-3 (1901) 190

116, 177, 183, 461

"At this village of Nivo, which with Chaiv
heard much of the 'good old times,' and the
in physique and in numbers. Yungkin told ho
but now were small, short, and dry.'

In explanation of this the Russians accuse
notions there is a good deal in the accusatio
teeming with fish; he has made a catch and
his stores will have given out. For this stat
sible. It would savour of greediness, and pe
exceed the usual custom. 'The Great Spirit
reply to the stranger's inquiry. And probabl
vidence was not misplaced, when their hunti
were practically limitless. It is said that tw
spawning-time, 300 kita in a day, whereas n

o is the best known on the east coast, we
latter-day degeneration of the Gilyaks, both
w they used to be 'big and strong as giants,

them of being lazy, and according to our
n. A Gilyak may be found sitting by a river
wants no more, yet before winter is over
e of things habit and tradition are respon-
rhaps even of distrust of Tol ni vookh, to
does not wish us to catch so many' is the
y in the olden time such dependence on Pro-
ng-grounds and the wild denizens thereof
enty years ago a Gilyak would spear, during
now he secures but eighty. "

9: Hawes--274 T-3 (1901)
116, 166, 177, 231, 433

"An example of the way in which the p
the conditions of life harder is seen in t
ways be allowed their liberty, and the f
the cattle of Russian neighbours—a cert
the dogs have now to be fed, and their n
To avoid this the natives migrate furthe

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a report on th
official Sakhalin Kalendar, 1899."

proximity of the Russians incidentally renders
the feeding of the Gilyak dogs. These cannot al
iercer ones are tied up, lest they should attac
tain casus belli. Accustomed to feed themselve
master's winter stores naturally give out soone
er afield to less favourable fishing-grounds. (1

he food of the Gilyak, in the local and

174 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as the language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legends which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascertain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

161 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de-
● 177 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk).

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
161 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearance, they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assume that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.

161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
● 177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
● 177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

577 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among them-
426 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
609 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from
186 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
577 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
609 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
177 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

77 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
09 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
77 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
77 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
82 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
27 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

48 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
37 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
44 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

48 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
37 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
84 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
39 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

14 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
34 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

77 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
83 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

623 usually concern abd
681 sions and crimes.
opinions of the older
cases of particular
villages are drawn
fines in money for t
one from the village
sults in a cessation
ally, though rarely,
this is of course ke
tion. As for corpor
herents of the idea.
evidence that forme

578 Quarrels between
411 conducted in the pre
is the kaur, but in
does not have the ir
blow, the blows are
stick. The fight usu
one of the fighters i
ends in death. Som
which, however, se
knives and begin sta
of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle a
177 fleeing Russian crim
carry on. Such refu
are a common sight
direction they take i
west. Most of them
forced labor. Since
chief deportation ce
brodyagi also pass t
them escape in orde
European Russia.
native villages and f
tions in even the mo
these refugees know
entertain great hope
hold up to themselve
rest and thus to be p
which they would als
for a few years, afte
citizens. Others, fi

uctions of women or major transgres-
Women do not take part in them. The
generation usually are decisive. In
importance the Gilyaks of surrounding
n. The penalties for crimes consist of
he plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty
, or in a sort of ostracism which re-
of all intercourse with him. Occasion-
the death penalty is pronounced, but
ot a secret from the Russian administra-
al punishment, the Gilyak are no ad-
It is sometimes applied, but there is
rly it was never used.
men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
sence of witnesses. The weapon used
this case they fight with the end which
on point. The challenger deals the first
parried as much as possible with the
ally continues until blood is drawn or
s stunned and reels. This fight seldom
etimes when two Gilyak get very angry-
ldom happens- they reach for their
bbing each other in disregard of any kind

re the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
inals, which the Gilyak also sometimes
gees or so-called brovdagi (i.e., loafers)
on all large highways in Siberia and the
s always the same, that is, from east to
are convicts who have escaped from
the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the
nter for non-political criminals, these
hrough the Amur region. Very few of
r to go back to their homes, i.e.,
ven though the thought of home, of their
amilies may arouse warm, tender emo-
st hardened criminals, nevertheless,
too well the possibility of arrest to
s. The usual practical goal which they
s is-not to be recognized in case of ar-
ut in the general class of brodyagi in
o be condemned to hard labor, but only
r which they could become Siberian
nally, escape without any particular

563 hopes, merely from an ungovernable yen for liberty and
177 diversion, although they know they will be only too easily
recognized and will only earn a more severe punishment.
563 The hardships and dangers which these unfortunate ones
609 must sometimes endure, especially in winter, are hair-
177 raising and some of the stories which they tell as though
they were nothing unusual, sound like epics. A large
number of them perish. One of the dangers which they mu
guard against in the Amur country and the Transbaykal is
persecution at the hands of the natives, in which activity
particularly those kinsmen of the Huns, the wild Buryats
on Lake Baykal, distinguish themselves. To them, a
brodyaga is as good as wild game, they aim at him where
they meet him, and take whatever they find on the dead ma
They do this with all assurance for they know that the dee
will not be investigated. In recent times this bestial custo
has also crept in among the Goldi and the Gilyak. The
brodyagi themselves gave the impetus to these animosities
Most of them are perfectly docile, peaceable human being
who are glad if [229] they are left alone, and are therefore
little feared by the Russians themselves; they are given a
night's lodging, a hunk of bread, and no one thinks of notif
ing an official. Now among these "unfortunate ones" (1)

1. This is what they are called by the Siberians, some of whom are themselves descendants of exiles and have had experiences of their own which corroborate the words of Staël "tout savoir c'est tout pardonner".

there are sometimes real villains who cannot conceal thei
wolf-like nature. Furthermore, among deportees there a
not infrequently to be found people who are simply patholo
cal, suffering from homicidal mania, who belong anywhere
but in a penal colony. Such ugly customers make trouble
when they escape. There have been cases where entire
Gilyak families were murdered even by those who were
hospitably received by the natives. As a result, it is easy
to imagine that the Gilyak also began playing a different
tune. After such precedents, greed and rapacity may now
and then also have arisen in the soul of the savage, even
though such a refugee would not have been carrying much.
Thus the brodyagi now avoid the native villages, and if the
are forced to pass near-by, they go in bands and take

28 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
83 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.

28 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint owners of the estate along with their children.

65 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
51 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
7 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one,
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.

7 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
4 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
6 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ-
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans
do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other
people, but they draw an additional income from their craft.
It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a
shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his
"science". Some, however, become students of another
shaman for a considerable sum, still others become
impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on
them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said.
It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman,
whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one
shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in
self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addi-
tion of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to
make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's
advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove
adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with
great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without
any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow;
beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole
house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in or-
der to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only
enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Neverthe-
less, there are cases where people refused to pay a
shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude,
and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic
practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual
mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more
than intermediaries through whom the official gives his
orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian
well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay. Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

"Formerly bows and spears were their only weapons, but of la
especially, have been discarded for [103] small-bored flint-lock g
in trade from the Russians. Their habitations differ somewhat in
Many of them are erected on posts several feet above the ground,
a platform, upon which they stow away their sleds, nets, weapons
are reached by rude steps cut in a log."

te these, the bow
uns, which they procure
their construction.
and are surrounded by
s, etc. These platforms

17

8

/xxvi cont./

*114 especially great significance to the confirmation of the existence
595 of group marriage in the Gilyak material. In view of the tremen-
[113] dous methodological significance, we present these remarks by Engels in full. "In recent times," he writes, "among certain rationalistic ethnographers, it has once again become fashionable to reject the existence of group marriage. Therefore the following account, which I translate from Russkie vedomosti (Moscow, the fourteenth of October, 1892, Old Style), is of great interest. It not only explicitly confirms the existence of group marriage, i.e., the right to mutual sexual intercourse between a certain group of men and group of women, but it gives an example of a form of it which closely borders upon the punalua marriage of the Hawaiians, i.e., the most developed classical form of group marriage. While the typical punalua family consists of a number of brothers (uterine or more distantly related) who are in marital cohabitation with a certain number of uterine or more distantly related sisters, we see on Sakhalin Island that a man is married to all the wives of his brothers and all the sisters of his wife, and this means, if we examine this phenomenon from the female point of view, that his wife has the right to sexual intercourse with the brothers of her husband and the husbands of her sisters. The distinction from the typical form of the punalua marriage is therefore only that the brothers of the husband and the husbands of the sisters are not necessarily the same people. I must note that this case confirms what I wrote in Proiskhozhdenie sem'i /The Origin of the Family/, 4th ed., pp. 28-29: "This group marriage hardly looks as terrible as the imagination of our Philistines, accustomed to prostitution and brothels, pictures it." "The savages living in group marriage certainly do not lead the dissipated life that these Philistines lead under the cover of secrecy.

/xxvii/ "This form of marriage (at least in the cases still met in practice) differs from a free pair-marriage or polygamy only in that sexual intercourse is permitted by morals in a number of cases which, under different conditions, involve stern punishment.
● [178] The fact that the exercise of these rights is dying out in practice proves only that this form of marriage itself was long ago condemned to die out, as is confirmed by the infrequency of the traces of its existence."

/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-
342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak
796 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the
● 178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu
[177] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a
[192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

342 /18 cont./
796 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of
● 178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.
192

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the
171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that
174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee,
492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-
[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo.
[614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

/37 cont./

582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is 582 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches 584 her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual, 582 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of 614 compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how- [125] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census [601] that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even 178 now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/38 cont./

582 178 It is not difficult to understand even the raison d'être of this institution which at first glance is strange and confusing.

582 614 Such a binding regulation of marriage conformed as much as possible to both the basic principles of the clan and the individual feelings of the separate heads of families. The clan, at its base, rests on the principle of blood unity. In an agnatic clan this unity will most ideally be attained if all the wives of the agnates are taken from one clan close in blood and, of course, from the clan of their ancestress. This not only satisfies the formal principle of the unity of blood, but confirms the unity of the cult of the ancestors in both lines, so important in the eyes of primitive man.

If we now turn our attention to the psychology of the individual members of the clan, it /39/ fully coincides with the clan where the sons, in accordance with the general rule, remain within the clan and take their wives from outside. It is natural that every mother prefers to have as a wife for her son a woman very close to her by blood and furthermore to assemble within her family women from that clan from which she herself comes. She cannot, however, marry her son to the daughter of her sister, for her sister is either a wife of her husband or of his brothers, and consequently the daughter of the latter is either an own sister or an agnate of her son; all that remains is to marry him to a daughter of her brother, as has become established in reality. For the entire aggregate of the women of a clan it is of tremendous interest that they are all of a common origin and feel behind them the solid protection of the whole clan from which they come.

Such a marriage (of a son to the daughter of his mother's brother is equally in the interests of the father, who thus marries his son to a kinswoman (praplemyanitsa) of his mother. Since the sister of the husband also desires, in turn, to marry her sons to the daughters of her brother, a mother cannot marry her daughters to the sons of her brother, and, thus, an exchange marriage, i.e., an exchange of women, between two such families was impossible, just like a marriage within a family.

These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace", the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of Genghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 237] [242]

Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

302 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
305 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

321 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

305 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time.
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

147 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

838 In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

15
14 Analyzing this table, we see that 1) all the women in c
A have been taken, by generations, from clan V, which me
that Andrei's mother is a sister of Vasilii's father, and conse
quently Andrei and Vasilii are cognate cousins. 2) Similarly
clan V, Vasilii's mother is a sister of Stepan's father from cla
S, and consequently Vasilii and Stepan are cognate cousins,
3) in clan S Stepan's mother is the sister of Andrei's father fr
clan A, and consequently Stepan and Andrei are cognate co

Thus, not only are each pair of spouses, one to the othe
male and female cognate cousins, but the ancestors of each
are, one to the other, cognate cousins. In a word, the foun
of all three clans are close, blood kinsmen married to femal
cognates of the same degree of kinship, and each generation
marries cognates of the same degree of kinship as its fathers
mothers. This is a clear example of how weak the terms ex
ogamous and endogamous are: the exogamy of the Gilyak c
does not exclude marriages between close kinsmen. It turns
that endogamy prevailed within each phratry; each of its
branches was exogamous.

15
14 Such was the original scheme. Time and circumstance
emigration, depopulation, the dispersion of clans, an accid
78 scarcity of women in the mother's clan, and other such caus
naturally led, on the one hand, to a deviation from this syst
and, on the other hand, to corrections, whose aim was to
reconcile the old norms with the new demands of life. All t
superstructures, if I may express myself thus, have quite con
fused the genealogical systems and the marriage norms, and
usually happens, the categorical imperative, weakening in
respect, becomes more widespread in another. Due to exter
conditions, the rule to take one's wife from the clan of one'
mother weakened, but, on the other hand, the prohibition
against giving wives to that clan (albeit completely alien fr
which someone, even a most remote clansman of the given
took his wife has received the most widespread interpretatio
(on the presumption that it is the clan of the mother). From
this the following has become established:

by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves. Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen. If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual

/43 conc./

Since at the present time it is not always possible for all laymen to take their wives from one clan, the clan of the mother, certain members of some clan (M. for example) are obliged to take their wives from other clans. And so, on the strength of the old presumption that the clan of the wife of a clansman is the clan of his mother, all these clans for several generations become prohibited for all the women of clan M. for whom marriage into these clans is not allowed. And this is not all. This prohibition, in essence having lost its former raison d'être, is applied not only /44/ to that clan of which some members have married, but also to a third clan, C. which, in turn, takes wives from M.

In the Gilyak terminology of marriage this prohibition is etymologically expressed thus. Clan A., giving women to clan M. is called the ajmak's (father-in-law) of the latter, while in relation to clan N., which in turn takes wives from clan M. it is — i.e., clan A. is called nyma ajmak's (distant father-in-law); and so the prohibitions lying on clan M are carried over to clan N. i.e., clan A may not take women not only from M. but also from N. The degrees of prohibition, however, do not extend beyond the ajmak's of the second degree.

The entire future evolution of the Gilyak family and clan lies in the history of the origin of the prohibition. In what way could this widespread prohibition arise? We saw that the Gilyaks were not afraid of marriages within distant degrees of kinship. This means that the reason must be some other one. As a matter of fact, in the face of the inevitability of cases where it is impossible to take wives from the clan of the mother, the Gilyak, conforming to the religious imperative, should have, in such cases, considered the most suitable clan that one from which at least the clan of his mother took wives. And, if unable to take them from it, he went to that clan from which this latter took wives. i.e., went by degrees to the ajmak's of distant degrees of kinship, just as within the clan of the mother. In this second case, however, in the family of the mother's own brother, he went to the daughters of the first, second, etc., cousins of the mother. Thus, the distant ajmak's clan were, as it were, reserve clans of the

/44 conc./

mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to extend the prohibitions to the ajmak's of all degrees of kinship; and it was only necessary to extend the ajmak's of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to identify itself with the clan of blood — exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan A. the ajmak's of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A: consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan B. It is necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dimitri, Dar'ya). let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry considered in the first degree, in the second degree, would now be Dmitri's clan D. taken, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). These changes, however, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the ajmak's of more distant degrees. The phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. If the Gilyaks were, then, due to the reasons mentioned above. it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans. the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have to make this complicated, confused system. in order to correctly decide. in each given case. on the right to marry an ajmak's clan. And. actually. if anything this constitutes a whole science. to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. As analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a case of primitive peoples in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

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III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Marriage

Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kinship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyaks, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against exogamistal sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely natural, simple and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate relations. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or centure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion, or on the part of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Sexual relations with a married woman or women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien man, and he will pay a certain fine, or the husband may in a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very infrequently, and Hammurabi code and Mosaic laws are not involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of penal repression has begun to restrain some from impulsive slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They bear her thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her; in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, being taken out her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker. In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

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women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of the clans of father-in-law there are clans of wives — ajfgs. Nevertheless, the extension of the prohibitions in the clans of ajmaks's of the second degree is thus naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable contents, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the second degree do not go back further than the clans of ajmaks of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the clans of ajmaks's of the second, and, in acquired women than children, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away. The clan of jaf, for example, takes wives from many clans, called yuk, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man from jaf takes as his women from different clans of women, namely, on the one hand, to the clan of wives of his ojfa (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the clan of wives /156/ of his afzh, i.e., of his younger brothers (nuns), and sisters of these wives. As concern the clan of wives of his ojfa, there are no prohibitions in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited clans are only those of the second degree of ajmaks's. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the clan of wives of his afzh, he is an ajmak's in relation to the clan of the C. clans. These secondary clans, in distinction from the first, are called nyma (distant), for example, nyma ajmakh -- distant father-in-law, nyma yngl -- distant son-in-law /yzat/.

Finally, in view of the fact that at the present time it is not prohibited for various persons of one clan to take wives from various clans, each such marriage establishes in relation to each new clan a new ajmak's, and, in the ajmak's-yngl terminology, i.e., each clan as a whole can be the ajmakh and yngl of a whole series of clans.

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such circumstances, it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to remain unmarried. And it is just for this reason that there is the right to marriage with persons of the clan of afzh; about which we spoke above appear as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, next their relatives, cousins, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad clan of persons whom the Gilyak calls ajmakh (father-in-law).

We shall now consider the nature of the relations of these latter with their son-in-law /yzat/yal, and it is clear, therefore, that relations between the Gilyaks and their wives, among the daughters of one's own ajmakh, is surrounded by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man may take a wife from the clan of his father-in-law. But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the number of men, this extreme case, logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious rite, is a fetish of ancient times, and, in the present time, it is a fetish of extended norms. On the other hand, under the influence of the religious imperative of exogamy and has greatly weakened the traditional matrimonial relations, even this prohibition has lost its strength. But there is a point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective to the inherited matrimonial relations. Marriage, absolutely, delimited right to sexual intercourse between classes of ga and afzh. We turn next to this right.

Marriage. Though the prohibition and obligation of individual marriage in the classes ga and afzh, have been considerably shaken by the inevitable influence of both historical conditions and the conditions of life, the religious imperative of marriage, the right to sexual intercourse between persons of these classes, continues to be preserved in full strength. This right, it is true, does not carry with it a definitely compulsory character. A woman cannot be coerced into sexual intercourse either by her kin or by her ga. It is not even allowed that the father, brother, or husband of a woman propose to the daughter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/220 cont./

cian to change residence and to withdraw more and more from their business. Before they can do so, in the course of a few years, whole clans—family after family —in search of more advantageous hunting and fishing grounds, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tyn'o Tanalia (in the territory of the Aino), to the Amur, etc. Discord between classmates and was play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we shall see what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the three clans that we introduced, from /221/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyah territory, bordering on the Aino, they migrated first to the Amur region, then to the Aino territory, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they become completely Gilyahized. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so-widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any clan name among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old physical mobility has become completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place in other clans. The principal reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyah must travel hundreds of verst to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and wily-willy there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and so marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old pleasry.

If it is not just unmarriageable individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-willy begin to enter into mutual unions with the native clans.

/220 cont./ Cases of mothers-living brother who the wife became even rarer. In the world of the epos, such marriages are "so terrible and unnatural" that they are almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Maxim Kimo Mandal Mangi, who had moved to the Tyn'o Tanalia (in the territory of the Aino), to the Amur, etc. Discord between classmates and was play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we shall see what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the three clans that we introduced, from /221/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyah territory, bordering on the Aino, they migrated first to the Amur region, then to the Aino territory, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they become completely Gilyahized. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so-widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any clan name among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old physical mobility has become completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place in other clans. The principal reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyah must travel hundreds of verst to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and wily-willy there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and so marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old pleasry.

If it is not just unmarriageable individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-willy begin to enter into mutual unions with the native clans.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

/222/ Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive to the pleasry (emigration, population growth, the exploitation of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of the pleasry. Earlier, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How much this factor leaves operative on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan pleasry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What has to do with the exogamy of the epoch clan C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for new exogamic partners in the pleasry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

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But clan C may not take women from D, because the latter is a forbidden clan. Clan B may not give women to clan C because between two clans is not allowed in any case; on the same basis, clan B cannot give women to clan D. These two remains but one solution, that C take women from B. This solution, in addition, has all the advantages of exogamy for both clans. First of all, these two clans formerly did not stand in a marriage relationship to each other. In addition, C, after the disappearance of clan A, is in the closest on the mother's side (for /225/ clan A took women from this clan and supplied women to clan C), and, finally, clan B is the father-in-law of C, although of the second degree, so that, after A, it is the most closely related to clan C. The otic obstacle to the lawfulness of this compromise is that clan C, due to the fact that it gave its women to B, is in turn, tunna ashkath for clan B and thus does not have a right to take women from B. In a word, it seems that with the pleasry's becoming a three-clan one. The only solution is as follows: the marriage of clan C with B, the one, I, which would give its women to D and take women from C. This new clan for the pleasry may appear, as in North America, where, in the case of /226/ the four clan into two fictitious clan (in this case, C would divide itself into two halves, one of which would be in the role of clan D). We have no data on this either in contemporary practice or in legends. But there is another way out. This pleasry of depopulation strucs all the other pleasrias at the same time. And it was easy to find a single clan, a remnant of a destroyed pleasry, which in turn was seeking to unite with a pleasry. That such a solution was the most practical is seen not only from the practice in contemporary life; it follows from the nature of the case. Clan A, died out, but again and again pleasrias can lose not one, but two or three clans, and then they are inevitably obliged to begin rather the co-optation of separate clans into the pleasry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new pleasry.

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In just this way, under exceptional conditions, it is true, the fundamental law of exogamy is violated, but only in this, that once it was breached in this way, it had to spread more and more and more. Under the influence of the depopulation of the pleasry outside of the old pleasry, because, if not lawful, at least a completely acceptable phenomenon.

Now we shall consider the second case, where clan A does not die out completely, but only its pleasry becomes sharply thinned out in people. On account of the shortage of women in clan A, a part of the men of clan C where obliged to take their wives, as in the first case, from the closest lawful clan, namely, from B, but in the case where, as in the first case, clan C, after A, is the closest, B becomes just second to C. The otic obstacle to the lawfulness of this compromise is that clan C, due to the fact that it gave its women to B, is in turn, tunna ashkath for clan B and thus does not have a right to take women from B. In a word, it seems that with the pleasry's becoming a three-clan one. The only solution is as follows: the marriage of clan C with B, the one, I, which would give its women to D and take women from C. This new clan for the pleasry may appear, as in North America, where, in the case of /226/ the four clan into two fictitious clan (in this case, C would divide itself into two halves, one of which would be in the role of clan D). We have no data on this either in contemporary practice or in legends. But there is another way out. This pleasry of depopulation strucs all the other pleasrias at the same time. And it was easy to find a single clan, a remnant of a destroyed pleasry, which in turn was seeking to unite with a pleasry. That such a solution was the most practical is seen not only from the practice in contemporary life; it follows from the nature of the case. Clan A, died out, but again and again pleasrias can lose not one, but two or three clans, and then they are inevitably obliged to begin rather the co-optation of separate clans into the pleasry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new pleasry.

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merely of the latter. Life, it is true, has somewhat softened the rigor of the prohibition: in some clans at the present time the prohibition covers only those members of clan who are actually living in the pleasry. Formerly, evidently, the prohibition embraced all the members of both clans; even in its variants mentioned above, the prohibition lands unavoidably one way or another to some cases of marriage outside the pleasry.

The case which we have just discussed is by no means unique. It is quite typical for the pleasry and for the daily life of the Gilyah at the present time. As an illustration of this, we can use the legal case which we have analyzed earlier, with the consequences that follow from the marriage of two clans, one of which came into the pleasry from one tsa is from the ashmakh clan and the other from the yungi clan. It is of interest to repeat here that in this case group marriage among women is also lacking, because, in fact, the children of these marriages are considered tyen and cannot marry each other.

Thus, the depopulation and the thinning out of the people of a clan leads to the following extremely important consequences: 1) allowing free marriage to a woman not from the clan of her husband is a kind of free marriage. In the epos of the contemporary Gilyah, marriage from the ashmakh clan to the yungi clan is called a kind of "free" marriage, and the more favored marriage for each individual is a marriage with a woman from the clan of her husband, in which case bride price is not only not required, but is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather pseudo phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and then are spontaneously drawn into the rate of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry for one or another reason from his mother's clan. In the case of the Gilyah, it is not allowed to take wives from the old clan of his ancestors. In other cases, if for some reason a man is obliged to begin rather the co-optation of separate clan into the pleasry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new pleasry.

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rarely, according to the old norm, the daughter of the mother's brother. Finally, in some cases the descendants of the old clan, which gave wives to the clan of the bride, in the new clan of the father-in-law, depending on circumstances, may be considered lawful and not considered lawful. It may happen that not merely two, but many more of these cited cases are accumulated in the course of time in the bride price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading of the institution of the free marriage.

The bride price is a very strong and powerful temptation for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no necessity for violating the old norms.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who could pay the bride price, were interest in one direction, it develops the strength of its age-old inertia with great pressure, and, finally, the bride price, becoming a necessity allowed marriages outside the pleasry, having allowed the possibility for marriage with the children of marriages in the pleasry, it has extended the whole system of regulations based on the principle of the bride price-in-the-clan which even sporadically enter into marriage relations with the clan.

This amalgamation of the old institution with the new institution of free marriage, the amalgamation of the old norms and prohibitions have made not only the kinship terminology, but also the character of the group marriage unusually complicated and confused. Under the old system, when marriages were arranged from one particular clan, the picture of the group marriage appeared entirely clear and simple: in each generation all the "brothers" of one clan participated in a group marriage with all the sisters of the same generation in the other clan. For this reason in views of brothers and sisters, the relations, clan of the husband of sisters called each other brothers, for both groups were such in reality.

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With the appearance of the institution of free marriage, the relationship between the two groups ceased to be so perfect. Great clans, i.e., complete strangers to each other, and, if the clan of wives, the clan of the husband of sisters called each other sisters and become the group wives of their husbands-brothers. In exactly the same way, classwomen-sisters may be married to men from different clans, and nevertheless they continue to call each other sisters, strangers to one another, will have group rights to their wives. Thus, the group marriage, profoundly altered, preserves the kinship terminology, profoundly altered, preserves the kinship terminology, profoundly altered, preserves the kinship terminology

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the parent of his to each other, with this difference, that the collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans, would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since the Gilyak family is the one that most has survived in the punalua family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the most complete forth of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory terms that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the system of marriage. For example, in the Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, he was extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed under conditions where brothers lived in polygamous clans, and sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the Tamil system, a man calls by the same father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil, a man calls his wife an mainavi, the wife of his brother, anainu, or mainavi, the sister of his wife or husband, an anainu; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

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although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is already a mere question of bride price, though, to be sure, a very insignificant one.

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten", on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for each individual of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, ingend (not get) with the addition of dhanh (woman) or ar-kzd (wife) is used; thus, gend dhanh, gend ar-kzd, literally "to get a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- ayind (not ayin), which means literally "to obtain a husband or wife" -- person, or ny -- husband, or, without the addition, simply ayind (1) (or -- him 4 avind).

(1) Besides the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms gend and ayind?

/382/ In the first case, the fact, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

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/ghentsinin/, with the wife moving into the house of her husband. -- It is interesting that this meaning of the word disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often for the expression "to get married" there is added to the verb ayind the verb ttind, xvin ttind, which would mean literally: "to take a bride." Ttind and xvin ttind are used in the same sense, based perhaps on childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

This fact indicates that the meaning of the verb ttind is explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the marriage relations. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female twin cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be endowed by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the counts becoming betrothed are of different ages, the bridegroom, for example, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the bride /383/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak boy acquaintance, Pitem, a lad of twelve, married in this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Imun, aged, who was living with his uncle Ungvaxtan, his father, and began actual cohabitation with her when the repented his first menstruation to him. But it also happens that a child-wife remains in the house of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move, the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister, said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is bride price not, as a rule, paid, but even no ceremony of it. There is timely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not an official ceremony. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/387 cont./

In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, said: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman -- the wife with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, situated, entered, arranged the house of her young husband, slept with him in the same bed, passed her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

Such a marriage is called /ghentsinin/ and its conditions are explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the marriage relations. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female twin cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be endowed by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the counts becoming betrothed are of different ages, the bridegroom, for example, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the bride /388/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak boy acquaintance, Pitem, a lad of twelve, married in this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Imun, aged, who was living with his uncle Ungvaxtan, his father, and began actual cohabitation with her when the repented his first menstruation to him. But it also happens that a child-wife remains in the house of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move, the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister, said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is bride price not, as a rule, paid, but even no ceremony of it. There is timely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not a

/389 cont./

of my children and your children also be akhmakh'i. If you do not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break off old ties, and I will be angry." Then appeared the long-awaited exchange of gifts, and the marriage was completed.

After such a ceremony, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmakh is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied forms of marriage are observed among the Gilyak nationality. In the class of akhmakh'i. One of the causes was the depopulation of the clans from which they took wives, which compelled them to marry women from other clans and tribes, and perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought about by the increase of the number of the people of the tribe. Fact, a contract which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as ornaments, but, perhaps, even food and clothes. Hence, the increase of the number of the people of the tribe. Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and they could, if they willed, have bagfuls of pelts, /390/ /footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Sternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 87, 88, respectively are not indicated in the text./

Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly rooted in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmakh'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure." Even on the Amur, where the old forms have especially lost a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and beating appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

/364 cont./

/ghentsinin/ "pure." And thus /365/ they go around the entire village, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to cut the tendon with a knife. A short goes up, it happens that the thief dies from it.

As such is taken also in conventional matters. Before the eyes, in a village where the Nivkh'ski tribe lived, Gilyak is allowed to be bailed; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (xv) -- about an arshin in length with a human chibbisi

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay some ransom. Thus, in the Gilyak language, a particular balagan of the Mika-y-Tvish'i (the settlement of Kzgu, 1896). Children, Gilyak children, who are brought up in such sexual maturity makes two bride. Women piece both ears in order to get in earnings (ner-ki), formerly men also pierced their ears, but now they do not. Women wear a special belt, the girdle to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her clothes inside out and does not sleep with her wife. Women are also polygamous, but not with her sister, or therefore the thgurmah "the sister of the husband" (1).

Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives accommodates a guest under one blanket.

Among the Gilyak, who live on the Amur when it begins to break up, in order not to blow up the opening of the river. Gilyak, who live on the Amur, have a special tradition: "Women in winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in a nail. Women are polygamous, but not with her sister.

During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus healed, the

/370 cont./

in the wife half to death. Even his /371/ wife, in such cases, does not stop the husband, however, although the ceremonies are not fully corresponded to reality, it does so all but fully. Even now, every Gilyak has marital rights (it is not considered a sin to the husband of his wife, and the husband has authority and to all the sisters of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with his younger sister. The modern method of securing a wife gradually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women is seen among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a conscious survival of the past, and in part, particularly in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to his bride", wrote, either in jest or seriously, the husband and father of the wife's sister. Thus, the contemporary individual is a pseudo-marriage is a pseudo-marriage, in which the old and the powerful remnants of the old /372/ order of clan marriage persist. Thus, in the Gilyak language, a brother and sister are "Punalua family," which still exists in the first half of our century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, each husband has several wives, sometimes without his wife's sister entered without limitations. And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husband of many and the wives of many brothers in the Punalua family called one another punalua (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "nanih" (the word signifying literally what punalua means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). South, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

/273 cont./

no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal, it was in quite recent times. The Gilyak tradition tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of women, and they developed into a kind of blood feud by way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russian into the Amur region has led to a considerable decrease in the number of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduction of a woman, the display of a proper bride price is an effort will inconvenitently result in the return of the abducted woman. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russian under the term ясак. The bride price is ordinarily paid in article, money, and labor. In the bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is a "good housekeeper" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair, and it is usually paid only in considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitzhtro paid for his wife with two Japanese sentes (one large one, coming 60 rubles), one spare silk silver footwear, 10 dogs, 10 kettles, 10 dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /275/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Leban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes unmarried clanless men as his agnes, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The Gilyak, in contrast to a complete pauper, fishes and kills seals, and all this contributes the common

/276 cont./

inheritance. Only with relation to the daughter does the father enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as deeply as possible, although in practice this authority is considerably relaxed by the sincere affection of the daughter for her children. The considerable independence of the sons is determined by the fact that they are acquiring the means of existence, by far fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation of only two men is requisite; consequently, on this respect the existence of large family households is not caused by necessity. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russian under the term ясак. The bride price is ordinarily paid in article, money, and labor. In the bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is a "good housekeeper" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair, and it is usually paid only in considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitzhtro paid for his wife with two Japanese sentes (one large one, coming 60 rubles), one spare silk silver footwear, 10 dogs, 10 kettles, 10 dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /277/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Leban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes unmarried clanless men as his agnes, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The Gilyak, in contrast to a complete pauper, fishes and kills seals, and all this contributes the common

/283 cont./

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even to strength or forty sexes nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /284/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally propriation of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. The Gilyak have begun to drink vodka at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to entmoh whole settlements in decent and in beast Gilyaks and whole sets of complicated lawsuits. The court and mediation of the classmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are quite in decay. In the second, prior to the quarrel is between members of different clans, the Gilyak have the common clan of meeting to a mass assembly of [illegible] of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously both the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to its respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to intervene in this case of the court of "ясак" and honorable men by sanctioning the "biliary-strelkin" by election, regulating the time of their meeting, the mode of their conduct, etc. And a first condition is that the "biliary-strelkin" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

/283 cont./

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V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Saikhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/288 cont./

[illegible] 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the Gilyak population, made the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in walk and dogdom are Tamlyan, Tymovsk, and Tymgi; this last is also richer in tables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the entire exercise, even to strength or forty sexes nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /289/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally propriation of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. The Gilyak have begun to drink vodka at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to entmoh whole settlements in decent and in beast Gilyaks and whole sets of complicated lawsuits. The court and mediation of the classmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are quite in decay. In the second, prior to the quarrel is between members of different clans, the Gilyak have the common clan of meeting to a mass assembly of [illegible] of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously both the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to its respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to intervene in this case of the court of "ясак" and honorable men by sanctioning the "biliary-strelkin" by election, regulating the time of their meeting, the mode of their conduct, etc. And a first condition is that the "biliary-strelkin" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

/290 cont./

Tymovsk, Tymgi, Tymovsk, Tymgi, Tymovsk, Tymgi,

9: Hawes--261 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 161, 178, 595

"A greater witness to the wealth of this 'Lord Mayor' w
Very few Gilyaks on Sakhalin, perhaps two or three other
have bought more than one wife. Polygamy is no longer a
probably for two reasons—the decline in the number of w
of the people. There are no adequate statistics to which I
first, but evidence of the latter is met with at every turn.
ever taken were the inquiries of Mr. Sternberg in 1891 an
on the west coast of Sakhalin; where he found that the pop
1041 to 1049 in 3 1/3 years, of which the increase of femal

vas the possession of two wives.
s, were wealthy enough to
s common as it was, and this
omen, and the growing poverty
can appeal in support of the
The only censuses (informal)
d 1895, among certain villages
ulation had increased from
es was two and of males six."

116, 101, 178, 182

"The Gilyaks of Sakhalin, being descendants of p
country,[1] are more free-thinking than those of the
a closer intercourse and possibly intermarriages
modify their views. At any rate, one finds conside
old traditions, and many differences of custom an
their Amur brethren, but between the Tim and Tr

1. The Tim Gilyaks are those living on the riv
are settled at the mouth in the Bays of Ni, Nab

west coast of the island."

pioneers who long ago left the 'Old
elder clans on the Amur. Probably
with the Ainus have also helped to
erable divergence in practice from the
d thought, not only between them and
o (1) Gilyaks and their brethren on the

er Tim, while the Tro Gilyaks
oil, and Chai.

116, 178, 527, 782

"[LSS: During the bear fête] When t
at an end, a start was made for the ex
halted at the beginning of the avenue to
wooden-ended arrows towards the bear
the animal, or else they ignominiousl
or beyond the mark. This appears to b
tional custom, for the shooting with bl
greatest pieces of 'fun' in olden times.
in front of the animal in a semicircle.

he feasting, drinking, smoking, and talking were
ecution-ground. On [199] their way the company
allow a few of their number to shoot blunt,
. There seemed no attempt on their part to hit
y failed, for the shots were lamentably short of
e only another example of the weakening of tradi-
unted arrows at the poor bear was one of the
Arrived at the ground the crowd grouped itself
"

"Customs differ from coast to coast, and from
divergence. In many cases I believe the cham,
officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of the bear dur
influence of his office is on the wane, and as t
cham now.' "

village to village, and here is a point of
or medicine-man, is not called in to
ing the bear fête] possibly because the
he Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great

tead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
ce of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
oting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
ows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
d more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
all board and is usually decorated on the outside with
ious designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the
t.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters
ters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by
yak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures.
reover, all weapons except firearms are made by the
yak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic
rth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought
m the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of
nese pots are made over into knives, etc.

Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
y heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
hioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China
at present have no practical value because no one thinks
carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as some-
g very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has
pened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a
sian merchant, but as soon as he got some money,
ght it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried,
it is even rarer to find married men with four or five
es, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides,
re are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage
uires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not
sist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons,
sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300
les. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the
ding celebrations which must also be paid for by the
legroom last a rather long time, -a week or more. Be-
s millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is con-
ed.

curious, although not altogether unique custom are
rriages between four and five year old children. As soon
he parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pro-
nced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym
takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with
"husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

181

181 ETHOS--general orientation of the culture; predominating interests, values, themes, and motivations; characterizations of the total culture (e.g., as "conservative," "competitive," "militaristic," "spirit-ridden," "Apollonian," "folk," "urban"); allegations and inferences as to national character; etc.

See also:

Cooperation and competition	47	General character of religion	771
Prevalent personality types	167	Social philosophy	829
Ethics	577		

Sakhalin

/350 cont./

177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
572 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
● 181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
194 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

Tungus ROS
Southeast Siberia RN

G
T
304 /424 cont./
171 custom of tattooing has always been foreign. As a matter of
177 fact, if one considers that the Tungusic tribes who migrated to the lower Amur in the vicinity of the Gilyak, especially the Olcha, have become assimilated with the Gilyak in the course of time through constant intercourse, mixed marriages, etc. to such an extent that externally for the most part they can no longer be distinguished from them, it is not otherwise conceivable but that they must have also lost their original Tungusic custom
Gi of tattooing there. In part directly, in part through the mediation
304 of the Olcha, the influence of the Gilyak system penetrated to
171 the Goldi and spread farther and farther upstream, so that finally
177 a few scant traces of tattooing still survived only in the most remote part of their habitation area. Whether the branch of the Olcha that migrated to Sakhalin, the Orok, had already lost the custom of tattooing on the mainland or not until they were on the island cannot be ascertained, but in any case the absence of it among them indicates a greater influence on them by the Gilyak than by their other neighbors, the tattooing Ainu, as we pointed out above with reference to their hair style and clothing, and as we shall have the opportunity to note in a number of other connections.

G On the basis of all this one is justified in concluding among
● 181 the peoples of the Amur region, on the basis of their total external
177 aspect, the Gilyak present the most individual and significant appearance, which could not fail to have a decisive influence upon the Tungusic tribes living around them.

/425/ Section 6

OOC Food: Animal and Vegetable Foodstuffs. Household and Table Utensils. Luxuries; Liquor, Tobacco

SS Since all the peoples of the Amur region are fishermen or
262 hunters and only a small part of them living in the closest prox-
171 imity to the Manchu-Chinese and Daur practice any field and garden cultivation, their food is predominantly animal, consisting chiefly of fish or meat. Vegetables play only a subordinate role

Tungus
Goldi

SS /500 cont./
492 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and
184 Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack
Gi animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a
492 harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

SS As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea
501 and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are
184 more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to
484 place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the
501 water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and
484 who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long
(226) river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined
G or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concen-
361 trated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers
● 181 them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

/501 cont./

for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators. And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put together have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/613 cont./

If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely dedicated to it. Too indolent to obtain by hunting the means for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them from the tribes neighboring them, who are more skilled at hunting, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small beginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primitive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari and to southern Sakhalin, to the "Manchu" and to the "Ssisam," and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who, likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait in order to trade for the furs bagged by the Eskimo in the Yukon territory with the commodities of the Russo-Siberian merchants, and, conversely, along the Anjui, the latter for the former, and so in the polar north they act as trade intermediaries between Europe-Asia and America (3). None of the Siberian peoples can be compared, with regard to its trade activities, /614/ to these two Paleo-Asiatic peoples, except perhaps the Olcha, whose strongly developed genius for trade, however, as we shall see in a moment, must be traced back to the influence of the Gilyak.

3. Concerning this trade of the Chukchee, see the detailed and exhaustive account by Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/ (in Wrangell's /Vrangel'/ travel account, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.), Ditmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, 1856, pp. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 39 ff.), and others.

None of the Siberian Peoples Can

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people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kuik, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr: as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the Purchase price in some other form.

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that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries, and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

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But wealth does come into consideration to the extent that it does among the Gilyak, and those blessed with it do not enjoy nearly as much esteem, moral influence, and popularity as among the latter. But the reason for this, too, in large part is again the greater industriousness and gain-seeking of the Gilyak. If one of them acquires a certain amount of wealth, he continues unceasingly to try to increase it by buying new furs in the neighborhood and on trade voyages, through which his name and reputation /687/ will become known far and wide in the country. The Olcha, on the other hand, are decidedly of a more indolent and more easily satisfied nature in this respect.

Another social trait that distinguishes the Olcha from the Gilyak is that their communism does not work merely within the boundaries of tribal affiliation nearly as much as is the case among the latter. And this is explained by the fact that, while, to be sure, they are most like the Gilyak in their way of life, their customs and practices, on the other hand they are surrounded by closely related Tungusic tribes with whom they have many character traits in common and whose dialects are readily intelligible to them. Thanks to this considerably lessened national consciousness, the individual man, to be sure, finds among them, in case of need, no such support by his more prosperous countrymen as among the Gilyak, but, on the other hand, a decidedly milder and more humane spirit than among the latter prevails over the whole.

Evidence that the Olcha, and likewise the Goldi, Samagir, etc., do not limit their communism to such narrow tribal boundaries as the Gilyak is given by the hunting customs already discussed above (1). On the Gorin, for instance, the Olcha,

1. See p. 910.

Goldi, and Samagir have their hunting tents, but these stand open, with their household and hunting equipment, to all hunters, regardless of what nationality they are, with the tacit presupposition that no pilfering of the hunting booty or implements

"The Gilyaks are veritable chil
therein. Cultivation of the soil is
the flesh of beasts that fall to the
obtain tobacco, brick-tea, etc."

dren of the forest, finding their home, food,
unknown to them, and they live mainly on fi
ir snares. By bartering the skins of such ani

boat off and went. "Row, ice is there. Use more strength
shall go more quickly." We came to the ice, we pulled
boat out onto the ice. "Throw into the sea." After throwin
e offerings) into the sea, we stalked the seals. Then one
mrade, carrying a gun, went towards the seal, stalking the
l. He went stalking the seal, he fired, killed it. "Fellows,
to your comrade, bring the seal." Four went. We dragged
ig seal (sivuch). We hauled it to the boat. "Skin the seal.
er skinning the seal, we shall cook and eat." We skinned
then: "Go quickly, a seal is there again. Many seals, go
ckly." Three went together, going towards the seal they
lked it, they shot, the shot another one, they killed two.
e pilaŋ said: "Those in the boat, go to your comrades."
o more went to their comrades. Only the pilaŋ was in the
at. Then dragging we hauled a seal. Three dragged one,
dragged another. "Haul it to the boat." We hauled it to
boat. The pilaŋ said: "skin it." We skinned it next. "It
already dark. We shall cook meat and eat. We shall cook
at, eat and go to sleep." It got dark. "Let us sleep."
] We slept and got up in the morning. When we got up in
morning it was dark, a fog. The pilaŋ: "It is dark. How
all we go. We won't go. We shall wait on the ice. We shall
the companion (1) we shall see if we go soon or not.

1. ʼafq-vax 'companion stone' or 'companionable stone.' In olden times the Gilyaks used to take along to sea a small stone with a string tied around it. Using this stone the Gilyaks measured the depth of the sea, determining in this way the distance from the shore. Sometimes they take a stone of this type along with them even today.

shall dip the big companion and we shall see." When we
ped our companion: "We won't go soon. We will wait till
wn." When we were staying it was dark. Then it dawned a
. Then the pilaŋ "When it dawns we will go." We lighted a
e, put up the kettle and ate. We ate and when we finished
mountain could be seen. "When it is quite light we will go
dawned, the whole mountain could be seen. "It is far. That
bad. We will go toward the land." We went. While we were
velling it got dark, we kept on going during the night. Whil
were travelling at night, it began to dawn. When it dawned

/80 cont. /

Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and dressed it in it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the inevitable, now fastened to the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /81/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, purchases of rice, bread, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or command. Consciousness of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes to the mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who, of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins — the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inao and covered with complicated ritual carvings; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees; the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/83 cont. /

/70 cont. /

slain bear; but the head is always respectfully divided among the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage. A sullen-gully completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts to the following: 1) feeding the bear and /71/ the sentiment security and protection from evil spirits — a very important matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with of local and the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "masters" do good things for man; 4) it — and this is of the utmost importance — is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to this point, it is important to remember what we said about clan gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people," i.e., clansmen who perished in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins — the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inao and covered with complicated ritual carvings; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees; the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

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Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obligations, the performing and treating as a commandment, then the Gilyak's religion acquires a broad general sense. becomes the expression of the principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general. The significance of this principle is all the greater because of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment; but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of the religious means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence, on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to why the clansmen, constantly contributing human nature, constituting immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion, but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual instinct is. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, follow their natural inclinations with complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exceptional case, almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibitions of parents and the male and female sisters. Left face to face, will go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

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impersonal form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training in a complicated system, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of such individual infraction on the welfare of the clan.

The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin is communal" explains to us the most amazing aspect of the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It embraces a man from birth to death, giving him all its content. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and conjugal rights outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan ensures his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the trampled rights of a clansman and to avenge for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

/109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most intimate consolation in the most bitter miseries of life — the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

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Or: one or another family is temporarily impoverished. There is no special /117/ organ that must take care of them; if necessary, because the family will bring them aid and assistance in any house they choose, even of the most distant clansman, until the hard times change. And this is idle otherwise to anyone, for it is a rare thing for someone not to be hospitality not to offer it to someone else from time to time.

Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and expensive clan festival. There are neither collections nor contribution, no organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each person prepares as much as he can according to his conscience, each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is little richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrangements. Everyone takes to his house the prepared viands and purchases; they meet at his house to dine in the complete harmony.

During the bear festival, dozens of additional persons assemble from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not only the people, but also their many dogs. How much trouble, how much expense! Nevertheless, everything is arranged simply and to the general satisfaction of all. Each guest prefers, of course, to stay with the one who is closest to him in kinship or sympathy, where they take him in, not as a duty, but because they want him; but in any home at all every arriving guest finds a sincere, cordial reception, because during the days of festive enthusiasm everyone wants to display his sympathy and to have broad intercourse with new people.

Hunger has appeared, the specter of terrible misfortune, which can carry off the whole population of a village! All the hungry ones who have not succeeded in dispersing to more fortunate clans gather at the home of the man who still has some supplies, and the laws of hospitality are just as strong on this black day as in days of plenty.

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But the worst of calamities — a clansman has been slain! Woe is inevitable! ... The whole population takes to arms. There is no regular leader, no elder, and no election. The natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all; it is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen; it is the so-called "master," "ez" — all eyes are turned toward him!

And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes a military leader, given orders, distributes weapons, fixes the time of the march, etc.; they obey him as they would a dictator. If this natural leader has died or been killed, everyone knows the one most worthy to replace him.

Suppose a civil dispute has arisen between clansmen or between /118/ representatives of different clans. There are no established persons who are official mediators and conciliators. Very often the accuser is himself judge and executor of the sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obligation of his own free will, the accuser, not waiting for a judge, unhitches a dog from the team of the debtor or climbs into the storehouse in order to take for himself something equal in value to his claim. And the accused considers this to be the right thing. Of course, such a method is not always possible. But even then the affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It is enough for the offended party simply to address himself directly or through a khlaj-nivukh (see above) to one or two authoritative individuals—"masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and the matter is very quickly settled. They go to the house of the offender, who is usually escorted by his closest kinsmen, and sometimes by a khlaj-nivukh. Even outsiders gather. From the hearing of both sides and the opinions of those present, an opinion which is accepted by the majority assumes the strength of a verdict. Usually the offender submits voluntarily; otherwise, the managers of the affair proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an adjudged amount.

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*G14 615 [182] are constanding ya'i become leaders of the tribe for life, or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ ya'i not that integrated personality in the higher manifestations of individuality? The influence of the ya'i is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the power of his clansmen there is no abyss which would be intellectual or aesthetic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

*G14 615 [182] Such is the mechanism of clan life. In real nimbyng is the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would justify the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them.

*G14 615 [182] Above all there is the ishnat, the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assembliat, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

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*G14 615 [182] Then there are the hejmay, the elders, all of whose authority consists in the solution of most problems of cult and tradition. They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*G14 615 [182] Finally, the third element of authority is the ya'i. Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations prevailed among the tribes, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth; we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time, and in the history of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/ VIII.

Interclan Relations

The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and a man's life and fate are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

[198] Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the ishmal'k and yngi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and the same bond of fraternal ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

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*G14 615 [182] [illegible], very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandi'y; by a will, as we already know, the yngi can obtain the son "thagun" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the ishmal'k can obtain the fur "thagun" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one clan and giving it to another, must be considered, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for a wife, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. According to, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This change is obvious: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful yngi and therefore,could only accede to giving away its women by marriage it with some act of pious deception of the bride, which would at the same time be profitable for the father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only yngi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own yngi but ishmal'k

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*G14 615 [182] violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of ishmal'k and became, in this case, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instance increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

[198] A major weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandi'y in the bear festival.

[198] In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival taken place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in popular settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small annoyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: [198] in the first place, the very rite of the festival - the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablent and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the attention /126/ of the women, who are, in the end, compelled only accede to giving away its women by marriage it with some act of pious deception of the bride, which would at the same time be profitable for the father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only yngi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own yngi but ishmal'k

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Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

We already know the general nature of relations of these latter with their son-in-law /yat'ym/, and it is clear, therefore, that obtaining an individual wife among the ankal, among the ankal'ym of one's own ishmal'k is prohibited by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man stands a sure chance of getting the widow of his brother.

But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition within each clan of yngi for their ankal and ankal'ym, the conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has developed under the influence of commercial relations and has greatly weakened the fraternal matrimonial relations, even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective for the individual marriage -- the yngi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the highest sanction and religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live in-law, does not carry on with a definitely the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their yngi or ishmal'k. But these ties prove of

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such circumstances, it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to remain unmarried. And is it right here that the institution of the right to marriage with persons of the clan of ankal'ym about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, near their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad clan of persons whom the Gilyak calls ashmalk (fathers-in-law).

We already know the general nature of relations of these latter with their son-in-law /yat'ym/, and it is clear, therefore, that obtaining an individual wife among the ankal, among the ankal'ym of one's own ashmal'k is prohibited by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man stands a sure chance of getting the widow of his brother.

But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition within each clan of yngi for their ankal and ankal'ym, the conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has developed under the influence of commercial relations and has greatly weakened the fraternal matrimonial relations, even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective for the individual marriage -- the yngi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the highest sanction and religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live in-law, does not carry on with a definitely the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their yngi or ashmal'k. But these ties prove of

/178 cont./

*G25 [illegible] The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers has proved to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak regard the right to marriage with persons of the clan of ankal as about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, near their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad clan of persons whom the Gilyak calls ashmalk (fathers-in-law).

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/178 cont./ By one of the fictions, I observed several cases where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakli-Kotan, the southernmost Gilyak settlement on the amur shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only in founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the more exceptional are cases of a man leaving his native brothers on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a husband are bound by the bonds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations as a wife and husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village, and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I never saw a case of a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the relations between two are quite peaceful. If the older brother gets a little angry, it is always without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even at least to see such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Piłudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live openly with the wife of one of his tum. According to the Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the husband is outstanding and rich, possessing many wives. But Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lighthearded, and undistinguished by any

/180 cont./

Such instances must not be regarded as a general phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors are also acting. Among the married women, such factors are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and bashfulness. In general, however, sexual disinclinations play no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in a sexual sense, but also in a psychological sense as well. Offhandly the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or, if they do, maintain their sweethearts in a separate house in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp reproaches and the revilling of the young by the older people for the work in question, and the contempt of the young. But furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriage to disinclinations. But the sadder of all the consequences of sexual disinclinations are nervous disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myanchelak among both men and women, and illnesses connected with the loss of psychic consciousness (self-control /given in-English/) are the result of disinclinations, which furthermore, among women, is accompanied by the disappearance of the signs of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the appearance of hysteria.

Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role in the life of the Gilyak. The word corresponding to our term for love, of -mund, denotes both sexual love and love in general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term for reciprocal love -- ofmurlk, and for marriage for love -- ofmurlk, vayynd. There are also some other terms for love, for example, hynd and others, but there are no special terms for "beloved" /mata/, "beloved /lemata/, ofmurlk /221/ one can say ofmla ulgyum, i.e., "man whom I love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or

3 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
9 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
7 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

1 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

1 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to
say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law
which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and
just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where
it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponder-
ance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of
individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the
assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly
distributed.

6 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
5 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who
is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare
exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater num-
ber of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value,
such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc.
and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely
for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which
in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The
above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury arti-
cles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple
hundred silver rubles in a box.

5 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
8 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
6 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
1 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood,
berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one
must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish
is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in
those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coin-
cides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have
reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various
species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up
the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have
more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to
trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts,
berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor
substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual
"famines" here.

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

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/277 cont./

583 of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol
182 of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this
686 alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the
687 nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

583 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the
686 same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood re-
538 venge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

583 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment.
472 An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd
[439] (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In
[194] ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

182 /354 cont./
614
796 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common
[574] sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
372 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/362 cont./

614 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak
182 to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan. No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to
[177] his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual
[155] development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent
354 in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening,
521 and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

766 /368 cont./
ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all
[782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small
[769] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clansmen of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at
182 the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure
766 is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacri-
[782] fices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is burned, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in
614 which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire
[782] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

/633 cont./

583 It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom
121 of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a
182 primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an in-
[562] sulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and industry, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premature marriages. Moreover, as we have seen, through the material obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even as a gift. Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to
[562] a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people concerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak, beyond the above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following observations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of women is by no means rare. According to their own statements, it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the two parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

/867 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still
[182] very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with
423 long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

23 /697 cont./ From now on
175 it belongs, so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members
[421] have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor, ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The
● [182] bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course, within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host,
[574] he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or cowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.125V/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling its

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
601 the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in
[108] his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[595] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
614 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
561 (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
● 182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tungusian, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[556] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[595] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-
[567] price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
648 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
622 and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
175 subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
178 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
433 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
[567] ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
771 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about
[573] rivers, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in "their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the Institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Lisa Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the
[463] A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
42 many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
[64] committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

● [182] The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
562 Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and know only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore.
225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the
533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we
824
● 182 3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskar plant. (1) Then we

1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskar to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

225 Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the
533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182

225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

225 cut down a young birch, stick it on the elzəs
782 and suspend the head of the beluga in the tree.
778

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the childre

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoi Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(?) telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the original.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-krə) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

9: Hawes--164 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 101, 178, 182

"The Gilyaks of Sakhalin, being descendants of pioneers who long ago left the 'Old country,' are more free-thinking than those of the elder clans on the Amur. Probably a closer intercourse and possibly intermarriages with the Ainus have also helped to modify their views. At any rate, one finds considerable divergence in practice from t old traditions, and many differences of custom and thought, not only between them anc their Amur brethren, but between the Tim and Tro (1) Gilyaks and their brethren on th

1. The Tim Gilyaks are those living on the river Tim, while the Tro Gilyaks are settled at the mouth in the Bays of Ni, Nabil, and Chai.

west coast of the island."

116, 182, 342

"The Gilyaks boast of two kinds of h
tuf, and the other for winter residen
contact with their neighbours have l
times, probably as late as the begin
later on the island, the winter hut w
Protection against the wind and co
site is chosen in the forest, [191] wh
winter's hunting. A quadrangular pi
corners of a smaller quadrangle wit
united at the tops by four other pole
the level ground, i.e. three feet ab
of larch, are rested against the fra
erection with its conical top cut off.
earth dug out of the pit, saving only
or tunnel, likewise composed of tim
approach to the dwelling. This is on
it, finds the end blocked, but slippi
panel, a little earthen stairway is r
hut."

uts, destined the one for summer and called tolf
ce named torif. The extremes of climate, and
ed to the adoption of dual dwellings, but until recen
ning of the nineteenth century on the mainland, and
as the only style of dwelling.
old being the chief requisites of a winter abode, a
ich has the added advantage of being handy for the
t is dug to the depth of about three feet. At the
hin this pit are erected four stout poles, which are
s. This forms the main framework of the hut. Fron
ove the floor of the hut, smaller poles, generally
nework all round, thus forming a tent-shaped
The whole of the structure is covered up with the
a hole in the top for chimney. A covered entrance
ber supports covered in with earth, forms the
the level ground, and the stranger having penetrat
ng aside a sliding door, or, more accurately, a
evealed, by which he descends to the floor of the

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
[675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/276 cont./

583
431

years regularly sent him rice, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him all that he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

[626] return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is in essence as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

[171]

2. Incidentally, among the Turkic peoples and the Shoshoni Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be
583 axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another.

583
182 It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

110, 102, 342

"The possession of two houses fo
tage from the point of view of their
forest to pursue the hunting of the b
to the river bank or sea-coast as th
a rudely constructed Swiss châlet.
was apparently a doomed fashion."

r the different seasons is also found to be an a
occupations. In winter it is convenient to be in
bear, fox, etc., while in the summer fishing po
he most handy. In shape the summer hut resem
Some were built on piles, but these were few,

9: Hawes--202 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 183, 527, 782, 825

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the
bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any c
the hidden meaning of their rites. The follow
to find out the signification of the ceremony,
Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.
Russian. Why do you not recite about it durin
Gilyak. I don't know.
Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for
Gilyak. No.
Russian. Why does the cham recite these cha
Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from anci
know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, kn

raison d'être of the custom, [LSS: The
ase, they would not reveal to a stranger
ing is how a Russian fared when he tried
and I met with no more success.

g the killing of the bear?

his crimes?

rges in the bear's ear?
ent times. Ask the old men, perhaps they

ew no more. "

9: Hawes--242 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 177, 182, 764

"If a Gilyak dies in the winter, it is usual to
s an easy matter in this frost-bound world, u
ceremonies may more easily be carried out.

Let me describe, first, the rites observed c
with this, as with many other of the more curi
ference in detail among tribes (of Gilyaks), an
Where the khal has been much influenced by R
fication. With some of the latter, such is the
giving up cremation for burial."

wrap the body in bark and keep it, which
ntil the breaking up of winter, when the

on the death of a woman, premising that
ous customs I describe, there is a dif-
d even between one khal (clan) and another.
ussian contact there is considerable modi-
influence of example that the natives are

/191 cont./

*174 60 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tuvn, although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's brother," and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-law the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the unmarried ones, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him have *174 58 60 come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious ● [183] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. On the other hand, under the [178] influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was distinguished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certain places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now we must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norms of marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown that these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminology; in other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminology is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage system. [178] This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all change,

/278 cont./

583 554 735 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come ● [183] to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with [614] his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do [476] clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of 583 554 452 735 lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A 583 735 554 curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

583 614 [627] As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the ooo shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its hea
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a spe
a- ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face wash
i.e. the scoop used in washing the face of the anima
The heads with pisker stuck in them are taken ho
225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila per
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines traj. (Regardl
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties,
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the
sivuch.) The pila cuts the breast of the sivuch and
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see."
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regar
belonging to the pila. However, as far as the distri
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as
different from the other sivuchs. This will become
from the facts given below. True - as I was informe
Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been ki
out drawing final conclusions as to the possibility o
asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his s
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data -
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circum
First - the pila appropriates the first sivuch killed
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under
of a religious ceremony.
784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the es
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
● 183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as w
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connect
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumera
tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunte
as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only p
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some
terdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter m
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a hea
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear wi
to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue ol
can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in
Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meani
these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos ser

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
626
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.
868 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Carvax
183 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and ə isk (Agiska) informed
626 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-kəlmr). Also, a child must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,' 'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow, or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step inadvertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in play - have anything to do with implements used by women in their tasks and that, conversely, girls mustnot use implements used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legitimize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs, row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy, the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreputable and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food, make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dignity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food. They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

462 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time they are born, and when they grow up they are given away, in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that takes the woman, i.e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also, women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat. They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts. Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, otherwise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
462 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the tuaj where the pila attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pila distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes apparent that the sivuch, which is the pila's legal property and whose blood he used in feeding the tuaj, is included in

115 [97] Since little has been published about the Gilyak up to the
121 present time, I took advantage of my visit of several years duration in the Amur country to study this small tribe somewhat more in detail. All races are of interest, not only in themselves, but because they furnish material for advanced scholarship. If the professional ethnologist should find something in this sketch which can be used for the purpose of such comparative study, it would give me great pleasure.

The material I present here is based largely on my own experiences and investigations, but in part it is based on notes which I gathered from those Russians who had frequently come in contact with the Gilyak. I was always careful to question several people about each subject, for the sake of greater accuracy. The statements, moreover, usually coincided. (1)

1. For my reports about the Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin, with whom I had little personal contact, I am largely indebted to a physician who lived there: Dr. A. Lebedev.

101 I. Geographical Distribution and Population.
131 The tribe of Gilyaks (2) which belongs to the Mongolian
182

2. The word is usually written "Giliak" but because the "g" is hard in pronunciation, I added the "h". [RCH: The author througout spells the word Ghilakin.]

race lives partly on the island of Sakhalin, partly on the continent, in the coastal region of East Siberia, that is, on the lower Amur and on the sea coast around the mouth of this river, as well as on the De Kastri bay and the Kaiser bay. On the latter, the Gilyak are found only sparsely and more temporarily. On the island of Sakhalin they occupy the northern half, especially the Tym river valley, and the east and west coasts. In the summer they occupy one or another place, according to where fishing [98] is best; but in winter they always go back to their villages.

On the lower Amur the true Gilyak are to be found only as far as the village of Bogorodskoye, 150 versts up-stream from the city of Nikolayevsk. From Bogorodskoye up to the Amur tributary of Gorin, that is, from about 51 degrees north latitude, there lives a people that may be considered a cross between the Gilyak and the Goldi. They call

101 themselves "Mangun" (1), sometimes also "Chedé". The
131
182

1. "Uni" means "river" in the language of the Goldi. The name "Amur" seems to have derived from the Goldian designation for water: mu.

former means "river people"; the latter, "the lower ones" The Russians regard them simply as Gilyak and know no other name. Beyond the Gorin, the Goldi begin to appear, but they are also found scattered among the Mangun-Gilyak. The latter differ from the Goldi in certain external characteristics and customs, and from the true Gilyak in their burial ceremonies and in their language which is nothing more than the somewhat modified language of the Goldi. Among these Mangun are to be found, here and there, some nomadic Orochon and Tungus or Sofiysk-Gilyak, as they are usually called in those parts (from the town of Sofiyskoye on the Amur).

On the river Amgun which flows into the Amur from the left side at the so-called Tyr, about 80 versts above Nikolayevsk live the so-called Negidal who are considered a mixed race of Gilyak and Tungus. They speak Tungus, and in their way of living rather resemble the Gilayk who do not, however, recognize them as kin.

The following is the picture: 1) The full-blooded Gilyak live on the island of Sakhalin (northern half), on the continental coast, and on the Amur as far as Bogorodskoye; but they fall into two sub-groups of which the island Gilyak differ from the continental ones only slightly in language and in the way in which they build their dwellings. 2) The second group are the Mangun who are probably a mixture between Gilyak and Goldi and who have little more than their language in common with the Goldi. 3) The third group of Negidal is no longer very closely related to the Gilyak and will therefore not be considered in this essay.

174 We do not know how long the Gilyak have occupied their present habitations [99], but we surmise that they came to the mainland from Sakhalin.

The Goldi consider themselves the original inhabitants of the Amur country, but among the Gilyak it is frequently assumed that they formerly all lived on the island of Sakhalin. And, as a matter of fact, if the opposite were the case, the Sakhalin-Gilyak would probably have brought along with them the more complete type of dwelling which is common on the

513 heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

182 The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged.
342 They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

314 A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder
342 parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go
484 off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This
592 consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

531 VII. Transportation Methods,
Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

764 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends. He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

764 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
182 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
766 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
182 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

771 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

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183 NORMS--native and scientific definitions of custom (e.g., as ideal patterns, as ranges of variation within limits, as statistical inductions from observed behavior); positive and negative norms (e.g., folkways, taboos); verbalized and covert norms; investment of norms with affect and symbolic value (e.g., mores, idealization); discrepancies between ideals and behavior; configurations of norms (e.g., culture complexes, institutions); etc. See also:

Attitudes	208	Taboos	784
Ethical ideals	577	Transmission of social norms	867
Legal norms	671		

/115 cont./

555 556 156 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on his advantages (1).

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

* 614 156 [454] ● [183] His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 771 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/116 cont./

156 771 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

* 614 771 182 156 ● 183 Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gaining the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 * 614 182 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed personality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving forces of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan life operates.

* 614 768 182 Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

During

* 835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his ymgii, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settlement of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvn, compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the community.

[177]

177 * 835 587 768

684 In the first two cases the violators had to go into voluntary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the influence of an alien culture (1).

[177]

* 835 ● 183 587 768 [931]

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

/184 cont./

* 835 ● 183 587 768 [614] levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 * 835 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.

[776] In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

[825] [K2] [533]

* 835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 183, 776

think that came about?

Russian. I don't know. Perhaps somebody ro

Gilyak. Hey! Kaukray! Nobody had robbed h
by Tol ni vookh, kiskh!

Russian. Then why has he done it?

Gilyak. Because the Gilyak offended him in s
him, and his garments he has taken for himsel
the shore so that all should know that this Gily
frightened to offend the powerful Tol ni vookh.

obbed him.
im. You yourself don't know. It was done

something, therefore the god has drowned
f, and the naked corpse he has cast on
ak had offended the god. May all be
"

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

9: Hawes--24
116, 173, 183

"The Gilya
of it. I learn
known to hav
and had been
cal exile, t
'The legen
a Chinaman
books and le
and blew awa
the Gilyak's
The Ainus
letters and r
ing from aft

aks have no written language, but they have a legend to account for the want
it it from one of their number, Imdin by name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak
ve been brought up and educated by the Russians. He is an intelligent youth,
sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I met him in the charge of a politi-
to whom he owed nearly everything.
nd current among my tribe,' he said, with a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and
were talking together one day on the shore. The former was showing his
tters (characters) to the latter, when most unfortunately a great wind arose,
ay all the letters save five; and to complete this great catastrophe, when
back was turned the Chinaman meanly made off with the small remnant.'
have a not dissimilar legend, in which, according to one version, their
records were stolen by their guest from Japan, while they were yet recover-
er-dinner effects."

9: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901
116, 183, 776

"All the four gods are Gilyaks, have w
in common with men; in fact, they are th
the belief of the Gilyak in the existence o
also an illustration of the subtlety needed
mysteries of which he is, as a rule, so r

'How do the Gilyaks catch fish? and wh
time less, and at another none at all?'

Gilyak. Well, at one time the fish com

Russian. That is not the reason. How
never enter of its own accord into the ne
there, the God who has created everythin

Gilyak. No, it is you Russians who don
send into the net the fish which live in th
in the water. He, the god in the water, h
fish, and where he wishes, there he sen

Russian. What sort of a god can there
drown. There of course he is not, and th

Gilyak. It is untrue. All is untrue wha
Myself knows. There are such (striking)
in his clothes; but afterwards he was fou

ives, wear Gilyak garments, and have much
ne Greek gods in Gilyak dress. How strong is
f his gods the following talk will show. It is
d in questioning a native about his religion, the
reluctant to disclose. A Russian asked—
ny at one time do they catch more, at another

e into the net and at another time not. [249]
can a fish go by itself into the net? It would
t. You Gilyaks know that it is God who sends it
ng and lives in the sky.
n't know. How can a god who lives in the sky
e water? No, not in the sky lives the god, but
as created nothing, and only commands the
ds them.
be in the water? If he is a Gilyak, he will
e Gilyaks only think so in their stupidity!
t you are saying. The Gilyak knows very well.
things have happened. A Gilyak was drowned
und on the bank without clothes. How do you

9: Hawes--253-254 T-3 (1901) 19
116, 183, 225, 527, 782

"The first catch is collected and left on
devoured there would be a graceless, gre
sanction to the domestic use of them. Suc
seal season, owing to the god's anger. No
though at some inconvenience, in full view

On the bank, therefore, fires are kindle
with it is hashed up anything left over fro
the feasting commences, and lasts all day
banks, but in the huts; at the same time i
newly caught seals shall not be brought wi
even the blood spilled. If the god has allo
them to be consumed only on his premises
attention on the part of the Gilyaks, Tol n
send them abundance of seals and all man

the shore. To take it to their huts to be
edy thing to do, for there is as yet no divine
h a proceeding might result in a failure of the
; the feasting must be done openly, and,
of the god's province.
ed; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, and
n the winter's stores. When all is prepared
. Eating and drinking go on, not only on the
t is strictly observed that the pieces of the
thin the hut, nor left scattered about, nor
wed seals to be caught, he has [254] permitte
s, i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and little
i vookh will be content, and in future will
ner of inhabitants of the sea."

9: Hawes--273 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 183, 461

"At this village of Nivo, which with Chaivo
heard much of the 'good old times,' and the la
in physique and in numbers. Yungkin told how
but now were small, short, and dry.'

In explanation of this the Russians accuse t
notions there is a good deal in the accusation.
teeming with fish; he has made a catch and w
his stores will have given out. For this state
sible. It would savour of greediness, and per
exceed the usual custom. 'The Great Spirit do
reply to the stranger's inquiry. And probably
vidence was not misplaced, when their huntin
were practically limitless. It is said that twe
spawning-time, 300 kita in a day, whereas no

is the best known on the east coast, we
tter-day degeneration of the Gilyaks, both
they used to be 'big and strong as giants,

hem of being lazy, and according to our
A Gilyak may be found sitting by a river
ants no more, yet before winter is over
of things habit and tradition are respon-
haps even of distrust of Tol ni vookh, to
oes not wish us to catch so many' is the
in the olden time such dependence on Pro-
g-grounds and the wild denizens thereof
nty years ago a Gilyak would spear, during
w he secures but eighty. "

4 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
3 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
3 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
2 women. The location of these bushes is always
1 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
3 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

4 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
3 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

184

184 CULTURAL PARTICIPATION--prevalence of "specialties" and "alternatives"; degree of proliferation of subcultures, intra-cultural differences, and special statuses; extent to which the entire culture is socially shared; etc. See also:

Social stratification	56	Occupational specialization	483
Individual roles within statuses	156	Differences in standard of living	511
Dialectic differentiation	197	Ascribed and achievable statuses	554
Urban and rural differences	369	Ethnic stratification	583
Regional specialization in production	438		

Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RX1

G 101 144 /1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, T G 131 197 /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the T 131 197 Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, T A 121 anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, ● 184 small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is S T G 121 all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on S 121 433 the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

/135 cont./

*601 197 process of mixing between the Gilyak and their neighbors, one can only be surprised that these kinship terminologies turn out to have so little in common.

The etymologies of the Gilyak kinship terms themselves testify to this uniqueness of the Gilyak terminology with great palpability; the greater part of them can be traced all the way back to their original roots, which points to their firm stability over a long period of time (1).

> 1. This cannot be said with regard to many historic peoples. Thus, for example, as the famous Turkish specialist, V.V.Radlov /W. Radloff/, has reported to me, among the Turks, judging by Orkhon and Uigur monuments, the kinship terminology, starting from the tenth century and with the exception of one or two terms, has changed completely, even in such forms as father and mother, and so forth.

*601 We shall adduce a few examples. Thus, the group "ytk" -- father, "atk" -- grandfather, uncle on the mother's side, "ytik" -- grandmother, "ychkh" -- old man, husband, "achkh" -- aunt, sister of the father, "ut-ku" -- man, (western dialect) have a common root "ut, yt" -- body; the group "ymic" -- mother, "ymg:i" -- son-in-law, son of the sister, "um-gu" -- woman (western dialect) have the common root "um." Further, "an'g:ej" -- wife, from "an'kh" -- female; "az'mych" -- beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "av" -- male and the verb "mych" -- to be, to become. The group "shank, shankh, rankh" -- woman and "ranzh" -- sister, etc. is of interest.

*601 Dialectal differences in kinship designations remain to be ● 184 discussed. These differences are of a minor nature. In the 197 fundamental terms there are either no differences whatever,

/135 cont./

*601 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character.
●184 Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are
197 completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" -- female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding az'nych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

[104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.), the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

*601 Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship
614 terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak
104 reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic
[61] family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous, agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the mention of this or that term without any special indication of whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

/137 cont./

614 the contrary, designate exclusively
615 relationship either through the mother
602 or through the wife, but under no con-
*601 ditions on the father's side. Kinsmen
114 through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

Thus, relationship
614 by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical
602 concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come
614 about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us pro-
*601 ceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.
602 Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

● [184] 2. A term borrowed from the eastern
[197] dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

/139 cont./

*601 The Gilyak who speak the western dialect, i.e., the
●184 Gilyak of the continent and the western shore of Sakhalin,
197 especially beginning from the settlement of Vaaz and to the north of it, use the same terms, "ytk" and so on (1), to

1. A full enumeration of the terms-synonyms is given below in the table.

designate, besides own father, all his male tuvn, i.e., his own and collateral brothers and, in addition, all the husbands of the sisters of his mother, while in certain places, specifically in the settlement of Tamlevo and to the north of it, together with "ytk" and its synonyms still another term is used to designate the brothers of the father -- "pilang," corresponding in meaning to the analogous Tungus a'ga -- elder. Another group speaking the eastern dialect draws a distinction between "brothers" (tuvn) younger than the father, and "brothers" (tuvn) older than the father. It is for the first that it uses without distinction the terms ytk -- father and pilang -- elder, while for the second it uses the term atk, i.e., the same as the designation for grandfather. In colloquial language, and especially in texts, this group also uses without distinction the term "father" (ytk and its synonyms) both for own father and for all his "brothers" (tuvn). This is reflected with special vividness in the customary use of the term "father" in the plural; for example, n'ytkhun -- plural of ytk, father -- literally -- "my fathers," signifies "father" and his "brothers " (tuvn), without distinguishing ages. From this one may conclude that the first form of a single term for the designation of the father and his "brothers" is more ancient and was at one time dominant, but was squeezed out under the influence of changes in the sexual norms.

The class of mothers. While in the terminology of the foregoing class there are differences between the eastern and western Gilyak, both groups are completely in accord with
000 respect to the class of mothers. Every Gilyak, man and woman,

/139 cont./ Every Gilyak, man and woman,
*601 uses one and the same term for "mother" (ymk and synonyms)
● [184] not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

[197] [563] 1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of persons of the akhmalk class (concerning this, see below).

[197] The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in
[184] use for wife in both dialects is an'kh, an'g:ej. Within the clan
[614] the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of al his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younge "brothers" (as'kh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /s yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or moth in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevestka, "daug in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant
[197] number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn clas no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.

The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the improvised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
337 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
584 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
339 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
334 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

d) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.).
nynkh (W.D.)

II. Ymk,
Rarely: oma (northern
Sakhalin).

/148/
III. Ytk, yt.
Other forms: er:

*601
602
●184

/147 cont./

d) Elder sister; sister of the father; sister of the tuvn of the father; mother-in-law /husband's mother/; sister of the mother, if she is married to a non-clansman (in certain places, settlement of Viakhtu), in general in such cases she is ymk.

II. Own mother and stepmother; wives of all the tuvn of the father; the sisters of the wives of the brothers (tuvn) of the father; the sisters (tuvn) of the mother; the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn.

III. Father; stepfather; the tuvn of the father (1); husband of the "sister" of the mother; the brother (tuvn) of the husband of the mother's sister; the husbands of the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn; the brothers of the husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law.

1. Among the Gilyak of the continent and the northwestern shore of Sakhalin, especially

a) Ytk or pilang, pila
n'ig:yvyn (more frequently
the latter).

IV. Atk, app, appyk, apo,
edr:, etk.

1: Shternberg--222 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*601
602
184

/148 cont./

(footnote cont'd)
beginning with Tamlevo; to the south, only in the settlement of Yamy. Among the latter, pilang, n'vil-nivukh, corresponding to the Tungus a'ga, are also used for the younger tuvn of the father, in addition to the term ytk.

a) In all cases of III, when the reference is to the younger tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak with predominantly the eastern dialect.

IV. The elder tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect); grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. through the mother and the father; the tuvn of grandfathers, of great-grandfathers, etc. (from the maternal and paternal side); fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. of the husbands of the sister of the mother; fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers (and their tuvn) of the

(cont'd)

V. Achik, acik, achk (E.D.);
asi (Okhotsk shore);
ychik, ytik (W.D.).

VI. Og:lang, og:la, eg:lang,
o:la.

*601
602
184

/148 cont./

husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law /wife's father/; the elder brother of the husband (among the eastern Gilyak).

V. The wives of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn; the wives of fathers, grandfathers, etc. of the brother of the mother; the wives of the sons of the brothers of the mother; mother, grandmother, etc. of the wife; mother, grandmother, etc. of the sister of the wife and her tuvn in general; grandmother, great-grandmother (on the maternal and paternal side).

VI. Son or daughter -- children; the children of all the brothers -- tuvn (if "I" am a man); the children of the sisters (if "I" am a woman); the children of sisters (tuvn) of the wife; the children of the sisters of the wife of the brother; the children of daughters of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn.

VII. An'g:ej, an'kh (to the north of the Amur), an'kh n'um-gu (Amur).
Other designations: shank, shankh, ran'kh.

VIII. Jokh, jokho.

IX. Pu, ivn (E.D.).
Pu, if, o'kono (W.D.).
Other designations: ychikh, a'zmych, utgu.

VII. Wife; sister of the wife; wife of the elder tuvn; wife of the son of the sister (tuvn) of the mother; daughter of the brother of the mother and all her tuvn; in certain places on the Amur they also call the wife of the elder tuvn, ivy.

VIII. Daughter-in-law /nevestka/; wife of the younger brother (tuvn).

IX. If "I" am a woman: husband; son of the sister of the father; tuvn of the son of the sister of the father; husband of the sister; elder tuvn of the husband.

Deviations: 1. On the continent to the north of the Amur, they call all the tuvn of the husband alike, pu, ivn.

2. Likewise on the western shore of Sakhalin in the settlement of Tamlevo and farther north, all tuvn of the husband -- o'kono, also jori; on the Amur -- o'kono, n'orej. Conversely, among the eastern Gilyak they always call the younger brother of the husband, as distinct from the elder, atk, edr:, even er: (see group IV).

/155 cont./

835 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new [178] [161] class of wives -- an'g:ej. Nevertheless, the extension of prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men, called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man gives this name to two completely different classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of wives of his og:la (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited character of the second category is not so absolute. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced [184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation (an'g:ej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as an'g:ej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

/140 cont./

601 the other nankh and as'kh -- older "sister," and, conversely, -- younger "sister."

The class of husbands. The class of husbands corresponds to the terminology of the foregoing class -- "wives." Within the 14) clan of her husband the woman gives the name of "husband" (pu, ivn, o'kono, etc.), not only to her official husband, but also to the representatives of the class of his "brothers" (tuvn), with, however, the following variations. The eastern Gilyak 01 and a part of the western Gilyak differentiate between the 84 younger "brothers" (tuvn) of the husband and the elder ones; 97 a woman calls the former pu, ivn, o'kono, i.e., as her own formal husbands, and she calls the latter atk. The Gilyak of northern Sakhalin and the shoreline of the continent do not differentiate between the younger and older brothers of the husband, calling them alike pu, o'kono. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special uniform designation for all the brothers of the husband -- n'orej (= n'i -- my + orej -- husband), a term which sounds like the Goldi kinship term oro.

601 The class of the descending line. The class of the descending 14 line within the clan, the class og:lang, og:la, is completely defined by the foregoing terms of the class of fathers and mothers. Within his clan every man gives the name of og:la, not only to his own children born of his official wives, but also to all the children of his "brothers" (tuvn), just as /141/ a woman gives the name og:la not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term og:la is applied not only to the first generation of individuals, but also to all the generations in the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole class of tuvn. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term og:la not only to his own children and agnate nephews, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandsons, great-grandsons, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "atk" defines all the generations above father and mother.

*601 602 /147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other -- sweethearts. It seems that terms are often transferred into this area from the [197] [184] matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart o'kono (husband, in the western dialect), az'mych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), ivn (groom), navkh (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law [837] /zyat'/). It is very interesting that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term akhmalk, while the terms navkh and akhmalk in practical life have taken on the meaning of "comrade" or "participant in a common affair." Thus, the term "navkh" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes its name from this term.

*601 As a result of our survey of the kinship termonology, we find among the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

/172 cont./

2 know, an ymg:i is the closest person to an akhmalk and to his wife. An ymg:i is a preferred hunting companion summer and winter. He is the dearest guest; they serve the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers the akhmalk'i /173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the ymg:i is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there 6) are dozens of maidens -- his an'g:ej, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their 35 82 married an'g:ej.

From the kinship terminology we know that a man's 4] married an'g:ej include, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further -- all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the married sisters of the wives of his tuvn -- a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the 35 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage, the sisters marry persons of the class tuvn alone, so that with regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers' wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers" operates. But, due to deviations from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmalk (1).

82] 14] 1. An accidental akhmalk is what I call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

/173 cont./

*835 614 582 by chance taken a wife secretly, rather than from the clan from which all the kinsmen usually take a wife.

601 *835 ●184 614 In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the terminology as well, are not the same. Among the majority of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women is legitimate, the participants call each other pu and an'g:ej, and their children call each other tuvn and the sisters of their mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and "fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who are neighbors of the Ainu, the arrangement is different. If the sister of a man's wife marries his akhmalk, then sexual intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an akhmalk, is absolutely prohibited, and, instead of an'g:ej, the man calls her achk (mother-in-law). But if she marries a completely alien man, then the relations between them are as between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a *835 sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, however, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases, even in such /174/ relations, considered to be tuvn (brothers) (1)

*835 601 1. I shall give an example which depicts very well both the relations of such tuvn (i.e., the children of sisters whose husbands are aliens to each other) among themselves and their mutual relations towards their wives.

Wremgin and Hibl are individuals of two different clans (k:khal), one from the clan Fan'gi, the other from the clan Khoi, but their mothers were tuvn, i.e., sisters from one and the same clan. And

/174 cont./

*835 601 nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that their fathers and they themselves are persons of alien clans, they call each other tuvn, because their fathers were married to sisters and had the right to sexual intercourse, and, as tuvn, they do not dare to converse or joke with each other (see below, the prohibitions); their wives are considered ymk (mothers) to their children, and Hibl, as the younger, has the right to sexual intercourse with the wife of Wremgin.

*835 down to the third generation, and this shows best of all that the old order dictated that the sisters of a Gilyak's wife be the wives of his brothers.

Thus, the question of the relations between a Gilyak and his married an'g:ej in practice comes, in the main, to the same thing as relations with the wives of his "brothers" (tuvn).

601 ●184 *835 614 As we have said, and as is evident from the kinship terminology, some clans strictly differentiate between the wives of older and of younger tuvn, and others make no distinction at all between these categories; in some -- only the wives of the older tuvn, in others -- all the wives of tuvn without distinction, are considered an'g:ej of each of the tuvn, but in both cases the right of these pu and an'g:ej to sexual intercourse is indisputable.

Among the western Gilyak, who make no distinction between the wives of brothers, they formulated this right for me repeatedly in the following, more than clear expressions: "with the wife of a younger brother (his) older brother is allowed to have sexual intercourse" ("good"); a younger (brother) is allowed to have sexual intercourse with the wife of an older (brother) ("good").

/175 cont./

*835 839 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.

*835 832 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the relations between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

*835 [593] In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official [595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but ●[184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters [556] such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

/188 cont./

602 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands
[601] on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology, the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibitory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other.
602 Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited
• 184 categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted, although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversation are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse does not exist between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law.

602 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to
[192] be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the terms: indynd (to look, khërnd (to converse, to talk), lerund (to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute, revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in the face" -- indynd -- on the contrary, are in effect only between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor between all categories. There remains the prohibition khernd. This term embraces two concepts: conversation and discussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely forbidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely impossible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in relation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
[675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
• [184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is
585 already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a
178 very insignificant one.
• 184

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

195 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating
196 the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a
58 sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, khgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root av), with the corresponding addition of nigyvyn: -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (je -- him + avind).

[197] 1. I choose the term of the eastern
[184] dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/266 cont./

194 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
611 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
614 lived.
186

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 Usually at the present time children are given names
• 184 according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement
614 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names accord-
611 ing to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
611 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
194 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

/268 cont./

585 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-
538 groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered, arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a
538 town with many people, and, when he went into the center
584 yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest,
585 from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57, 58, respectively are not indicated in the text./

582 Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly
[581] seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmalk'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."
• [184] Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially
[178] undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/271 cont./

The bride is customarily represented by the father a mother, but for the final decision the attendance of repre sentatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiati but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mothe the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wi of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternal In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp rel In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son i forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, plies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, no smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father. This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amu the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks wi her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already be decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if s does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish t is it for me to contradict!" But it may happen that the m upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the brideg immediately runs away and does not return until the depa of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene a

[171]

1. It is interesting to note that among the Negda, whose customs, as a result of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

/308 cont./

has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well, live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repast.

After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear, he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "man ikandis." What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast is over.

They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

On the Amur four little fish with roots are placed over the grave.

During nla-dash (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uighyf -- the plot on where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a tolo'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kiqun -- a cup for the drowned man; mon' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kiqun nlch, a Chinese bottle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/311 cont./

Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz-- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Gold tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovol (Gold pdzhin) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then homs -- murk', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys pulk. Ur'mu keldr -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami among the Goldi, lives in the ur' of the shaman. Ur' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be burned, it is only mached with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

/312 cont./

Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr, gather at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buds, a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labax/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Ej, indyl! -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tlyn'lush; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They stay a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt. Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in made fast, and all the dishes are carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where this tlyrokh is never made; in Tevsh only a red dog pazgi shanj. is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- January moon. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'ongarja kinyngoch; hungoja", kholafti, lyygoja", i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new bowl (ban'gar), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Shl, a stick, and a cross-bow (narrdzr) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between comfortable branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (nuurg'k'vsh); the fork is thrown into the fire and chédzigr taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a yurt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/328 cont./

The favorite dog, "pryski" (every man has his own pryski) is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after death are buried directly into the ground.

Ady-Tymr, if they suspect that a person died from magic, two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then the ezmi-mans, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog skel deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenir).

Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boats. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, which in both winter and summer is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no crying; kissing the deceased is a sin. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No sign are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are tmu put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dogs and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Bones and so forth are thrown over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

/547 cont./

stepe, then he can be killed. The game continues even after the king is taken. If the old man moves back, then a soldier may still him with a cheng; if there are two cheng in a row, then the king can come back (1).

1. I offer a variation of the game, recorded by me from the words of the Amur Gilyak Mladyan, a student in the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad.

The one who begins to play after the chong comes up moves his soldier on the middle line of nests, in accordance with the number of moves which have come up (by the upper surfaces of the cubes), the appropriate number of rests, starting from the right. Then his partner does the same on his side, and when his soldier comes to land on the spot of a soldier of his partner, which is already standing there, he takes it.

After one of the partners has moved to the end of the battle line, he can, on future moves, cross over to the line of the enemy (his partner) and knock out his soldiers, and when he reaches the end of that line, he is considered the winner.

In spite of the fact that the above description differs from the description of the Sakhalin game of cheng in Shternberg, we print it, for it may facilitate an understanding of the above-described variant of the game, although this latter differs considerably from that described by Mladyan. S. Sh.

/370 cont./

his wife half to death. Even his rum, in such cases, does not escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak even the rum finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with a sound thrashing. The modern method of secuting a wife gradually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the mamaliak bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand if there be of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman, but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

/379 cont./

with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined to attribute supernatural origin to the rich man is shown by a widely diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden bowl which descended upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

Since the Gilyak were in the habit of exchanging their wives in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand if there be of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman, but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak consists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the death of a debtor and his creditor, relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/385 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "household" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers, and, finally, the children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

The total population is 1,041, of which 541 are male and 500 female; the adults (including adolescents) number 678; there are 363 children; of widowed persons, and 6 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the rest two each). See each separately for the same individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who survived birth in 1915, while the number of those who died at birth in 1917, so the rate of infant mortality is 2.5 percent (5%). See

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were living; (2) what sex and age, child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (3) how

1:Shternberg—545 E-5 (1890-1897, 1901)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The Western Coast]

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115 individuals, i.e., one-ninth of the adult population, have the right to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamlyev, Vakvo, Pemyr, and Tangi; the last is also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by Gilyaks in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the Gilyaks have made a respectable fortune; the settlement among them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise potatoes, and also keep a herd of cattle. Tyki is known for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyaks are coming to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have hunted the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyaks were very careful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the Gilyaks rent for little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass. In the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters storehouses yurts with half a floor, and, finally, one and a fifty-yurts pipe heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and run along the wall under the plank bed serve mainly to heat these latter. The smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high-yurt pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the Tatar Strait (Nivkhi, Mayr), from whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the tundra, and occasionally over the mountains. In the last settlement of Pemyr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Mu'vo, it strikingly

2: Schrenck—466 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/330 cont./

The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese cover-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin,

1. Minsi'i /Mimul/ statement (Cohen's* ord. Sakhalin v' ustiv-khan, otnob. /Agricultural Sakhalin/ Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 134).

as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilla-vo, the southernmost point of the Gilyaks, to Pogbobi, there were also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward, in the Tymy Valley, in the middle of the island, and in one case even at Pilla-vo, in the middle of the island, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters storehouses yurts with half a floor, and, finally, one and a fifty-yurts pipe heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and run along the wall under the plank bed serve mainly to heat these latter. The smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high-yurt pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the Tatar Strait (Nivkhi, Mayr), from whom it may have been borrowed.

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along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages containing sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of dwellings occurred between one village. Yurts (2) had have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the subject to it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak coming there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tuberbaeck-Gilyaks friends of mine (3). A few years later

2: Schrenck—467 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/331 cont./

collect. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three villages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the north of Pogbobi, the northernmost point, from the east we encountered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the south of Tymovskoye, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulbej (1),

1. In Gilehi it is called Jordzin-tig-vo,

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin. With the exception of Tymovskoye, which belongs, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

2. Gilehi found only nine. The great number of houses in Tymovskoye is explained by the fact that it is located by its name, for tanzik, tamlanch, or tamlanzch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

Schedoyl villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, in which everything is repeated only that part of the Sea of Okhotsk. Gilehi did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small yurt (Ulbej village, Mulelkov-yo (in Gilehi, Mayr), there follows Pilla-vo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more (schedoyl villages, Tymi-vo (in Gilehi, Ngyr), Ngyrv-vo (in Gilehi, Ngyr), of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (Pogbobi village, which I unfortunately it to me). According to its location on the small bay which Kimarasam called Nadeshda Bay, Ngyr-vo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

2: Schrenck—470 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/332 cont./

there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tagur and Udhan, where Middendorf became acquainted with the Gilyak, they lived in the winter, as I have seen from his hand-written notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Pt. 1, p. 47), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kuji and Udhan Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitnesses accounts. The Gilyak, then, apparently have no winter houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, than those resting on piles (1). The air that the Gilyak have in

1. The large village on Nadeshda Bay at the northern tip of Sakhalin (Ngyr-vo) is called Ngyrv-vo (p. 467 above), which was visited by Shrenck, who, however, mistakenly wrote on piles. See his Reise um Lyn Baikal, Vol. II, p. 182.

/332/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left, which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth yurt of Ekhach, Mulelkov-yo (in Gilehi, Mayr), three fallow villages the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856: it was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was connected with it by a long, low passage. Its roof was flat and, of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (Pogbobi village, which I unfortunately it to me). According to its location on the small bay which Kimarasam called Nadeshda Bay, Ngyr-vo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

2: Schrenck—525 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/333 cont./

as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater than that of the open seas and the accordingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses raised piles, it is because they know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is their desire, beginning, late especially the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /336/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are forced to move into their winter yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the Gilyak winter houses at level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still winter in Dal'ny Vostok. In Tymi, it was still occupied on February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two Gilyak women who had accompanied me contracted a mild case of a great confluence of Gilyaks. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the road, and was built on the ground resting on piles. See his Reise um Lyn Baikal, Vol. II, p. 182.

On Plate XIII's summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Iako, the summer residence of the Gilyak on the Amur, which is built on a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and has rather steep roofs. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the roof beams. The roof is covered with bark and with boards, which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched log which is placed on the roof there are two small

/272 cont./

84 84 71

The bride is not present during the betrothal, the mother has the absolute right of veto, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
84 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not
74 at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motives of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of full freedom of choice, all the more because the marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

84 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, when the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, they say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
75 longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

584 576

him curtly: "That is not your business. We will
that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This un
approval of the bride is all the host needs; after
know how to set the most advantageous condition
the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

114 71

1. This is exactly the way the Gilya
explain the motives for the father's
deprecatory opinions of his daughter.
I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son w
wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will
any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the
makers toward the inadequacies of his daughter.
the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires th
which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants
short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothin
through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And afte
pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what sh
it is not my business." Then they begin to regal
of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn fin
the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let th
583 cide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the bus
584 of the bride price and dowry. In this connection
184 are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the
where the people are more mercantile, the bride
ashamedly enumerates down to the slightest deta
of the bride price.

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first
only two or three objects, the most valuable ones
expected bride price, and after that they only ha
secondary valuables. But in both places the proc
the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atm

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /zyat'/, k:khal
606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
629 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'rur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
[184] in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head
[196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone
[614]

/505 cont./

above-mentioned forward continuation of the bottom-board, which, in other situations, is to very useful, contributes no little to the combustion-resistant of the boat, and also against the current. Finally, it also affects the method of landing stationary among the Gilyak, Orcha, Goldi, and generally among all the other Amur peoples with the same type of boat: this is always done with the rear end of the boat, which is not very easy in high waves beating against the shore, because the boat must then first be put with the bow against the waves in order to be lifted by them and carried towards the shore. The Gilyak, /506/ of Olcha, etc., lands in such a way that he merely sits down on land with his boat, as it were.

To conclude these considerations, I give here the measurements of an ordinary, medium-sized Gilyak boat at 1 tooth long from a specimen in the village of Kalgho, from which the above-mentioned illustration was also made:

Length from the tip to the rear edge of the steersman's seat	25'..
Width at the steersman's seat	3'.6"
" from edge to edge in the middle	1'..
" " " " " at the bow, immediately in front of the prow board	2'.2"
Width of the bottom board	1'..
" " steersman's seat	1'..
Depth of the boat in the middle where it is the greatest	1'.6"

The length of a paddle-oar is about 7 feet, that of the steering-oar 1 1/4 feet; the width of the blade on the latter, 4 inches.

I never saw boats other than the type described for the Ulchi either on the Amur and Ussuri or on the west coast of Sakhalin, and Middendorff does not mentioning them on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. In the interior of Sakhalin, however, the material and in place shallow Tymy River, quite a different vessel is used, a boat hollowed out of a single tree-

/506/

trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak nio-mup) (1) in the winter in the village of Tkhyut, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends — the rear end, finally, flattened, horizontally and round-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip of board in the side was attached, so essential to their purpose, to edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the Ulchi boat, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite so old anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any out-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby had the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Ulchi and Goldi do with their similar boats. Middendorff, and as it does also among the Turgusic peoples of the Amur region with their birch-bark boats, uses no nails, screws, etc., /507/ only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the bahanin poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Kirschenninikof, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak ermingh), which they specifically designated to me as the best wood for boats. According to Schrenck, the Aru of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes, which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

/524 cont./

not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that is, toward the end of August or the beginning of the September.

Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by the Tschonti Gilyak, unfortunately without any reference to dates, that herring, the tengi-mup and the kalgi-mup, in winter, were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers insufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been mentioned (4), when the fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there. Later, there data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff. As the list given by him for the dates of the migration of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouth of the Amur and the Ussuri, Middendorff says, on the other hand, there are no salmon there, as on the Amur, except that Salmo ussuri is also to be found in these waters. These boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Ulchi and Goldi do with their similar boats. Middendorff, and as it does also among the Turgusic peoples of the Amur region with their birch-bark boats, uses no nails, screws, etc., /507/ only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the bahanin poplar

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/543 cont./

throughout the second half of August and did not decrease until early the 20th (3). For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and

3. Ibid., p. 1181.

FOR THE GILYAK LIVING ALONG THE TYMY RIVER, AND ESPECIALLY along its upper course in great density, September is therefore chiefly the month that brings them the greatest quantity of fish, which, in addition, is essential to their economy, as it which, traveling to meet the ascending fish, they devote themselves entirely to fishing and the preparation of supplies for the winter. The Gilyak living on the Amur, however, which could not be by the Tymy Gilyak, that among them not August, but September was the month of the fish-catch. Perhaps the beat was not quite so long. For the Gilyak living on the Amur, the fish-catch in fact in comparison with it, is designated only as nymchi-mup, "little month." Thus, as a result of somewhat different natural conditions, a shift in the names for the months customary among the Amur Gilyak taken place there (4). Whether this also holds true for the Tymy Gilyak, for

4. The shifts or other differences in the names of the rest of the months that occur among the Tymy Gilyak in contrast to those among the Amur Gilyak the will be discussed later where appropriate.

/543 cont./

just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyak stand far among all the others in the north. In particular the small group of the Ingimul Gilyak is one of the localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living along the coast, in fact, in winter, however, the enterprising Tschonti Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Manzia-Hsiai Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Pogholti, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur, at Tschchachach, Kaldo, Kaldo, and Pogholti, where in particular the small island of Uflut is an especially favorable spot for it.

Accordingly, in the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the ushi-mup (1). Phoca caspica Pall., that is, the ordinary seal, are said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go as far as Tschchach. In any case, Ph. sibirica (2) (yangr-mup) and Ph. vitulina (3) (called gigh-mup by the Gilyak, gidachna by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak. One sees its more or less detailed practice in with special seal-hunting skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Langr, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (5), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

summer village of the Gilyak of Tulbo. /545/ The other one, however, Langr, located on a small island in the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and the conjectures

/544 cont./

bantering with them. Tschonti plays the same role in the southern Amur-Liman as Ingimul in the north. In winter, in particular the small group of the Ingimul Gilyak is one of the localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living along the coast, in fact, in winter, however, the enterprising Tschonti Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Manzia-Hsiai Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Pogholti, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur, at Tschchachach, Kaldo, Kaldo, and Pogholti, where in particular the small island of Uflut is an especially favorable spot for it.

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/544 cont./

during the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunting takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in spring, the Gilyak stand far among all the others in the north in particular the small group of the Ingimul Gilyak is one of the localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living along the coast, in fact, in winter, however, the enterprising Tschonti Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Manzia-Hsiai Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Pogholti, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur, at Tschchachach, Kaldo, Kaldo, and Pogholti, where in particular the small island of Uflut is an especially favorable spot for it.

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/545 cont./

young (Ph. vitulina (3) /1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (nangr), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, the shaft is provided with a small tip, and the point is joined to a pole (Gilyak ilta) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uflut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is carried on the shoulder and, when the seal, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal coming on a rose or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the shore, is within the range of the dart and a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more dead seals to a post set up even into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the drone in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the birch held in readiness (2).

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 791, 793, 780, 781, and 820 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Rauscher, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel-companion, Mr. Poliwanof, in continuing of my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

/562 cont./

also a man or one old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is shot from a long distance, and the cubs are fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the winter lairs in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the procedures, so very essential in this connection, are not conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the bear meat is not to be found in the homes of the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River, occupy a central and intermediary position, so to speak, in contrast to the other Gilyak groups, namely, as a result of the fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the Russians started at the Amur and the first settlements were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the Nikolayevsk post, which for some time remained the headquarters of the Russian administration, from which the first exploration of the lower Amur region and of Sakhalin took place.

If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seventeenth century (1) and considers that by nature they are by no

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but rather, far to the contrary, are malicious, spiteful, and deceitful while at the same time energetic and even ready to risk their life if humiliation or greed are involved (2), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brunière by the Gilyak mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) is evidence of this. Shortly before the arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

2. (cont.)

whether that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin or had been blown out to sea by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tymkinsee and the boat was plundered. In 1885, among the Gilyak of Poghabi, I saw a boat from Nogai by number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

that the occupation of the tax territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning of the 1850s was such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of revenge is dormant in the Gilyak to a high degree very emotionally contributed to this. The possibility of being able to exchange the Russian settlements as consumers of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no markets, such as fish, gutta, furs, etc., for various articles greatly covered by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, which was much particular sense, cheaper than, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their indeterminate, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev port soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, which, thanks to the entire trade *Fishi* that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the line of Ohkhonsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Aino and the Tungusic Amur people, many Russian goods, which were widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the Gilyak of Sakhalin, the Russian Amur people of the Gilyak Amur Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

/121 cont. /

and, in the conviction that I did not understand them, express the opinion that they were now only exploring the country, yet as I had not yet shot any pheasants or a hare and to path out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, at in Tyk, Dul, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even demanded with threatening gestures and basically in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of tea; and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. The latter had never been seen by me or no fun here, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in hand, a day could. These to their purchase for trade, however, I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the sweet attitude which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if not one tainted to compensate and made a small gift, the ice was so broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had the necessary and also a supplement for the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all other matters. The Gilyak are much practical sense, clever-ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of lower practical utility were not in demand, such as, on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "ai-ai-ai-ai") accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better one, in the course of which they praise them and also do so, on the other hand, in trade, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how great they are the advantages of the Gilyak in trade, I shall bring more detailed statements.

I should also add that all trade in the Amur region, and hence also that of the Gilyak, is only better and no money is used among them, nevertheless, the Gilyak, nevertheless, has absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyak, who have the main dealings with the Tungusic people, are also the most active and enterprising in trying along the lea of Ohkhonsk and on Sakhalin and by from them the desired furs, which they then sell, in turn, to the Tungusic tribes, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are also brought from Manchuria and basically in the Chinese (a one-liner bale, for example, cam 1/3 to among them, a red dear or silk bale, around 1/3 to among them). Life the fun, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Gotoh than among the Gilyak (a large example, for example, cam 10 in among the former), on the one hand because the Gilyak at the Amur Tungusic people, and, on the other hand because they are towhere near as productive in this respect as the Gotoh, and, on the other hand because they are Cossack and vegetation (hence of various kinds), however, seem to be always and everywhere in the Amur, and, hence, the ice was so thick greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they also have more extensive and productive fishing, the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all other matters. The Gilyak are much practical sense, clever-ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of lower practical utility were not in demand, such as, on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "ai-ai-ai-ai") accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better one, in the course of which they praise them and also do so, on the other hand, in trade, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how great they are the advantages of the Gilyak in trade, I shall bring more detailed statements.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russian, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Virginian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

The Gilyak are interested in trade with the Amur people in trading with the Chinese common of animal skins, and in particular sables, the, and, and, in the same way, and, in the same way, and, in the whole, only *Fishi* clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they may, and, in the Gilyak trade, and, in the same way, and, on a large scale, think of pre-ating this commodity in the larger quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way (hence used to their nature. To Gilyak they trade with their

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Tungusic people, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyak, who have the main dealings with the Tungusic people, are also the most active and enterprising in trying along the lea of Ohkhonsk and on Sakhalin and by from them the desired furs, which they then sell, in turn, to the Tungusic tribes, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are also brought from Manchuria and basically in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of tea; and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. The latter had never been seen by me or no fun here, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in hand, a day could. These to their purchase for trade, however, I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the sweet attitude which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if not one tainted to compensate and made a small gift, the ice was so broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had the necessary and also a supplement for the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all other matters. The Gilyak are much practical sense, clever-ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of lower practical utility were not in demand, such as, on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "ai-ai-ai-ai") accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better one, in the course of which they praise them and also do so, on the other hand, in trade, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how great they are the advantages of the Gilyak in trade, I shall bring more detailed statements.

At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to Schrenck, 1854-1856.

steals through from Puli along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the bigge ne the Gilyak, who live in the Amur region, on the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, because they, as they themselves told me, will not pass over the mountain ridge south of Poghabi and 25 years ago killed one who ventured it. Whether they ensured this hostile attitude toward the Chinese in Manchuria in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to duke it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is greatly to their advantage commercially. For the rule that is Chinese common of animal skins, and in particular sables, the Gilyak, Gotoh, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or regular and the Manchu-Chinese wholesale, also trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers also they may, and, in the Gilyak trade, and, in the same likewise only on a large scale, think of pre-ating this commodity in the larger quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way (hence used to their nature. To Gilyak they trade with their

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Tungusic people, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyak, who have the main dealings with the Tungusic people, are also the most active and enterprising in trying along the lea of Ohkhonsk and on Sakhalin and by from them the desired furs, which they then sell, in turn, to the Tungusic tribes, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are also brought from Manchuria and basically in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of tea; and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. The latter had never been seen by me or no fun here, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in hand, a day could. These to their purchase for trade, however, I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the sweet attitude which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if not one tainted to compensate and made a small gift, the ice was so broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had the necessary and also a supplement for the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all other matters. The Gilyak are much practical sense, clever-ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of lower practical utility were not in demand, such as, on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "ai-ai-ai-ai") accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better one, in the course of which they praise them and also do so, on the other hand, in trade, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how great they are the advantages of the Gilyak in trade, I shall bring more detailed statements.

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the mountains remains remote to the Aino. Thus, the trade in Chinese commodities on Sakhalin rests almost exclusively in the hands of the Gilyak and Gotoh, and, in the same way, the Aino grow almost famous for it their own purposes. As we have already seen, the Gilyak interesting trade in the Far-bearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully at home, and, in the Gilyak, and, be chiefly concentrated in the hands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greater quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, running in part upon them in the mountains, in part, in winter, impelled to forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lighthearted character, *Fishi* and the Gilyak in exchange for the yield from their fishing and hunting of sea animals and are in previous processed from the Gilyak, and, in the same way, they buy eagle tails from their countrymen in order to use them in trade with the Tungusic people, and, thus, they are greatly in their debt. Gilyak, in a yurt in which one of the three mentioned village of *Pelu*, in a yurt in which one of the three mentioned village of *Pelu*, in a yurt in which one of the three mentioned village of *Pelu*, in a yurt in which one of the three

The Amur Gilyak, and in part also the Tchonta Gilyak, are not greatest lovers in animal skins for trade with the Chinese, on the Gilyak, and, in the same way, and, in the forest (healthy in the northern part of the island, along the Limas and the coast, and in the southern part, south of the Poghabi and along the upper course of the Tymy River, without there being any strict division of these trade areas between them. It is strange that the Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their aforementioned countrymen, do little moving skins and almost never come to the mainland, to say nothing of their undertaking more distant trading trips, but, on the contrary, they prefer to remain near neighbors on the island, the Orok and the Aino, and, in turn, let themselves be supplied with the Chinese commodities, certain by them, too, tobacco, liquor, cloth, and the like, by the central Gilyak, who, in turn, receive the Chinese goods (hence only rare) room beyond the Limas in order to approach the Chinese traders in Puli along the Tymi-Chenlach route, and, finally,

/124 cont. /

trade will be discussed separately later, also we have here between the Gilyak and the Aino, and, in the same way, on the Chinese, and which furnishes them the means for the former.

As we pointed out in the preceding paragraph above (1), there is along

1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Ocha and Gobil area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants may temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very obviously chosen by the Gilyak for their trade with the adjacent tatar tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious fur. They are coming in the Gilyak, and, in the same way, and, in the same way, and, in the same way

/677 cont./

3. (cont.)
der Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 559), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jiri); see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

In the Tymy Valley I heard January called ŋiu-ŋaŋ: a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-ŋaŋ), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tio-ŋaŋ, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tutio-ŋaŋ, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-ŋaŋ, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which probably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is ŋiu-ŋaŋ, which remains uninterpretable to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that ainail-ŋaŋ (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

/715 cont./

1. (cont.)
put in the way of making sketches during the bear festival, only one bear is pictured on our plate, which is sufficient for comprehension. But there were two of them in Judin's house.

the second shelf of the ŋtagbre, under each bear, lay the pelvis belonging to it and a few fish (Cyprinus carpio, Gilyak pilemgat), which were put before them for food, as it were. At the sides of the rack, from the little fir trees and branches decorating it, hung pieces of fur from previously consumed bears and all kinds of prettefully carved wooden spoons and bowls, the purpose of which will be discussed later, as well as numerous zach. In another house in the same village, where the owner of the third (medium-sized) bear lived, there was the same arrangement and decoration in the interior, but the ŋtagbre was smaller, therefore, the more elaborately decorated, and only one bear's head looked down. It is always left to the owner, if he has two or more bears, to erect either a special ŋtagbre for each one or one common one for all and therefore correspondingly wider.

When everything is prepared and decorated in the house as required, the transfer of the bears' heads from the lŋag into the house takes place. This had already preceded the arrival of Mamen. Dittmar and Brewin in Tebach. But as they later learned, and as I myself had heard from the Gilyak, it is done in the following way. The oldest Gilyak of the village, "cheimar," i.e., graybeards, lift the bear's head and skin out of the lŋag, carry it around the house three times on a path made through the snow and decorated here and there with peeled sticks, curled wood-shavings, and fir branches, and then stop in front of a window in the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth. The frame of this window has been removed, and through this opening, not through the house door, the bear is carried into the house and directly in front of the hearth dedicated to it, in order to warm itself first before it is lifted to the ŋtagbre as the place of honor. At this window,

/721 cont./

on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived participated in the meal. Indeed, even the women and children received their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. I, /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. II /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ani-tymvk (2) in Gilyak)

2. The ŋ in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French r. The bowl is called ani-tymvk because of its similarity to a hand (tymvk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and in fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call mŏpt (1).

1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of punishment for the mistreat committed against the bear. Once outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigorously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mosj, etc. -- were put out

Gold; RX3

/732 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

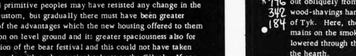
ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different methods of construction and the different ideas of dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings hanging down from them from crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Dul, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/732 cont./



Bearskin hung up near the yurt.

animates all primitive peoples may have resisted any change in the traditional ceremonies, but gradually these must have been greater utilization of the advantages which the new housing offered to them by its position on level ground and its greater spaciousness also for the celebration of the bear festival and this could not have taken long for a people with such practical talents as the Gilyak. If one sees the Amur Gilyak lead their bears, temporarily displayed in the houses, out through the door and immediately back in again many times, apparently without any purpose whatsoever, and stroll around with the bear in the fashion from house to house from the entire village, it gives the impression as though, with their traditional memory, so to speak, of the limitation that was formerly imposed on them in this respect and within which their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin still find themselves today they revel in the enjoyment offered to them by their present /723/ dwellings, which are more suitable for the bear festival. As a matter of fact, this custom seems to be only the manifestation of joy and satisfaction gradually becoming more conscious in Amur Gilyak, which have the change in the construction of their dwellings which has taken place in the course of time.

Another difference in the bear-festival practices determined by the different dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Gilyak pertains to the transfer of the bear's head from the lŋag into the yurt. Among the former this is done, not through the door, but always through one of the windows of the house. In Tymy, Tro, Nivx, Ulx, Tebach, and Kalnaj, dogs were always only through the smoke vent, which, aside from the door, is generally the only opening in it leading to the outside. I therefore suspect that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, this transfer taken place, not through the door, but through the smoke vent, which would scarcely be possible in the Gilyak houses built in the Chinese fashion, and therefore the continental Gilyak are obliged to use the window opening instead of the smoke vent, which is also much easier. I think that consideration of this circumstance of Ainu with regard to the Sakhalin Gilyak is to be found in the fact that over a yurt in which a bear has been eaten the skin of the animal consumed, immediately after the meal is finished, is spread over a pole jutting

/733 cont./

adjacently from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, that, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion. Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious, two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two hearths in the tschadyf, over which the kettles used to cook the bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes have been in the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof, and as the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt. In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau-

/734 cont./

I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of the animal was shared by being eaten, that is, toward noon of the second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portions still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one trying to snatch a piece of meat or there with his knife. One of the members of the household was collecting contributions from the diners: in a little trough in order to give them to the women and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur Gilyak, when this time comes during the bear festival, festivities usually cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled around informally in the narrow space. A meal of Manchu-Chinese products, cereals and legumes, such as it customarily served to guests in Tymy, seems to have prevailed in Tyk, and this also to have preceded the eating of the meat, since the host and owner of the bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur Gilyak and Oltcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable that in Dul, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the latter. In which, besides other food, dogs were eaten, as I already had been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

of cynophagy among the Gilyak.

It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accompany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up, one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially in the region with earth yurts exclusively, that is, along the

/734 cont./

northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the Tyms Valley, as a result of their greater wealth and poverty circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

/735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/. Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed account of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Mesrt. Rudanofskij (2)

1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Ainu /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Ainthuell der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

2. Sergei Ts. Timofeyev", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossijsko-ametik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-137.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

3. N. Busse, Otr. Sakhalin" i Ekspedi. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

/742 cont./

it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often they are used as talisman, but seem to represent hair, and, in that case, strings tened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the tick mark's LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery. stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with hoze Such an amulet is called ngif and kini: from Judin in Tebach I grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tybyx. The Gilyak (see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. I, pp. 57, 58.)

3. Gilyak. The village of Pogbobi on the west coast of Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood -shavings off a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in her chest and sat there coughing and complaining. The zach was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after the had received this medicine, the woman stopped groaning and behaved very cheerfully during the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman. (2 W.R. II, p. 6.)

4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myiir. It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally; I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kulk. In the same village among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/743 cont./

down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in back and seem to represent hair. Lower down, in the shape of a stage

/792 cont./

the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chala has had only a few inhabitants. (2 S.R. I, p. 39.)

Among the Chela I saw an idol-belt, a nawuchu, provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn around the body as an amulet against sickness (Plate LX /p.1260 /, Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two makes (mhalda), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fox carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khai (chai) of the Gilyak in wood hanging below the toad and the human figure, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak in Chiara and which is also carved by the Olcha as protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak kagn and the sawa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (2 S.R. I, pp. 32-33.)

Shamans

/756 cont./

of all his bindings and alive again. With the words, kiunchek via, kiunchek via! (?) which he calls out to each kagn, the shaman now

"Perhaps kaunchu = out! viii = let us go! - according to the Gilyak name for the kagn, the shaman now Grube.

/792 cont./

banishes all kagn from there again, it is quiet in the yurt, the shaman performance is over, and the fires in the hearths may be reinlaid. (2 S.R. I, pp. 58 and 59.)

32. Gilyak. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, there are likewise shamans among the Gilyak on Sakhalin; moreover, they are said to have the same instruments of their art as those on the mainland, drum (kanfi), shaman's belt (Olcha jangsa), etc. (Plate LXI /p. 1261/, Figs. 2, 4). (2 W. R. I, p. 10.)

The large village of Tymovsk on the east coast consisting of at least ten yurts, is said to have a shaman who was famous among the Gilyak. (2 W. R. II, p. 7.)

33. Samagir. One evening I heard the sound of drums in the village of Ngkghu. I was told that in the neighboring yurt the Shaman's drum was beaten, and I went there immediately. There was no light in the yurt, and even in the two hearths there were only glowing embers, in front of which women and children were crouched. The dull tones of the drum, accompanied by a melancholy and monotonous singing, resounded from a remote, dark corner of the large, dim room and occasionally became so powerful that the whole yurt rumbled. Accompanied by my guide, I sat down on one of the sleeping benches and listened for a while to the eerie music. When I inquired as to why there was no fire in the yurt, I was told that the shaman sounds were meant for a sick woman in the yurt and that no fire was permitted in connection with this. And, indeed, when after a time the flames were fanned in the hearths and the night-lamps were lighted in the yurt, the drumming and singing instantly ceased. I now approached the shaman, who was sitting on one of the sleeping benches. Next to him lay the sick woman, a pan of coals (ischalacen) with dying

/789 cont./

rolf next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (kitut) or a cuckoo (kaunchu). The dove is for a man, the latter for a woman. The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird: hence the designation tutut-ngir and tutut-ngir or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngir, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word pitnyui, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which hang berries,

** According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tuchan-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a deceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and - according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tutut or pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tuchan-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank of the Amur) I already erected raff twice very close to the bank and close to it a pitnyui, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consist of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. It rood is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pitnyui, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an extremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimtkan, had erected in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, red, and white,

/770 cont./

represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and ducks (Plate LXIX /p.1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tchan-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former was completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimtkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

Kimtkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that were similar. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another; cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p.1233/.

Kimtkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

/771 cont./

years, and consequently also the visin to it for a cure. The ashes of a person killed by an ant (tiger and leopard) is taken to a special burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a memorial. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokh and Kalm (on the right bank the Amur), I pasted on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Near the tomb there was a raff, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Ho and Tachilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their dead near the Tachi River, a close of Taur-wa and villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is part Tunguzic. (2 S.R. II, 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood and ings (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

/674 cont./

them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months,

/675 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the time from one new moon to another is called taktuk, like the moon itself. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /An Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

these have several different designations, not merely in one and the same place, but also in various parts of the Gilyak area. In particular there are those used by the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Amur-Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and, on the other hand, the others used in the interior and along the east coast of the island, by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak. I shall give them next as I noted them myself after repeated inquiries and shall later add a few remarks.

List of the Gilyak Names of the Months:

	on the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin	in the interior and on the east coast of Sakhalin
January . . .	Tscham-long	Klu-long.
February . .	Karr-long	Tscham-long.
March	Tschrad-long	Karr-long.
April	Arkail-long	Tschrad-long.
May	Walten tengi-long, also Kopengwa-l. and Kittägtsch-l. (2) . . .	Pittun-long.

2. In the Gilyak word-list compiled by Dr. Grube the last two terms have erroneously been applied to April instead of to May: see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, pp. 44, 58, 59, and 120 /the appendix

/675 cont./

2. (cont.)
referred to is not included in the book translated here/. Tschrad-long (March) is likewise erroneously identified with July (op. cit., p. 108).

/676/

June	Tengi-wota-long, . . . also Pota-long	Arkail-long.
July	Matschn-tschrar-long . .	Tscho-taghr-l
August . . .	Lygi-wota-l., also Pilja-tschrar-l., and simply Pilja-l.	Matschki-long
September . .	Ngarwi-long, also Tschitsch-ngar-long	Pilja-long.
October . . .	Oni-lami-long, also Pottschawo-long . . .	Ngadgho-long
November . .	Tlo-long	Kawekö-long.
December . .	Anj-long	Tlo-long.

Unfortunately, Glehn does not indicate in which of the two above-named parts of the Gilyak area he learned their nam for the months. According to him, they run as follows:

January, February, March } just as according to me.

April . . . Pitul-long.

May . . Arschkai-long.

/676 cont./

805 114

June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July, August, September are not given.

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

114 184 805 From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

805 184 [122] My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/677 cont./

805 184 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound

805 184 825 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas

[439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese

000 origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

805 825 171 113

3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

An extraordinar

2: Schrenck--1269 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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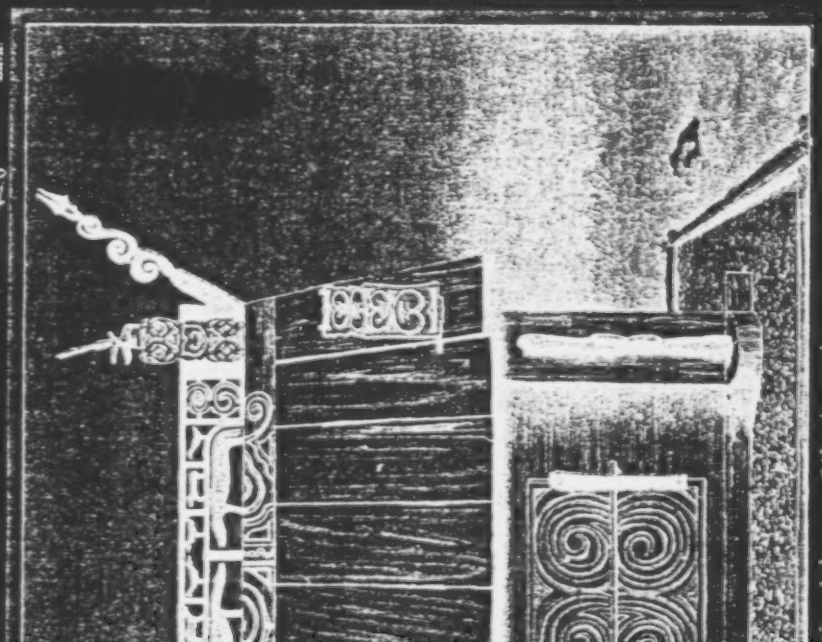

ly elaborate Gilyak tomb.

9: Hawes--259 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 186

"That hospitality is not offered to the Gilyaks by the Tungus
their relations are considerably strained. The former accuse
snares, and of setting them on the Gilyaks' hunting-grounds. T
while it is dangerous to meet a brodyaga man to man, to meet
death. Of course this is only true if there be cause of hostility

is not surprising, for
the latter of robbing their
They even declare that
t a Tungus is certain
."

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat [184] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [178] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 889 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

177 By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 433 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the 627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of [198] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were [595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand 561 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of 439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated 614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred 184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with 182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time [556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before [595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. [567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of fur and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own household 567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established 648 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders 618 and gasyanda—village elders.

622 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally 175 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation 178 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch 433 was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used [567] the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox 771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island 772 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master"

9. Hawes--199 1-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 178, 184, 527, 756

"Customs differ from coast to coast, and from village to village, and here is a point of divergence. In many cases I believe the cham, or medicine-man, is not called in to officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of the bear during the bear fête] possibly because the influence of his office is on the wane, and as the Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great cham now.' "

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

185

185 CULTURAL GOALS--social foresight; concept of progress; reform movements and utopian goals; prevention of waste; social planning; conservation policies; etc. See also:

Organization of production and distribution	47	Land reform	423
Individual achievement	55	Economic planning and development	433
Specific government projects	65	Saving and investment	454
Population policy	156	Political doctrines, policies, and programs	668
Dynamics of culture change	178	Social insurance	745
City planning	361	Social philosophy	829

/377/

423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize
[185] [648] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares
423 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are
428 divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in
423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others.
166 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or
423 journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

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186 ETHNOCENTRISM--exaltation of the ingroup (e.g., consciousness of kind, local pride, patriotism, class consciousness, old school tie); unfavorable judgments of other groups (e.g., race prejudice, religious intolerance, national antipathies); overt manifestations (e.g., snobbishness, discrimination, ethical dualism, nationalism); symbolic representation (e.g., flags, anthems, emblems, national heroes); channeling of hostilities (e.g., sports rivalry, ethnic scapegoats); etc. See also:

Sports and games	82	Citizenship	641
Prejudice and discrimination toward ethnic and other stratified groups	56	International relations	648
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Political parties	665
Behavior toward nonrelatives, strangers, and aliens	609	Nationalistic and nativistic movements	668
Minority rivalries	616	Military morale	703
Development of nationalism	619	Religious persecution	798
		Ideas about race	829

/127 cont./
609 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the
594 Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has
609 wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with
829 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance
* 614

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general
• 186 relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course,
609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national
829 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We
174 can now resume it.
* 614
615

/265 cont./
602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
191 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
593 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

194 Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
196 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
591 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says:
191 n'i-umgarvo ivrâ, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

194 Another example: the term for designating a person's
611 origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth."
614 This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
• 186 be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/266 cont./
194 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
611 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
614 lived.
• 186 In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 Usually at the present time children are given names
184 according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general
614 rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement
611 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
611 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
174 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

/667 cont./
426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in dis-
tress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to
181 maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the
• [186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense
421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries,
735 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in
421 case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/669/
423 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
224 that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunt-
226 ing, except for the places on the river where they have their
619 salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the
[648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also
[421] based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and
[123] dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-
• [186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to
685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from
648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in orde to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainte
[192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradnt Russ. ukrast), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not becom known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met
685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc.,
123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

9: Hawes--257-258 T-3 (
116, 186, 609

"Moonlight was silvering the broad
for the passage of a solitary canoe
passed another containing two men
of us understood. We mutually grun
each other, this being quite contrar
the Ainus, with whom the ceremony

The Tungus are the most nomadi
best hunters, and probably the clev
home is the taiga, and with their re
following the river course or the fo
I was told, would catch three sable
Derbensk for a pud of gunpowder ar

Between them and the Gilyaks the
Orochons complain that the latter s
dispersal of their herds in the fore

'The Tungus,' said our Vanka, 'a
hospitable, and do not give the Gily

ening Bay of Ni, and all was still and quiet, save
of natives returning to their village. Later there
of a fresh tribe, the Tungus, whose language none
ted salutations, though I never saw the Gilyaks gree
y to the [258] habits of their neighbours to the south
is both long and complicated.
c race on Sakhalin, at the same time they are the
erest in carving, needlework, and metalwork. Thei
eindeer and fine hunting dogs are sometimes seen
rest paths made by wild animals. Some of their dog
s in a day, which their masters would exchange at
d a pud of shot.
ere are occasional misunderstandings, and even the
ometimes steal their reindeer, which in view of the
st is quite possible. ....
re wild people living in the forest. They are not
aks food and drink when they call;' "

7 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among the
6 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
9 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money fro
6 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and
then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in ass
ing from this that the Gilyak have two different moral
standards, which would contradict our previous statement
The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To
sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take h
money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take th
liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are
mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that f
this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently t
are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would b
the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants o
played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a
Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on h
shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
7 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
9 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
7 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly
appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasan
of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in gener
more honest than our sort, especially those who live
in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit
themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest;
on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-ngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very

/15 cont./

174 174 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary reasons, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to save itself by flight from its normal territory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the new territory in which these animals accidentally appeared was their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur, but nevertheless both the Sakhalin and the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

172 174 192 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers, having replaced or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea animals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as nistan' (maple), tarman' (yew tree), nuguchep (sea pig?), and others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement on Sakhalin Island, right up to its northernmost extremities, one encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found pot fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits), a name which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as 172 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are regarded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in 174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant 171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug- 342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak 342 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the 178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt: through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited may be in actuality a remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

/18 cont./

342 342 (kusind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of 178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the 171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that 174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee, 342 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog -- 582 led -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. 614 The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

174 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about 173 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a 332 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so- 610 called "hoyykh." By "hoyykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hoyykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a miniuscule island opposite the settlement of Takvro. 614 It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hoyykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hoyykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/37 cont./

174 my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were 835 sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology 582 this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the 614 daughter of the sister of my father-in-law (an'ge), but simply navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the favorable conditions indicated by me 582 which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular 614 clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came, i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

[192] 1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting: it is composed of pi (ones own, your), pandf (kinsmen of the mother), and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

[835] wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'ge (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the father. On the other hand, marriage with a

/48 cont./

174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father- 582 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex- 614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not 582 from the clan of his mother by the certain yokh /see yokh on 614 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, 174 582 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin 582 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone- 614 ment, by force or by a material fine from the abductor. Among 173 the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen- 684 eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same 582 "blood-money," that same material form of atonement for a sin, 192 as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps 583 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of the gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/81 cont./

*614 First of all, the very term that the Gilyak use to express the concept "clan" is of primitive origin. It is khal', which literally 192 means: icabbard, sheath -- a felicitous symbol for a single womb, for unity of origin. As concerns the features of their clan union, 614 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious 628 procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored, 771 and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demanded a preliminary blood sacrifice in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution. 537 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played 564 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh (1).

*614 192 197

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen 532 ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/188 cont./

602 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands
[601] on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology,
the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibi-
602 tory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by
184 daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other.
Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited
categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted,
although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among
some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the
Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other
places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversa-
tion are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse
does not exist between sona-in-law and mothers-in-law.
602 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to
be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic
• [192] forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the
terms: indyad (to look, khernd (to converse, to talk), lerund
(to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute,
revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally
between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the
father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with
his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and
all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in
the face" -- indyad -- on the contrary, are in effect only
between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor
between all categories. There remains the prohibited khernd.
This term embraces two concepts: conversation and dis-
cussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely for-
bidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and
besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter
with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely im-
possible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the
elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in re-
lation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid
having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the
younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/250 cont./

831 Such instances must not be regarded as a general
192 phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened
sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors
are also acting. Among the married women, such factors
are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both
married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and
bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays
no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an econo-
mic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily
the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or,
if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both
[826] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp
reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for
laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And
[842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages
831 to dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of
158 dissoluteness of the psychics. A whole series of nervous
disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among
both men and women, and diseases connected with the full
loss of psychic composure (elf-control /given in English/)
are the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among
women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm
of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the
appearance of hysteria.

831 Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom
• 192 described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role
in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term
for love, ef'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in
general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term
for reciprocal love -- os'mund: for marriage for love,
[835] of'mur-kir, vayind. There are also some other terms for
[1062] love, for example, ayind and others, but there are no special
terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although
584 /251/ one can say es'mula-ligayvyn, i.e., "man whom they
593 love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate
each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- a'as'mych,
• [192] ef'ash. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage
of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This
view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down
on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's
nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time,
let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
593 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considera-
tions, since during the period of passion the young people
neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In
general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the
sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter
or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer,
but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he
may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the
amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural
phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the
confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly
address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-
ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved.
Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In
such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
593 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

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XII.

Methods of Obtaining a Wife

584 Data from the epos. It is first of interest to reconstruct the
558 picture of the acquisition of a wife in the old days according
to the data from the popular epos. Judging from these data,
especially from the so-called d'asfund (poems), the acquisi-
tion of a wife in the old days was not at all an easy matter (1).

• [192] 1. That the procuring of a wife was
not a simple matter is shown by the
very expression for this undertaking,
an'gej nanygind, in which the verb
nanygind is a technical term for the
hunting of a beast, usually accom-
panied by difficulties in the search and
all sorts of dangers.

On the contrary, one of the chief exploits of the heroes is
the search for a wife. In order to find his wife, the hero of
a Gilyak poem must undertake the most distant and hazardous
journeys to the end of the world; he must sail over stormy
seas, even ascend to heaven or descend to the kingdom of
the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all
sorts of heroic duels with whole clans of the most fearsome
foes -- duels encountered in the course of these peregrinations.
Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of
necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportun-
ity to find a wife nearby?
First of all, we shall note that the aforementioned term
an'gej nanygind, "to seek a wife," may lead one to think
that the ordinary mode of securing a wife for the heroes was
force, abduction. True, this, too, was done by them, but
most frequently they obtained their wives in the most
peaceful manner, without even paying anything. This is

/270 cont./

192 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
584 possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
585 and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[545] become related to only rich people. In the question of the
choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded
of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and,
consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even
in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in
matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
128 a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
556 women who were famous for their beauty, their skill, who
58 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents,
614 their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
marriage came to be practiced between members of alien
clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price,
which introduced into the institution of marriage the element
of purchase-sale: besides this, marriage between persons of
alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the pro-
cedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.
The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
• 192 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
584 come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match-
maker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride --
"future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms
for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With
orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and
bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
[194] na -- husband, and the bride -- an'gej. The term jokh,
which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely
inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure
of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of
orthodox marriage.

/270 cont./

584 orthodox marriage. For an arrangement concerning an orthodox
[194] /271/ marriage what a young girl thinks is even the special
584 term ulag'ind (passive clause vyrgyen).
Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom
584 the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the
582 father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister
of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained
separately by the norms of orthodox marriage. According
to this law, the husband on the side of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by
the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of
the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of
his closest askimak, the brother of his own daughter-in-law.
If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the ordla
584 n'tvuzk (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
602 marriage is considered the affair of his clan, these frequently
614 participate, in addition to these persons, several honored
clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy per-
[556] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing
[593] with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre-
quently, if the dalugan plus the rich bride price makes the
proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away
with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.
584 The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all
585 alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
584 nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the
[553] maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."
545 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married
584 man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself
584 goes to the father of the first wife, but often the latter
614 herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and
betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/270 cont./

584 orthodox marriage. For an arrangement concerning an orthodox
[194] /271/ marriage what a young girl thinks is even the special
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614 herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and
betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/275 cont./

584 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to s
583 although I have nothing.
584 Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me
thou not wish to help?
Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, i
so?
Pevn: Of course.
Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have
pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall als
have, is it not so?
Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Th
truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?
Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready
give the dowry.
After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks an
finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised t
give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I ha
son. Let us become akhmak'i."
To this Lakkan replies: I have already given my wo
others.
Pevn: What if you did give your word to another ma
You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will p
court with you.
583 After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to
[584] business negotiations concerning the bride price.
Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the b
price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak c
this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, l
lave, throws light on the very origin of the institution.
194 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by th
583 word as', as'r from asimynd (?) -- to give as a gift, so
• 192 literally as', as'r means a present, a gift, which the fam
or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan
the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is
from the following. In other ritual cases where compen
[628] with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of
ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a
murdered man -- the term used is us'kind, which means

1

9

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure G
(Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to th
Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the
wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, fro
which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to
Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Kho
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The
Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through
chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man
opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother kill
him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to
kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was the
that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; t
broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. Th
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations
(1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda s
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gily
● 191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language,
and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the m
part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hóinchá) came he
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchajl on the Amgu
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

192

192 VOCABULARY--paucity or richness of vocabulary; range of vocabulary in ordinary use; receptivity to loan words; elaboration of vocabulary in partic directions; special vocabularies (e.g., sacred words, slang, legal language technical words, occupational jargon); words and phrases with strong emoti connotations; etc. See also:

Place names 103
Glossaries of native words frequently used in descriptive accounts 104
Personal names 551
Kinship terms 601
Numerals 802
Native terms for plants and animals . . 824, 825

The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[38] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[39]

In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

[For information pertaining to the Gilyak
Union, category 116; p. 9.]

language, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet

1. Shternberg--401 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1903 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/273 cont./

"to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ uwkland = "to pay" is derived from the word uwkind, which in the middle voice is a synonym for "to fight." Thus uwkland literally means "to fight the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- uwkind was originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom -- peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered father, they ask him on his return: Pytk uwkind pyltd? -- "Did you fulfill uwkind for your father (literally uwkind -- fulfill), did you take vengeance?" He answers: "ain khukhtu!" -- "I killed them all." Here the term uwkind is used in the same context of the act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used in the sense of ransom. "Tyn nafsh uvkim -- "For their (clan composition) the paid damages, ransom."

From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-wedding gift to the groom, and those gifts of clothing common in various values for several years, and they were very often no less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pronte, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /ууг/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /котёл/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

2. Schrenck--228 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/129 cont./

purposes (2). Miller thought that their name was of Gilyak

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

2. Miller, Samml. Rus. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büching's Magaz. fir die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 515.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russian

4. In Gilyak "island" is pôlo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, /ланг/ -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of polo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. V, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1667 and based on the works of the two traveyors, Jewseiwof and Ladisin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schantarsky."

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

3. Shternberg--469 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1903 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/268 cont./

(man) and one none (only for tinder and flint).

8. Hunzh -- a tobacco pouch, ślno of dei'; for both men and women. Tobacco is placed in the pouch and the hunzh.

Sometimes husband and wife, or a wife and her husband, put their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

No bows, or talet, or songs (see recited -- pwrind).

On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and for children -- none-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. The men select a good tree, otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length: /227/ among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pirunkai), among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise. The second row, the second log, the second row feeds the deceased (ma ulgryvn achind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned -- tav mund, the yurt is swept, the fire is purified -- pagr mund; the sacrificial fire is prepared, and tugar amind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a classmang-- mos' is thrown into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog tied. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, tied to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "zryuk" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a reciprocal three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

2. Schrenck--226 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur, Ab.G.

/129 cont./

To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned name, which, in the Gilyak language, is considered here in passing. I believe that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, in the Tungusic Jesuit missionaries, Father Gerbillon sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian ang hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 282, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated into Russian.

If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu, the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the Amur region by the Tungusic inhabitants, who, from Nyuchi, by the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of the Japanese mention also seems also to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-tonsin, Ainoo). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunashir and Iturup, even in ancient times. The Japanese mention, in Jesso, Ainu women and girls also certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,

3. Shternberg--469 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1903 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/268 cont./

Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased with a hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach; they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the deceased. They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in the case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husband cuts off a piece of the head. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on the breast, and the guests come up one by one and smoke from this pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, or, finally, /226/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at his head a small sag-fish food, vodka, and cold water; the relatives come up from time to time, eat what has been put there, and again fill up the cup.

The deceased should not be dressed in garments made of leather or fur (skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fire, and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be given, for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garment for the deceased, the paid damages, ransom, of dei' and silin (see" and provided in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the women assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are sewed "tightly" or "not strongly is a sin -- "ulgyt." The deceased should not be washed.

The deceased is dressed in the following garments:

1. Ulgyt, bare, but unfailingly without wadding; no belt; no modesty pants.

2. Pwr' -- leggings.

3. Ki -- boots of dei'; of the same shape for men and women; the tops are short; the soles are also of dei'; they are put on the naked foot.

4. Tighy -- a hat also of dei'; the hat looks like a child's hat with the hood backwards.

5. Vlmyuh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sleeve coverings.

6. Ochuh hir -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of dei'; three fingers in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.

7. Vigyr' -- a belt, a piece of simple dei'; white in color, or, for the poor, a piece of sealskin (chekmhar) of dei' (for

4. Schrenck--278 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Orochi

/136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ukiyan in the Tumnin Valley, very well-versed in his native language, gave me the names of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Orochi languages, named the Amur, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kikhal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /Deriuzhin/ Bay. There has already been mentioned some tribes above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kiku-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name in /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we continue to discuss the Gilyak name for Sakhalin, I would show the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with slight modification, also among the Udegeh that the Ainu borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are in close proximity to the Ainu, and there have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi paning through Goldi territory; between the Ussuri and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a long stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interest of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Sirannuni, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- the Japanese mention, in Jesso and Ainu as well, as living by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

4. Schrenck--302 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/321 cont./

2. (cont.)

Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the people in these parts to build in the kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Rus.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russian in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

house or Chinese winter yurt. The earth yurt, tovrl of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing than a move for less spacious, lasting tent. The tent is sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams. Around it there is erected a prustvnul /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration Appear here./ Only at the peaks of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c). Likewise roofed over with beams, it is made of branches and dry grass, in which, at both ends, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

/321 cont./

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Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the people in these parts to build in the kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Rus.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russian in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

house or Chinese winter yurt. The earth yurt, tovrl of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing than a move for less spacious, lasting tent. The tent is sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams. Around it there is erected a prustvnul /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration appears here./ Only at the peaks of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c). Likewise roofed over with beams, it is made of branches and dry grass, in which, at both ends, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

1. The Gilyak call this cape "Piiu-wangi," i.e., Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly promontory, where we were, "Mamch-Wangi" -- Little Wangi.

#467 cont. /

#200 (192) ...ashed in much as possible. The house is provided with windows (1) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two longitudinal walls; the and the rear transverse wall each have two, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1); very often,

#201 however, only one in the front transverse wall is absent, as, for example, in the Tebach house standing in the foreground on Plate XI, and not infrequently the other transverse wall and the two longitudinal wall have only one window each, which is then always placed unsymmetrically closer to one or the other corner of the house; in fact, in the smaller houses even the window in the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even these, because of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficiently. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size; sometimes somewhat wider than high, or vice versa. They have no #202 crossbars, but instead only a number of vertical little sticks equal in distance from one another, and fish bladders take the place of glass between them. In particular these are skins from Salmo Lagocephalus Pallas-hycha, or, on Sakhalin, Salmo-tscho (2).

#192 2. Known by the Russians throughout Siberia under the name ...

the most common kind of kitchen in the Amur River, made as thin and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag. #342 The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole frame. The door inside the house consists of stamped clayey #343 mass. To the right and left of the entrance are the two hearths (c, Gilyak: ...) made of clay. They are fed through square

2. Schenck—467 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

#201 cont. /

#344 ... chimneys. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three village#345 lages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the south of Pogibi. In Dibengi, coming from the north, one encountered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the south of Tatsun-tsego, which consisted of one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulki (1),

#346 in Gisha it is called Jordon-tsig-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamlin-wo, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

#347 2. Gilyks found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlatch, or tamlamch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

#348 ...ochadyf villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, in Tymovo or Poro-yo, on the east coast of Sakhalin, and then go northward beyond this village and given only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small #349 ...ngf village, Mumh-wo (in Gilyks, Mutyr), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more nehadyf villages, Tumi-wo and Ngyw-wo (in Gilyks, Ngyd), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the Mif-ryh, as the Gilyak designated it to me). According to its location on the small bay which #350 Krusenstern called Nadezhda Bay, Ngyw-wo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

2. Schenck—470 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

#438 cont. /

#439 (a, comb.)

#440 (b, p. 86), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pallekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating of raven that had been shot.

#441 ... Ethnographisches Notizblatt, Jahrg. I, Heft 1, p. 7.

#442 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, especially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy themselves with gutting them by a method which is very ingenious and cut in trade from the head to the tail near the spine on the right side and on the belt side with a knife with a long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1), and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head; then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them is cut into two long strips, each of which has a rib attached to the upper #443 rod, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is #444 the ...hokda (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, ...hokda is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

#445 Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few #446 ...ctebestas must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not #447 ...ment gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks #448 ...tossed up by the sea in winter and early spring. For example, #449 ...on the west coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina #450 ...venustra (Gilyak tak-mih (8), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

3. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

#451 ...mnghanni-wellach (6), and a third mussel, which they called #452 ...

6. Ind., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a small shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the mnghanni-wellach is called ...ngang-wellach, and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose animals they eat and at the same time praised them as being "sweet as sugar."

2. Schenck—474 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

#460 cont. /

#461 (a, comb.)

#462 (b, p. 86), in eaten with relish and in great quantities, but #463 ...does not replace the human food, which is, moreover, better, too, #464 ...such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. #465 ...(Gilyak ...-ntch), etc., are occasionally eaten; but are not #466 ...important.

#467 The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., (Gilyak #468 ...ghyrnyn) and the Lonicera edulis Turczaninow, or also Lonicera #469 ...edulis, i.e., "large berry" (3), provides a tasty dish for the

#470 (1). Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Gilyak (2) called ...ghyrnyn-tsig-wo, which one may see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," Bd. I, Abtheilung 1, 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St.-Pét., VIIe série, Tome XII, No. 1), p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

#471 (2). The fruit has the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ...ngang by them and by the Orok.

#472 (3). The fruit of the Lonicera edulis is called ...ngang by them and by the Orok.

#473 Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, #474 ...though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very #475 ...distinguished Gilyak, the hero of a bear festival which I attended #476 ...in the winter of 1858 in the village of Tebach, still had the #477 ...remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the #478 ...Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. He ate it sometimes with meat #479 ...but seldom the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

2. Schenck—474 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

#461 cont. /

#480 ...prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe, #481 ...finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The #482 ...Gilyak (1) also gathered the leaves for food, a few years ago, #483 ...bilobee roots, Cornus Chinensis L. (Gilyak chiwutch) (2), and

#484 (1). Among the Olcha: chiy.

a tree more, Ulmus (Gilyak nehwatch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and gaita (blue) nehwatch), for food by #485 ...making soup out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vege#486 ...table food for the Gilyak, which, however, only very rarely and #487 ...only in the extremity of hunger, they eat. Among the Gilyak, which they #488 ...call tscheilach (8), and the Laminaria saccharina (Gilyak ...ponch).

#489 Gilyak. The Sigo, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I #490 ...repeatedly can be seen in the coastal waters of Sakhalin, put in the #491 ...kettle till frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to #492 ...form a mass which is very tasty and nourishing.

#493 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the #494 ...Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruit #495 ...of the Pinus pumila L. as food, and of the cedar or cedar (Gilyak tchyh) #496 ...primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by

#497 (2). Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tami (Pinus pedos) and chiyf (Pinus cembra) ...

#498 handfuls, like the sufeen berries, without first crushing the #499 ...kernels or the husk, and removing the shells. The latter is like#500 ...wise not done with the cedar nuts, which are made out of them. In this #501 ...connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, #502 ...with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

#503 ...of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, #504 ...for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria tarmschatensis #505 ...Gawl. (Gilyak tachy and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak ...pot), #506 ...which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage #507 ...chambers. Likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. #508 ...(Gilyak tschuch), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ...ghyr), #509 ...and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tulu, #510 ...salaha, #451/ ...nyya, pimu, ...ayzis, etc. Some bulbs, such as those #511 ...of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak ...pot), are cooked in fish oil or seal oil, #512 ...of Allium, ...are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as #513 ...seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Aino busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artifically rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

#422 While the natural vegetable products discussed above are #423 of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are available to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater variety and variety of their diet, and in some of them #424 ...even supply the place of fish oil or seal oil, the Gilyak also #425 ...eat many things, which, from the point of view of the European, are not at all edible, and which, moreover, are not enough to satisfy #426 ...the hunger of the Gilyak, and which, moreover, they even prevent starvation,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/444 Cont.

resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they became acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that they do not have any independent designation for it, but generally adopt modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation for salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dialect Dongolian: dabasun (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

1. Klaproth, *Asia polyglotta*, p. 298: Spachaltan (Lingoistic Atlas) p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Dunchenen, engaged in agriculture, livestock breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the month of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Usuri, from where they were transplanted to the Chancha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak — certainly present day ones that we are etymological need for it.

Sugar, sugar (Gilyak nakn), on the other hand, finds great approval among them, and so too, in the form in which they became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian/sachar/?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a little money, it is not in any way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/446 Cont.

bowls, are cates from wooden bowls, Gilyak munk-nagr (2) (?).

2. Nagr means bowl in general.

Nagr means bowl in general.

XXXIII; Fig. 8), and, to be more, more often nobody drank than eats with spoons. The Gilyak spoons are made of wood, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak ex-nagr (3)

3. The ŋ is left in this word and is to be pronounced like the French ŋ.

/447 Cont.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Tebakh, is represented in the table, Fig. 6. These two their origin among the Gilyak more to the imitative instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to trifling Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

As one may always observe, the bulk of the household and table equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood or birch bark. Earthenware is quite unknown to them, and they prefer make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contact with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for it not a single piece of it, usually one or several of the cups with which they are, in the case, also for eating the above-mentioned kinds of grain, though they are not by any means /447/ implemented used exclusively in connection with their festivals, as might be, since they have from their erotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these man-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Gilyak, all the other above-mentioned vessels made fundamentally by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, moreover, they remain of the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively at the bear festivals. For the above-mentioned cups, the vessels prescribed above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to

/463 Cont.

Kerbler (1) and Krahenninikof (2). I came across just a few

1. Reise durch die vom Lande Kamschatka, pp. 78-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki (Description of Kamchatka)" (Mem. sobr. ukaz. Sibirskogo gos. komit. Vol. I, pp. 208 ff.).

Gone across just a little of Kamchatka, and, in the case of the Gilyak (2). Even tea,

3. I am thinking here only of beverages for pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among the Gilyak, on the other hand, I know more that they gather in the forest and call mogo-drying — in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be dyed in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

Even tea, Chinese tea, which, in the case of the Gilyak, is not a beverage for pleasure, but an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from another source, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained their liquor, the so-called sake, and even learned how to make a weak sake themselves (1), but the stronger and presumably cheaper

1. Ainu?, Ochots^ ^ov. Yaskaina, p. 142. Ainovskoi, Zapiski-vost. Sibir^, Perface, p. 58.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Nevertheless, in the year 1869, a "Tri-ŋan kiko" (Kiebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

/463 Cont.

1. (cont.)

Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently, and, in the case of the Gilyak, it is not to be expected that one may travels on it, or

Schrenck's and Gilyak's

They did not come across it and considered it, when they saw the drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other people of this mainland. Under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) arak or arki, also sometimes spelled the Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Castrén's ethnological works, where, I trust, see, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araki, arnaki, etc.

Undoubtedly liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread among them, as among the Mongolian peoples, like the Gilyak, and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must have soon been introduced in the Gilyak, Orok, etc. The latter, to be sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from another source, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained their liquor, the so-called sake, and even learned how to make a weak sake themselves (1), but the stronger and presumably cheaper

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/468 Cont.

1. (cont.)

the Manchu (tamyakn) and Mongolo (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too, that, among the Gilyak and Orok, it is called tamyakn, or tamachu, among the Gilyak tamyakh, among the Ainu tamyakn.

Gilyak, Orok, Tungus, Manchurian Tobacco, had spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the south and from the north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Gilyak, Orok, and other tribes of the lower Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders, as well as many other peoples of the lower Amur region (1). Nevertheless, up

1. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the future, tobacco was cultivated in some quantities in the village of peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian Cossacks and other Russians, and then also only a larger, but especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Orok, etc. what made it especially popular among them it to much greater strength or acrimony in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as on big for cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

Tobacco was cultivated among the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe

Tobacco is an annual plant, which is cultivated throughout China and countries of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

/476 Cont.

1. (cont.)

Dutch versch: Pyzo, des Ilars, Bricks Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire (Vol. II, p. 46), the Orkyak on the lower Olb also keep tobacco, and, probably, but always feed them in the yurt.

The Ainu

of the Sakhalin on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as I was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

Dogs are kept by the Gilyak for a particular use and nature. In comparison with the Ainu-Sakhalin name, as the sled used for traveling on dog is called by the Russian, the Gilyak sled is larger, lighter, distinguished by a different type of harness, as a result of a flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always well proportionately wider than long, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions of the sled, and, in particular, the runners. I had every opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak people, who had arrived with Udeyevsk on temporary quarters and even had permission to spend their sleds in a corridor of it, after had been the Gilyak people, who, while they stayed in their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, consisted of the runners (Fig. 1, Ind the following /476/ principal dimensions: the length from one end of the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 6", the height in the middle (including the protective sides to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 13 times longer than wide and 12 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, in construction is the following: the narrow and thin sides / runners (Gilyak: tonkn), p. in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle and bent upward at both ends, the latter being much greater than upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily, to protect them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside

/476 Cont.

company middendorff undertook his journey through the northern steppe of the Russian mountains from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Upper Amur, and whom, among all the peoples of Siberia, this general designation best fits. Corresponding, however, to the greater prosperity and polish of the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region in contrast to their Siberian fellow-tribesmen, their ski, too, especially those of the Gold and Samagir, are finer, more artistically and artistically made, so that they probably represent the highest degree of perfection that has yet been achieved for this implement. They are longer and proportionately wider than the sled of the Gilyak ski. The length can be given only in general terms and approximately, for, in fact, they cause the rule is that they must always be the length of the individual the when they are intended — a rule which, of course, is not always observed. In spite of their larger dimensions, the Gilyak ski, which, to be sure, is not simply call them — the Gilyak call them /477/ i.e., Samagir ski — are much lighter than the Gilyak ski because of the extreme thinness of the board. This thinness of the board and the peculiar, slightly wavy shape that is imparted to it during the bending result in the extraordinary flexibility of this ski. As one can see from the illustration

/477 Cont.

1. (cont.)

Gilyk: ŋaŋ; ŋ — upper, shovel-shaped end, ŋ — middle part of the sole, Gilyk: nelkrap; ŋ — tip of lower end, Gily. ŋaŋ.

/477 Cont.

1. (cont.)

Gilyk: ŋaŋ; ŋ — upper, shovel-shaped end, ŋ — middle part of the sole, Gilyk: nelkrap; ŋ — tip of lower end, Gily. ŋaŋ.

/484 cont./

[482] 237 [483] 238 [484] 239 [485] 240 [486] 241 along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rather, of one thinks of the considerable length of the latter, with a second pair of sides, the pieces being fastened together by in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden pegs, or (much the happy reverse) of wooden, by means of leather straps to the main sides. The side-mountings are usually likewise of wood and can easily be replaced when need be. In the spring, when, when the snow melting in the ran sticks to the wooden sides and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mountings, some made of of whalebone (Gilyak [illegible]), the sides, wooden protective sides are covered with a whalebone plate, as in the illustration, or, more generally, with a sealskin, where this material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic feature of the

1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 198), these quite long whalebone plates come from the jaws of whale which the Gilyak call kalto and which presumably is balaena australis (Desm.) Lesson, or at least the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud.

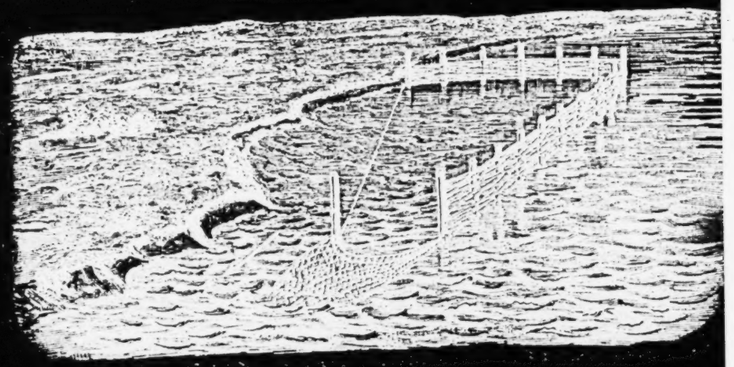
Gilyak kayak, the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sleds, especially for travel over sea ice which is covered with salt crystals that have separated out (Vosnesf., Putesh. po nav., Ser. Ib. 1. pp [illegible]. Bone / Jawbone along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, VI, II, p. 28). According to the information given by A. Schrenk in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as bone skates, were formerly used in several regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut, and

/484 cont./

[487] 242 [488] 243 [489] 244 [490] 245 [491] 246 [492] 247 [493] 248 [494] 249 [495] 250 [496] 251 [497] 252 [498] 253 [499] 254 [500] 255 [501] 256 [502] 257 [503] 258 [504] 259 [505] 260 [506] 261

/529 cont./

226 92 thin cord, initially single, but very soon divided into three strings which are attached by their ends, at about half the length of the net, to its opposite wall. When the net is to be set up, its lower end is drawn together into a bag by means of a strap, it is weighted with stones above at the lower edge of the bag opening, and, by means of the cords on it, it is fastened to the above-mentioned myr piles, whereby the side of the net equipped with the slit in its upper part is turned toward the middle of the river, and the opposite one toward the bank. In order to give the net more support and also in order to pull it out later, a long, thick cord runs from the opening of the bag to the bank and is fastened there to a pile. /530/ Once the net is set up, a Gilyak stations himself in a boat at its exterior point of attachment at the end of the second row of piles and holds the signal cord in his hand, putting each part of it between two fingers. The salmon ascending along the bank and now coming upon the willow plaiting built out crosswise to them find no way through it and, in order to get around it, crowd along the plaiting running downstream and thereby get into the net. This is made known to the Gilyak



A salmon-weir (Gilyak myr) in the Amur River.

on guard by a pulling and tugging on the signal cords, and, as soon as he can assume from the repeated and strong tension on them that the net is

/530 cont./

226 171 648 Tymy River; no less understandable, however, is the harm that they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of their river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living permanently in the Amur, such as carp, eelpout, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets during the /531/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, under the ice, in the same way as sturgeon is then caught. In the calm, lake-like wide places with a muddy bottom, of which there are many along the banks of the Amur River, and which are always connected with it by a more or less swampy branch of the river or a small watercourse, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish, which are abundant in these small basins.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its great importance for some of the Gilyak, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the kangi fishing along the west and east [136] coasts of Sakhalin. The importance of the kangi fish (Gadus wachnja Pall.) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above (p. 653 ff.). The vast quantities in which they appear directly under the ice of the sea permits the Gilyak to employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All [192] they need for this is a span-long iron hook (Gilyak kätsch-kossj, Pl. XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 1) hung on a cord about three feet long which can be moved up and down by means of a wooden handle. The Gilyak sitting beside the hole in the ice casts with this short fishing-rod without any bait, in that he lets it down into the water and immediately draws it up again, pulling one fish after another onto the ice. In the few minutes that I stood by -- it was on February 27 (March 10), 1856, near Arkai on the west coast of Sakhalin -- my Gilyak pulled out several dozen fish, which the hook had sometimes caught at the gill flaps and sometimes at the lower jaw or the mouth. Some fir branches

/532 cont./

286 uniform in shape. Nevertheless, as we shall see in a moment, only a few, about four, can be distinguished among them as the most important and most practicable sizes on the basis of the principal types of fish. But before we discuss them in more detail, consideration must be given to one instrument which is used by the Gilyak for knotting all nets, no matter how fine or coarse they may be, for an uninterrupted and an even flow of the work. This is the so-called pork (Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 7) -- a wooden reel revolving around its axis, with two arms at the top and at the bottom, on which the cord for the net is wound and which is hung by its lower handle-end on a ceiling beam of the /533/ yurt or elsewhere, so that the threads required as the work progresses always run smoothly and unchecked to the knotter.

The two most important tools used by the Gilyak for net- [192] knotting are a peculiar netting-needle, Gilyak kilks (1) (Pl.

1. Among the Olcha it is called ssarpol, and among the Goldi ssarfo.

XLI /see p.1021/, Figs. 1-4), and a rectangular wooden board called kiwu (2) (ibid., Figs. 5 and 6). The former consists of

[104]

2. The w in this word is pronounced like the English w. Among the Olcha the kiwu is called keror or kerul.

a long, narrow, and thin wooden plate, the lower end of which is two-pronged as a result of the cutting out of a section, while in the upper half two long cutouts running parallel to the edges and meeting just short of the tip, leaves a long prong in between reaching almost to the tip, which I shall call the upper prong to distinguish it from the two on the lower end. The cord to be used for making the net, unwinding from the above-mentioned reel, is wound around these three prongs, and, indeed, in such a manner that it is alternately slung around the one and the other of the two lower prongs and, in between, always around the upper prong.

/533 cont./

286 Wound in this manner, the kilks, like a shuttle, moves from one
192 side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, knotting its meshes. But in order to make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be there only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

286 The larger the meshes of a net are to be, the larger must
192 be the instruments used in making it, the kilks and the kiwu.
226 The net used for catching hausen (patch-tscho) and occasionally
225 also for seals -- Gilyak patch-kä -- has the largest meshes and, correspondingly, is made out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the netting needle, Fig. 4, called patch-kä-kilks by the Gilyak (also tolles-kilks and kerwagn-kä-kilks), and the corresponding mesh-board, patch-kä-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukki-kä, follows: tukki-kä-kilks (also jaghsin-kä-kilks), Fig. 3, and tukki-kä-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kä-kilks or also nokn-kä-kilks, is used for making the nets with which such fish as pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimk (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), kych, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, was designated for me by the Gilyak as myrch-kä-kilks, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (myrch-kä) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added,
286 however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for
226 catching the tengi, S. proteus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, such as S. proteus in particular, do not require finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

/534 cont./

226 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily
286 slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the myrch-kä, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

[192] 1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it chalang.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While
227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark
[286] floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

/536 cont./

Gi 226 hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it
184 certain that they will prefer methods of fishing that are less
Gi 226 common among the Gilyak. For example, the /537/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden
Gi 226 clog, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular
184 among the Olcha and even more among the Goldi, both on the
Gi 226 Amur and in particular on the Ussuri, and, judging by the striking
184 correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of
Gi this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1),
Gi
[192] 1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called tschabch by the Gilyak, tschaghbe by the Olcha and Goldi; the main rope fastened to the bottom by means of it is called tyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the clog equipped with the hook is called kita by the former, kuital and kuitzale by the latter.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the teachers of their Tungusic neighbors, have borrowed this method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic in comparison with the Gilyak is the preference of the Olcha and in particular the Goldi for catching sturgeon and hausen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XLI /p.1021/, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (tschak) is very similar to that of the Olcha-Goldi (dshogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from their Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much simpler one-pronged harpoon, the tugngy, was probably theirs originally. In the
Gi 226 preference of the Olcha and Goldi for this method of fishing,
[224] which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, their Tungusic hunter-nature is clearly to be seen.
Gi Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the boldness, ease, and
[501] adroitness with which they glide over the water in small

/544 cont./

225 Along the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunti
184 takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in
[192] general as long as there is an ice-cover, the Gilyak lie in wai
[221] for the seals at the places where they come to the surface of t ice to breathe, in order to kill them with the ordinary harpoon the tugngy (2) (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 2), also used for spear

2. This designation primarily refers to the iron point illustrated, but it is also used for the entire harpoon equipped with a pole for hurling it.

sturgeon and hausen, or, when they have crawled out on the i itself, to cut them off from the water /545/ and simply club t The latter can be done more often and to a greater extent in t spring, because then the seals are said to enjoy coming out on the surface of the ice to sun themselves. Both the Tschomi
[221] Gilyak whom I met in Poghobi and the inhabitants of Tägl on mainland coast of the Sea of Okhotsk told me that the month April, arkail-long, was the month in which more productive s hunting begins along the seacoast and in the Liman. In the A on the other hand, seal-hunting is practiced only when the riv has no ice, and, to be sure, especially in August, the pilja-tschrar-long, because then the seals go into the river in greate numbers in order to feed on the masses of keta salmon (S. lago cephalus) going up it. There is a similar situation at the mou of the Tymy on Sakhalin, where not only the Gilyak and Orok living there, but also the Gilyak coming from the upper cours of the Tymy to fish, engage in seal-hunting as well as fishing For the former and in open water everywhere, in the sea as wel
[192] as in the Amur-Liman and the Amur River, the Gilyak some-times use the ordinary harpoon (tugngy, Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fi 2), which is hurled from the boat, and sometimes, and most often, another weapon intended especially for seal-hunting, w is called lych among them. It consists of a board about a foo long, which rises a little in front and runs out into a horizonta

/517 cont./

226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
96 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
226 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with
501 one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
192 automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
194 to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

/518 cont./

226 in general the same everywhere. But the individual peoples
[17] prefer one or another method of fishing, according to their nature and the local conditions in their part of the river. The Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are knotted with large meshes and very strong twine so as not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay closer to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get along with a simple, longish-quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out in the channel of the
/519/ river with this net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper ends of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current against the ascending fish. If the surface of the river is calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swirling of the water, etc., and guide their boats with the net between
[192] them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has become entangled in it, the wooden float affected gives notice of it, and now both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak schabtschamrch, Pl. XI /see p.1020/, Fig. 2) and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and
[411] taken to land to be killed there. The proper club for this is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

/519 cont./

226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance
/520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed as far apart as the diameter of the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal strings in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

[227]

1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

[227] illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
[532] ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long, flat, wooden staff curved slightly upward toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/521 cont./

226 Among the Gilyak this fishing is done in the following way. An
[192] anchor (Gilyak tschabch) consisting of a branched tree-root, or of three wooden pegs connected with one another in the manner shown on Plate XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 10, and fastened to a stone between them, is lowered into the deep channel of the river by a rope (Gilyak tyk) (2) plaited out of willow bast and

2. Perhaps tyk merely means "rope" in general.

many fathoms long. Extending from this thick rope at certain intervals are thinner and shorter bast cords, and at the end of each one there is fastened a wooden clog (Gilyak kita, ibid., Fig. 9) equipped with a pointed and sharply ground iron hook. From the upper end of each of these clogs a thin string runs to the surface of the water where it bears a wooden or bark float. At certain intervals stones are tied to the main rope so that it will remain lying on the river bed, while the clogs with their iron hooks float some distance above it and, thanks to the floats, assume a more or less vertical or slanting position. Finally, at the very end of the main rope, which is lowered into the water last as the apparatus is being set up, a heavy wooden block is attached as a float, which makes the end of the rope easy to find at any time. The fish going up the river run into the clogs, push past them or even play with them, injure themselves in doing so, thrash about, and only remain ever more firmly hung on the hooks, as is revealed by the movements of the corresponding wooden floats. As soon as the Gilyak notice this, they come along in the boats, wind up the rope from the floating wooden block, and lift the fish into the boat by means of the hooks described above.

226 In fishing for sturgeon and hausen, the Gilyak use the
411 harpoon, though again less frequently than the net, simply because, as was said above, they move on the water with great caution and not too easily and boldly. The fish-harpoons customarily used among them are of two kinds: one consists of a simple iron point equipped with a couple of barbs, which

/525 cont./

226 The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and
[114] S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and
/526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish
192 especially important for the economy of the Gilyak are, of
805 course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

/526 cont./

226 192 805

1. (cont.)
it seems to me that in these as well as in the following designations for the months the first expression refers to the first and still sparse appearance of the fish concerned, and the latter to the main or mass appearance of it.

during which the lyghi-tscho (S. lagocephalus) goes up the Amur River in colossal numbers and the activity of the entire population is required for the preparation of winter supplies, is called among the Gilyak lyghi-wota-long or pilja-tschrar- (2), or simply

2. The word "tschrar" is undoubtedly related to "tscho," fish.

pilja-long, i.e., the "great fish-month," or also simply "great month." This latter designation gives especially convincing evidence of the great importance which S. lagocephalus has for the entire economy of the Gilyak. In comparison with June and especially with August, July is only poor for fish. Among the species of fish peculiar to it S. lycaodon (Gilyak well, the nerka of the Russians) is the most prominent. This species of salmon, however, only plays a certain role farther upstream, among the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed at the appropriate place, but for the Gilyak it is of no special importance, inasmuch as it does not appear by far in such quantities as S. proteus or even S. lagocephalus and does not provide as good and as long-lasting a jukola as these do; indeed, in view of the certain quantities of lyghi-tscho to be expected soon, the Gilyak regard it as useless and not worth the trouble /527/ to prepare jukola supplies from the well. In contrast to August, the "great fish-month," July is therefore called by the Gilyak matschn-

/527 cont./

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tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

[128]

1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

226 The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nyi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and children participate in this work, and within a short time one boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken. While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces, drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

[251] [252] [462] [462] 227 [192]

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227 192

quadrangular net is called tschessk and, depending on the size of its meshes, is a lyghi-tschessk or a tengi-tschessk; another one was named for me as kyrn-kä and likewise distinguished as lyghi-kyrn-kä and a tengi-kyrn-kä (1), etc.

1. Kä in Gilyak means "net" in general.

226 In order to catch greater quantities of the ascending fish without much trouble, weirs are erected from the bank into the river for the purpose of deflecting the fish from the direction of their migration and directing them into a bag net set up alongside. For this, places are chosen on higher banks in the vicinity of a projecting tongue of land, where there is a stronger current and, as is known from experience, the fish usually ascend in great multitudes. /529/ The nature of such a salmon weir, called myr among the Gilyak, is the following. From the bank a series of piles one fathom apart is driven out into the river, and from the end of it, at a right angle, a second, shorter stretch running downstream is driven into the river bottom. The spaces between the piles are then so closely interwoven with osier switches from the surface of the water as far down as possible that the fish can find no exit. Between the lower end of the row of piles running downstream and a single post standing some distance from it and closer to the bank, the bag net, the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is fastened. This has the shape of a long funnel very gradually becoming narrower toward the bottom: a specimen from the village of Tschcharbach that I measured, spread out on the ground, had a length of six and a half meters and a width of three meters at the upper end and one and a half meters at the lower one. From the upper edge of this funnel-shaped net, equipped with two parallel willow-bast cords, a slit in the net about 12 decimeters long runs down along one side, and on each of the two tips thus formed along the edge of the funnel are put two cords, which, like the similar cord found diametrically opposite them, serve for fastening the net to the appropriate piles. Furthermore, from one of the above-mentioned tips there extends the signal cord (Gilyak umyssj), a

[192] [192]

/503 cont./

very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too, with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surface, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/503 cont./

396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.

[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounded blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII

501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

[114] 1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the objects transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From

114 501 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 1855, when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Ussuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/504 cont./

114 501 proved to be leaking, and all the efforts of the workers to pair them were in vain. I now saw that through the roug incorrect handling the side boards were more or less torn detached from the bottom board along their entire length amount of hammering, plugging, and calking the seams help any longer -- one of the boats had to be given up al and I reached the nearest Gilyak village in the other only great effort and constant, strenuous bailing. There, in S I bought a new, somewhat larger boat, which I treated fr then on in accordance with its construction and entrusted to Gilyak hands for repairs when needed. And it served m very well, for in the same year I not only went up the Ar and Ussuri and back again to Nikolayevsk in it, but, in th following year, also up the entire Amur and a large part Argunj /Argun/ until I was forced by the drifting ice and cold to abandon it near the village of Mulatscha on the A

501 [192] Entirely different from the oars, the Gilyak steering (Gilyak menj) is provided with an elongated narrow blade at the upper end with a short transverse handle (ibid., Fig As a rule, the Gilyak steer the boat by hand. In order to helm more support in high waves or a strong current, how a short loop of cord or an upright semicircular strip throug the steering oar can be stuck is found at the rear edge of board on which the helmsman sits.

[192] The Gilyak boat does not have a mast. Instead of the Gilyak, if they want to sail, which rarely happens, u two poles tied crosswise (Gilyak kyrsh), which are stuck b their lower ends into corresponding /505/ holes in the sid of the boat, while two long lines running from the upper

[192] are slung around the hindmost crosspiece in the boat. Th (Gilyak tulatsch) consists of a square piece sewed togethe of fish skins, which is attached by corners to the upper en the above-mentioned cross-mast, but at each of the lowe ones is provided with a sheet to haul in and to stretch or l the sail as desired. With such inadequate equipment it is standable that the Gilyak are no masters or heroes at sail

/505 cont./

501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the [114] Olcha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen [157] in my boat always became mortally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind, in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to [192] the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sham-[484] edges (Gilyak ardsch) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of [114] the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These [171] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

/545 cont./

prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Ulsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lych held in readiness (2).

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

224 /551 cont./

and Tro Gilyak paghlant and paghlantsch, i.e., the red one) in its different color variations (1).

[104] 1. Concerning the designations for these color variations of the fox among the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples, as well as the kinds and the geographic distribution of both the mammals named and those still to be named in the following, one should read my pertinent discussion of the first volume of this work.

The Gilyak for the most part catch the sable, unquestionably standing first in importance, with traps. The one most commonly used is the so-called ha, a pinch-trap /Quetschfalle/, which is set up in the following manner. In the trunk of a tree, at a height of about three or four feet above the ground, a hollow is made, and in it the end of a beam of corresponding thickness is stuck and supported by a little stick resting upon another little wooden stick or plate, which starts at the bait at the bottom of the hollow. As soon as the animal lured by the bait, a piece of fish (jukola) or seal blubber, nibbles at it, the little supporting stick slides off its base and lets the beam fall. But in order that the latter pinch the animal more firmly and securely, the edge of the hollow lying under it is framed by a small wooden crosspiece. The ha is naturally set up at places which the sable likes to visit, in particular in the bottoms of valleys, on the banks of small rivers, in which case the pinch-beam is laid across the brook, because sables like to use fallen tree trunks as bridges in order to cross over from one slope of a valley to the other (2). Thus,

[192] [191]

2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 101) even maintains, having often observed it, he says, in the tracks of this animal, that the sable never goes around a fallen

/551 cont./

224

2. (cont.)

tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

[192] [191] [113]

1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

[114] 3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

224 [114] /552 cont./

3. (cont.)

others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among the Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ constructed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberia, has already been described and illustrated many times by travelers (4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not seem

[191]

4. Recently, for instance, by Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar use among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them for its individual components in comparison with those, in part identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly with the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap in question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears the name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gilyak puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral notches in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together in the form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (d, Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lower, pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, into which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, of the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring, is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautness of the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply called ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ generalization such as is not often found among them otherwise, and, correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two side staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the movements of the ku is called kurschoögr)tich (1). A small stick (f,

224 [136] 224 192

[104]

1. The letters in parentheses are only

224 192 [104] /553 cont./

1. (cont.)

barely pronounced, like a faint growl.

Gilyak tschymrch), fastened to the side staffs as well as to the bowstring, serves for stretching the bow, and another (h, Gilyak ksull), which is connected with the former by a cord (g, ksullpuks), holds it taut, which is possible only as long as it is itself supported at its lower end on a thin stick (i, Gilyak taghr-tschissj) inserted into the cutouts in the side staffs between ku and lyms. The slightest pressure on it is sufficient to make the little stick h fly off, whereupon the taut bowstring is released and shoots the ku down to the lyms, tightly clamping anything found in between. In order to set up the klai, the Gilyak first make a hollow in a tree trunk directly above the snow, into which they put some jukola or seal blubber as bait, and then stick the trap under discussion in the snow in front of it in such a way that the animal can only reach the bait by way of the wooden step i and thus inevitably must be caught. In the klai, also, aside from sable, the above-mentioned, worthless small animals are all too often caught. According to the Gilyak, they sometimes also use this trap in their dwellings in order to catch in them the very numerous and annoying rats (Mus decumanus, Gilyak njagrsch), which, by the way, are not used in any way among them.

Taking advantage of the above-mentioned fondness of the sable to run the length of tree trunks felled across a brook, the Gilyak set up snares on them to catch the little animal. For this purpose, in about the middle of the trunk, a cross row of upright sticks more or less hidden by the tree branches is set up and only a single opening just large enough for the sable to slip through is left between them. Not far from them an upright flexible tree branch is stuck in the bottom of the stream, and the tip of it is bent down to the horizontal trunk by means of a string ending in a noose and is fastened in the opening left for the sable between the cross-sticks, in which the noose, too, is found, with the help of a little hook. The latter, since the opening is small, must inevitably fly off when the sable enters it, whereupon the bent branch jerks upward and the noose tightens around the

/553 cont./

224 animal and lifts it off the beam so that it hangs in the air above the brook and in this position is kept safe from beasts of prey. The hunter, therefore, even in case of a delayed inspection of the traps set by him, does not lose his catch. As customary as this method of catching sable, which is also used by other Amur and Siberian peoples, may be among the Gilyak, I never happened to come across it and am unable to give their name for it.

[171] [171]

Furthermore the Gilyak pursue both the previously named especially precious animals and some others by means of an apparatus which /554/ has much in common with the above-described clamp-trap and, though likewise known throughout Siberia, must be discussed here in greater detail for the reasons already stated. It is the so-called self-firer /Selbstschuss/ (Russian ssamostrel) (1), a bow which at the slightest touch shoots

[192]

1. It is very indicative of the common principle of these two devices that the clamp-trap, which is generally called tscherkan in Russian, is also called ssamostrel in the Orenburg Gouvernement, according to Tscherkassof (Zapiski okhotnika Vostochnoi Sibiri /Notes of a Hunter in Eastern Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 336).

(2)

224 off an arrow. Among the Gilyak it is called ngarchotsch and has 192 the following nature. A simple wooden bow, as in the case of the clamp-trap, is fastened at its center to a wooden crosspiece (Pl. XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 1, c, Gilyak ksull) (2), on which

2. The identification in the naming of this piece with the small wooden piece h in the klai is most striking; we would rather expect such a one with the fork sticks (assj) of the klai.

/554 cont./

224 the arrow to be shot (d) lies. By means of a looped cord put in
•192 its upper part and a little stick f (Gilyak tschyhrch) bent in a right angle (cut from a branch) and likewise fastened to it, the bow is stretched and through that the upper end of the arrow lying in front of the stretched bowstring is pressed so strongly against its support that it cannot slip off even if the whole apparatus were inclined. Finally, when the bow is stretched, a small piece of wood (Gilyak wett(a)k, g and Fig. 2, ibid., natural size) (3),

3. In this figure, it is shown in a reversed position, the upper side turned downward.

equipped with a long and as fine a cord as possible, is inserted by its upper, flatly pointed, and polished end at the upper end of the tension stick and the looped cord. A slight pull on the cord of this little piece of wood (h, Gilyak tschoch) is sufficient to make it fly off, whereupon the looped cord also slips off the tension stick, and, as a result, the arrow is shot. The self-firing bow is set up on a tree trunk, or on a special pole (Gilyak kips) stuck in the snow for the purpose, in a more or less inclined position, and the above-mentioned thin cord, in a taut state, is drawn across the place where there is an animal trail or where one expects an animal to pass. The main thing is to give it the proper inclination so that the arrow will not shoot beyond the animal or into the ground in front of it or underneath it. The inclination naturally varies in accordance with the kind of animal expected and according to the distance at which the self-firer is set up from its probable path. For each type of animal, special aim must be taken in setting up the self-firer and adjusting the arrow, and for this the Gilyak use a special target-stick, their so-called tschraff (ibid., Fig. 3), which they know to be accurate by experience. In setting up the self-firer, it is put at the point where the animal is to be killed, and the arrow is aimed at one of the transverse stripes marked on it, according to the

/554 cont./

224 kind of animal expected. I have seen only the target-stick used
•192 for the three most important fur-bearing animals, sable, otter, and fox, as well as for hares (Gilyak chuĭ and chuĭk, along the east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin ossjk and kanak, i.e., the white one). /555/ On it three stripes or bands, each between
224 two transverse lines, are marked off: if a fox is expected, the arrow is aimed at the uppermost stripe, point a of the illustration; if the shot is readied for a hare, one aims at the second stripe, point b; for sable one aims the arrow toward the third stripe, point c, and, finally, for the otter, toward the base of the target-stick, point d. The height of these transverse lines and stripes above the base of the target-stick is the following:

Height of transverse line ef above the base (rs)	245	mm.
" " " " gh " " " "	240	"
Average target-height for fox, point a	242 1/2	"
Height of transverse line ik above the base	188	"
" " " " lm " " " "	180	"
Average target-height for hare, point b	184	"
Height of transverse line no above the base	118	"
" " " " pq " " " "	112	"
Average target-height for sable, point c	115	"
The length or height of the whole target-stick amounts to	260	"

target-height for fox; target-height for hare; target-height for sable

[192] The arrow (Gilyak kor) used with the self-firer for the animals mentioned has, in comparison with ordinary arrows, a very peculiar iron point which consists of two prongs equipped on their inner sides with one barb each (1). So that the animal struck by

1. It is noteworthy that whereas the

/555 cont./

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•192

1. (cont.) downward-shooting wooden piece on the klai, in no way resembling an arrow in its form, is designated in a generalizing fashion only as ku, "arrow," this proper arrow, distinguished only by the form of its point, has a special designation among the Gilyak.

the arrow, but possibly not fatally and only wounded, will not escape, the arrow is fastened by a loosely hanging cord (Gilyak toghr-puks) to the pole on which the self-firer rests.

224 The high value of sable, fox, and otter furs makes the use
[435] of the self-firer in the form described very general among the Gilyak, and in the forests surrounding their dwellings one can easily run into an apparatus of this kind set up, which makes caution necessary when roaming in them. It is surprising that on the above-described target-stick the worthless hare has been given consideration along with the three most highly prized fur-bearing animals. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that it is very common in the entire lower Amur region and on Sakhalin and, in the absence of other animal trails, often provides booty for the self-firers, whereby a good piece of meat and a fur for his own needs always fall to the hunter.

/556/ On the other hand, I have never heard it said that the Gilyak use the self-firer for killing other, more or less valuable, but larger animals, such as the lynx, wolf, alpine wolf, musk deer, reindeer, and elk. There may be various reasons for this.
[191] In general, the Gilyak are not hunters enough and are not enough interested in hunting animals other than those with precious furs to undertake long and strenuous hunting trips over a wide territory, to lay out barricades, and to set up self-firers with arrows aimed horizontally in their passageways, as is customary, for example, among the Tungusic peoples and is discussed at length by

/556 cont./

224 by the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by
[191] the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest, such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most important fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same time, their predominant and decisive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal, not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example, they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which, constructed in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for
224 wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg
•192
[104]

1. The s is pronounced softly here, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The shorter one (called wa in Gilyak) is sharpened on its inner side, side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tigrsch) (2), on which

[104] 2. The s again pronounced softly. Tigrsch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of jukola or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is
224 put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the kasma is different for the fox and the wolf: for the former it must rise to about three and a half feet above the snow; for the latter, four and a half feet.

/557 cont./

224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
208 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
•192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
437 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call kăkch-ochť, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ochť means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

41 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at a
170 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from
436 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (pŏroki"): pŏroke.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Golds, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

[113] 5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/557 cont./

411 197 489 113

5. (cont.)
Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 192 The Gilyak also have their own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 197 152 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun, whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

/558 cont./

123 152 203

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

411 171 [192]

In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees [824] or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley [192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

411 239 53

In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104]

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

411 239 [53] [192] [439] 411 192 239 [283] [415]

which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

/559 cont./

411 [192]

vghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

411 171 175 [113]

5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1276, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

/560 cont./

411 [192] [171]

Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons, bear pikes, spears and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ much more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike universally used among them (Gilyak lachtsch,(2) Pl. XLVI /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. [192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship [531] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely [126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimen illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

/567 cont./

114 325 326 192 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[243] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yidshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./

114 325 326 192 [243] Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1009/, Fig. 1.

325 326 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
[531] [435] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
[439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

G 714 174 325 /572 cont./ of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

G 714 If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two
G [192] types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

[192] One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than
G 114 those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak)
714 of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says
192

1. Op. cit., p. 194.

/573 cont./

114 714 [192] that it is known under the name of "bettsi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of
714 556 the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques
[177] of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

171 195 714 [113] 2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Njutschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

G 325 171 /574 cont./ to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

G 714 The net armor (Gilyak kä-petsch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole
[192] [239] or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone
G [234] added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it; otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on accoun
G [126] of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Mradamn in Ssabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the
G [623] Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found
G 714 126 556 in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me shows the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragment and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

G 714 171 1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

/175 cont./

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak [illegible]
perach or a wooden sword, to be used in battle
fights which the North Americans had with
the Chinese in 1857 and which lasted four days
in attack which continued of forty layers of
most coarse material and we almost im-
penetrable for other or bayonet (Nordische
Fauna, 1871, No. 214, according to a re-
port sent to the Times by its reporter in
Shanghai). On the other hand, Dittmar
(Ueber die Gestalten und Ornamente
/The Koryak and Chukchee/ " - Bull. de
la cl. hist. phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc.
de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél.
russes, Vol. VIII, p. 51) related that the
Chukchee use armor made of whalebones
and thick animal skins.

To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the Gilyak, I must mention, in passing, to be sure, a bribe in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It is their so-called mugamchi (Pl. XXII item 2-10b/, Fig. 20), a roundish or slightly regular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom has been ornamented. Inside indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears and harpoons and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the pulse of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mugamche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an arrow. In the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a wedge. The lower end is provided with a deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon also has advanced to the Negak along the Amur River, among whom it is called mukamchi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally called mugamchi. Nikolay became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

/176 cont./

it was even otherwise in their life and household has been developed among them. This necessarily presupposes, however, the existence of an accepted standard of value, which is used by them, through the multiplication of which the operation of the obtaine is made or their price standardized. What is this unit of value or of what does it consist? Gilyak tell us, to be sure, no determine this, as one will see from the following reasons. Since the Gilyak are only familiar with barter, they answer any question about the price of an article, as a rule, by mentioning the quantity of goods desired in exchange, for example, the number of sobacce, two fathoms of cloth, etc.). A question as to the objects in exchange for which they are willing to give up their themselves, the furs of even barter-trade, it rarely understood and only by the more intelligent. As a result, one sees no consum of only a number, preceding the verb "to cost, to be worth." Gilyak are, therefore, in the same position, the unit of value upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent to one without any difficulty, substantially, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not representative among the Gilyak, is always only an imaginary quantity for the Amur people, and they are able to turn only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of the corresponding piece of goods or other articles. Gilyak can tell, for example, the approximate price of a silver piece is current in the form of coins — the round brass coins with a square hole in the center (Gilyak nachax, which are usually strung one and a thousand on a string. On account of their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention to them, and, like the variously shaped bean breadlet, they are used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also in skirt and belt buttons. In the Amur region, however, Gilyak called nachax (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak, were not accepted either by the Negak or the Manchu nature of the lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their value and because the Chinese coins, which otherwise would have accept them (1). Through their association with the Russian,

/177 cont./

1. The only coins for which a use could be

/178 cont./ "The Gilyak expression for "to
many" = "ungu gnaxach," so they a while. If a Gilyak wants to
[illegible] a peculiarly shaped or large fish, he must pay the father, or
if the latter is no longer living, the brothers of the girl he desires
to marry, a certain number of sobacce (Russian dogs). Some
[illegible] and perhaps even a hundredth part of the [illegible] silver
some cases exceedingly insignificant, the Gilyak, in order to
them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
[illegible] cup or dishes. For the most part, however, he is
who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods
is larger quantities in Ussi-suri on the Sungari, the south and
the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance
[illegible] the ja, which seemed large with the unit of value and
multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it
especially in dealings with Chinese, who always know to give the
the number concerned. If I had made my investigation on this
question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Gedi, in the opposite
direction, going from the latter to the Gilyak, the unit of value
upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent
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were not accepted either by the Negak or the Manchu nature of the
lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their
value and because the Chinese coins, which otherwise would have
accept them (1). Through their association with the Russian,

/179 cont./

completely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade
with them. Among the Gedi, who live closest to the Sungari
Amur and by the constant retainers and hangers-on of which
[illegible] and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja at the silver
some cases exceedingly insignificant, the Gilyak, in order to
them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
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lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their
value and because the Chinese coins, which otherwise would have
accept them (1). Through their association with the Russian,

/180 cont./

Unfortunately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the
morning of the following day. The name is not given to him
in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any
ceremony. The father, or, if the latter is absent, his wife or
the mother, or [illegible] a Gilyak who happens to be present may
propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his
child. It must be expressly stressed that no divinatory rite are
practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving.
The Gilyak, who are fond of gambling, have not even a special
superstition. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express
their joy at the birth of a child by a feast, at which they also give
with a few villagers and friends.

Among the Gilyak, as among the Ainu, it is placed in a cradle
(Gilyak nichakh). This was a very peculiar nature: it consists of
a rectangular frame, the upper part of which is a bent piece of
fringe and which that the upper body of the child, up to its head,
can be bent so that the upper body can be raised, or, if
pointed, remain open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard
which is provided with a hole, through which the child passes
hole. The child, wrapped in bandages and in its naked buttocks,
is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow,
whereupon the cradle is placed in a vertical or slightly inclined
position, and the child is fastened with a strap or two strips of
the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half
filled with sand, which is placed between the cradle and
the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is
hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench
(Gilyak [illegible]. Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 [illegible]). Provided with
a hole in the middle, through which the child passes
on it below the cradle. The long strap by which the cradle is
suspended are so skillfully drawn and indeed that the latter can be
set at a slight or steep inclination, as the case may demand
position desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various
small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

/181 cont./

Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting
to one's own or to others' property. It is true that they have
salmon weirs and those open in the forest where their traps and
deadfalls are set, but these are not fenced off, wholly without
limitation, when the Linnan Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish,
and the Tymgi Gilyak go to the Amur and Ussi-suri to the Tymgi
for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the south-
coast to catch lungi. It is true, the Tarkunti and the Tymgi
Gilyak have tim of hospitality with each other. Also, the
[illegible] face the Gilyak people even chuka and farnage to permit
[illegible] to hunt and fish without restriction.

Like the communists, the inviolability of property is also
a foreign idea to a considerable degree. I have been even told that
[illegible] Gilyak men who could not raise a small cloth, for ex-
ample, a female kerchief, or a female dress or a shirt. Some people
[illegible] and with that the upper body of the child, up to its head,
[illegible] and wholly or partially closed, the lower end is closed
[illegible] the upper body of the child, up to its head,
[illegible] the lower end is closed with a crossboard

/793 com./

[796] [795] [794] [793] [792] [791] [790] [789] [788] [787] [786] [785] [784] [783] [782] [781] [780] [779] [778] [777] [776] [775] [774] [773] [772] [771] [770] [769] [768] [767] [766] [765] [764] [763] [762] [761] [760] [759] [758] [757] [756] [755] [754]

[795] [794] [793] [792] [791] [790] [789] [788] [787] [786] [785] [784] [783] [782] [781] [780] [779] [778] [777] [776] [775] [774] [773] [772] [771] [770] [769] [768] [767] [766] [765] [764] [763] [762] [761] [760] [759] [758] [757] [756] [755] [754]

[796] [

(the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner. They cut the suet (ŋɔ) into pieces. They put the pieces into a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (ta) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

[93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur dialect the word jajmd). In the direct object, which according to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate, the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the verb jajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem - hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb jajmnd 'to know') meaning 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first consonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin from the same stem and this is understandable for in the case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in the word hajm ar: hajm is derived from the intransitive form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.' - is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmŋar means 'the knowing male' or 'old male.' The Amur hem is, of course, the same as hajm-ŋ in the Sakhalin dialect which change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance of in it is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its final ŋ's as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For instance, 'horse' is murŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in the Amur dialect, 'dog' is qanŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and qan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, contrary to the rules which would lead us to expect hɔjm as the counterpart of hajm; thus, hɔjmr instead of hemar. At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmŋar have the same meaning and, accordingly, hemanχ means a 'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use two words for man: azmɔt in the Sakhalin dialect and utku in the Amur dialect.

252 Hemanχ sat in squatting position at the trough containing
237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the snouts was untouched. First the old woman cut out the throat together with the tongue. Then she took out of the heqr kuti (?) the plant pisker placed there by the hunters. Then she pulled out the whiskers and put them in a separate cup. After

197 "with the father", while ygryr means "with him", and nygryr: "with me". [F.S. Examples omitted]

193 Often the preposition is entirely omitted (see below). There are almost no grammatical forms. There are no declensions. The verbs sometimes change so much that they are hard to recognize, but these metamorphoses are not so constant that fixed rules could be derived from them. There are some conjugational forms, but they exist within such broad limits that there is room for arbitrariness, that is, one can use one or another form. [F. S.: Examples omitted]

[253] From these examples it may be seen 1) that the verbs are to a large extent modified, but 2) that it is difficult in these modifications to find a constant applying to a particular time, person, and number. It seems certain that up to the present time nothing of the kind exists. At least my Gilyak professors did not object when I used a certain verb in an indefinite form for all moods except the imperative, and for all persons and numbers. Only the imperative always seemed to end in "ya", with the accent on the last syllable. But many verbs are strongly abbreviated or changed; for instance "to sing" is lunyt; "sing" [imperative] is luya. [F. S: Other examples omitted]. The indefinite mood, with few exceptions, ends in "ty".

[254] There are no genders; "he" and "she" are the same. Singular and plural are also the same, only the pronouns are an exception.

The prepositions are usually placed after the word to which they refer; for example: "through the forest", pal (forest) shmy (through).

The adjectives have no comparative and superlative, instead the word lele (very) precedes them. For some things which can be large or small there are related expressions, of which the one referring to the larger object is a repetition of the one referring to the smaller object; for instance: a "small river" is la, "river" is pilala.

194

194 PHONOLOGY--phonetic range; list of phonemes; significant length, stress, pitch, and tone; positional variants; phonologic processes (e.g., contraction, fusion, ellipsis); etc. See also:
Transliteration systems and orthography. . . . 104

/681 cont./

533 Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing: even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, too, produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the gutteral sounds, besides the subsequent belching out /682/ of the words like greater skill, and, moreover, besides the sobbing gutteral trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's-harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them so long and to produce them so clearly. It is also interesting physiologically that in producing these trills the soft palate plays an important role."

Middendorff continues: "From all these songs the differences caused by the individuality of the singers became clear: whereas Lamran, with a good voice and a clear trill, had in his way a melancholy, pleasant, and grave style of singing, the other two singers were like our artistic virtuosos who play violin variations on the cello. Along with the singing it must also be kept in
•[194] mind that the Gilyak language, and thus also the anga, sounds as though the nose had a chicken wishbone clamped on it; in addition there is the childish pronunciation of the r, which sounds as though it were midway between the r, g, and l and which is connected with d, g, and h, and, furthermore, the French ng, the English th and w, the g combined with d, etc."

114 533 Middendorff also noted down the words of the last two songs, but unfortunately I must disregard them here since they cannot be even approximately deciphered. And this should not surprise one, for, in view of the traveler's very short sojourn among the Gilyak, the many and very peculiar sounds of their language must have sounded most strange and bewildering to his ear, which was as yet wholly unaccustomed to them. And there is also the circumstance, making comprehension more difficult to so great a degree, that the singer has the greatest freedom to change and to modulate the words as he pleases to make them fit his rhythm and melody -- a freedom which he does not give up as a rule even in repeating the words, because they were once impressed upon his memory this way during the singing. Hence it is more than doubtful that an interpreter, of

LISTICS--differentiation in styles (e.g., conversational, narrative, ritual); stylistic modifications in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary; n typed according to sex, age, status, and social context; euphemisms metaphorical usages; prudery, etc. See also:

ity, universal, dynamic, and song styles	53	Word whom	184
al stratification	54	Curses and incantations	189
ation	178	Obscenity	191

/170 cont./

835 832 833 582 584 585 [195] an'ĝej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through the same symbolic actions that people go through during the betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat together. To say to a woman of the an'ĝej category, "Let us have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 835 684 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said, is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[114] [629]

1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My

/189 cont./

602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual, who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the address is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For example; "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian, Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural number, which is commonly used in addressing old people and honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in addressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

602 193 [579] [559]

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is already some question of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

585 178 184

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'avind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: n'ĝ:vyvr' n'ŋvyn' pyrk pavrà -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lives" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves in conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice ĵivund -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

195 196 58

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term g:end -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

[194] [591] [171]

/263 cont./

195 196 58 [171] [194] [591]

/paternitera/, with the wife moving into the house of her husband. At the present time the original meaning has disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often for the expression "to get married" there is added to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menakh vavin kull ityind, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ajvund is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, mnyn ruyn an'ĝej n'ŋnyn' ajvutà -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony of this is found in the contemporary formula of common marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- yngai arinkh jagu'ndra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although, according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and prays from the father-in-law.

178 602 59 [171] 602

[197]

Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

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/299 cont./

567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
[683] when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
[614] replies quietly: "Pilavon kshal purarâ hokhagin ox' krygys" (1).

1. Krygys -- an Ainu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
[195] slave"). When people have sneered, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygys, impure. Every krygys was considered a kshal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygys
[692] is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygys.
[682] A free one is kistylygy n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
[614] is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer:

"If you are a brave man, we have an elder bear (pai pila kvor -- big mountain bear, mer ede -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
[162] krygys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Tabiata.

[580] Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/248 cont./

836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not,
it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young
companions, but only because the risk-competition was already
too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as
revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the
use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of
instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women
go for several days to places very distant from the villages after
berries and saxaa, made gemaine upon the defenseless
women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily,
they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, how-
ever, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers
which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made
closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all
romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle
of women, bear the characteristic designation ^anish nan'gynd --
• [196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also ap-
plied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings:
"to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

464 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new
arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the
local youth, and the women already have their local ad-
mirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are
required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed
to meet such fortunate individuals; they are ordinarily good
and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There
are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even
among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them.
Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the
women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements
of his ahkmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous
reception always awaits him.

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is
586 already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a
178 very insignificant one.
184

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

195 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating
• 196 the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a
58 sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, ishgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root av), with the corresponding addition of nigvynj -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (ie -- him + avind).

[197] [164] 1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/263 cont./

195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
• 196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'avind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: nig:yvyn' n'ency' pyr:k pavrà -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice àjvund -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's
[194] own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
[59] etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
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/263 cont./

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171 marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymgai
667 arinkh iagu:n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although, according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system
[177] where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

/265 cont./

602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
191 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
593 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
• 194 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
591 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says:
171 n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /syat'/, ki
666 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
682 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silen
but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by t
offender for reconciliation (urla lymydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bea
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bow
while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can
prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is
bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bea
is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side
opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he hims
431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the maste
feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'rur humyjd
Wingan ğrur humyjd--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soo
as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while
he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tvysk and
pare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of be
Luk; -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig
[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are l
on a wooden frame near the [illegible] where the bones of the bea
[184] placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is
called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his h
• 196 is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to
feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[238] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if an
[219]

28 In putting the Gilyak language into writing it is easiest to use Russian letters, for several sounds are pronounced exactly as they are in Russian and in the Slavic languages in general. The Russian letters Я, Ю, Ц exist in the Gilyak language, especially the latter sound which can be represented neither by the West-European "Y" nor by "ui", and which is pronounced exactly as in the Russian word b'il. The letter "i" is pronounced peculiarly full as in Slavic languages before a, u, o, and ui (1) and at the end of some

1. I use these two letters for the Russian Ы although they do not accurately reproduce it.

words; and for this there is no corresponding sound in the Germanic and Romance languages. The letters g, k, and h or really ch [German pronunciation] occur frequently in Gilyak words and are sharply accented by pressing the tongue against the soft palate, so that this language (like th Semitic tongues) has a peculiarly guttural sound. There ar so many consonants that it probably deserves to be called a hard and not a beautiful language. The language of the Goldi is softer. The t and tch, the k and ch [kh] often coincide and the y is sometimes pronounced almost like the sh and the French g.

7 The language of the Amur-Gilyak from the sea up to the village of Bogorodskoye resembles the Sakhalin language sufficiently so that the people can at least make themselves understood after a fashion. But it, too, already shows som deviations which even occur in neighboring villages. Thus the word "cough" is yeret in Kaka; in Vaida which lies on the shore about one and one-half German miles from it, the word is yaat. In Mikhil which is about 100 versts (about 14 German miles) up-stream, the deviations are more numerous. For instance, the word "friend" is there called napkhe; the word "heaven"; tle. In Vaida and Kaka these words are amgan and tly. In Mikhil the expression "good day" is designated by the Goldi word sarodé. Even in one and the same place many words are differently [252] pronounced; for example, ytyk ("father") is also pronounced styka. Other words change so much according to the way they are used that they are no longer recognizable. For instance "rufrokh" means "with the brother": ytyktokh,

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-ɣan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

/xxix cont.-

of the fact, however, that the material presented by Sternberg convincingly testified to the rudiments of class differentiation among the Gilyak. he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Popular and Holy Rus as the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation. not of the immanent economic laws of this society. but merely the effect on the Gilyak of thel neighbors -- the Russians.

A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the religion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Sternberg about the masters. first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie gilaki." were unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master' (hin'u) a god, but just as in each clan there are many gods, many persons. wealthy men. of whom one is the richest ('the master.' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak). so are there 'masters' among the spirits. who. according to the beliefs of the Gilyak. also live in clans. With this concept Sternberg ties the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Sternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Sternberg, "... it was not totemism. "The belief in descent from one or another kind of animal. that created the clan gods. which is the accepted way of thinking. but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism. One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists by saying the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing a kind of clansman turned into an animal."

Sternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of animals (e.g.. the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

In 'Gilaki' Sternberg also. for the first time. formed his opinion that the Gilyak is divided into two halves:

"Obrazny materialyed po inochenitu gilaskogo yazyka i fol'klora" and Materialy po inochenitu gilaskogo yazyka i fol'klora contained the ideas (groups of Sternberg's work on the study of the Gilyak: included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart. "Bernskungen

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über die Beziehung zwischen der Mophologie der gilijakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen." where he proves a grammatical similarity of Gilyak language with certain languages of the American Indians. The published data on Gilyak folklore and language constitute only a part of the material collected by him. During his lifetry he did not intend to publish Gilyak grammar and dictionary. and supplementary folklore material. but what he did publish on the study of this exceptionally difficult language. along with the discoveries cited above on the study of the clan. and the structure of the Gilyak. is so significant that in the history of ethnology and linguistics Sternberg justifiably considered. he known as a great Gilyak specialist and the first serius researcher and expert on the Gilyak language.

/xxxi/ The next realm of work by Sternberg as a Far Eastern ethnologist was the study of the Tungusic-Manchu peoples. Of the indigenous population of the Amur region. he first of all studied the Orochi of Sitar Strait. although he spared them little more mention. he also succeeded in making a number of important observations and discoveries here. which he published in the article "Orochi Tatarskogo proliva" (Not belief in descent from one or another kind of animal. that created the clan gods. which is the accepted way of thinking. but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism. "Bernskungen über die Beziehung zwischen der Mophologie der gilijakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen." where he proves a grammatical similarity of Gilyak language with certain languages of the American Indians. The published data on Gilyak folklore and language constitute only a part of the material collected by him. During his lifetry he did not intend to publish Gilyak grammar and dictionary. and supplementary folklore material. but what he did publish on the study of this exceptionally difficult language. along with the discoveries cited above on the study of the clan. and the structure of the Gilyak. is so significant that in the history of ethnology and linguistics Sternberg justifiably considered. he known as a great Gilyak specialist and the first serius researcher and expert on the Gilyak language.

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

/1/

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition. the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Primorye Little Hinge. Primorye. and Sakhalin oblasts/ Gilyak falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) The Tungus group of nationalities. spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) The isolated tribe of the Gilyak. whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu. speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the American and language. Only the Ainu has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits. which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them. specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic traits -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and. in particular. the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian stock. and. moreover. have made the rarity of facial growth. furthermore. in their material culture. religion. and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /natemnete/). they differ considerably from the Tungus and Gilyak. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Least of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu. Daur. and Solon. who have little to do with the Russian Primorye. the Tungus group /nomads/ is very far apart from Gilyak territorially. then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy. in other words. they are a group of nomads -- reindeer-herdsmen. such as the Tungus proper. Orochon. Sakhalin Orok; the other

/1 cont./

As for the Gilyak. although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities. yet in their language and culture they stand apart especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors. the Ainu. Thus. the Gilyak. speaking both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Aina occupy strictly delimited. almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the basin of the estuary and mouth of the Amur: the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Bosji). furthermore. the dialectical distinctions of each of the two groups are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another. and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of tribal kinship among all members of the Gilyak and the Tungus group. on the other hand. have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire huge region. and certain dialects have developed dialects considerably different from one another.

Furthermore. they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well. so that. in spite of all their linguistic. anthropological. and historical kinship. they fall into separate. small groups. each with their individuality.

These separate nationalities. separated from one another specially. historically. linguistically. and. finally. in the realm of material culture. in fact have become. each. a separate tribe. a distinct nation. and. moreover. have lost all tribal kinship. Such a classification is all more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

1. See the article. "Ainskaia problema /"The Aina problem.'/ below /tuttamalard/. fd.

/14 cont./

The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Aina. the Yukagir. the Chukche. and Koryak find themselves in the same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck). but the basis of this classification was purely external in character. namely. their common position on the edge of the continent. and the consequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more recent newcomers. Yet. in spite of the same fate the same fate the continent to the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship between the Gilyak and the rest of the other tribes has not been. however. Hypotheses about a common origin of the nationalities of the Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were advanced. but not in the proper manner. Sternberg. however. was convinced one that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed. Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak language and the American languages. Sternberg also pointed out a number of pronouns with verbs and with nouns. the tendency /15/ toward polysynthesism. the extreme nobility of phonetic changes. the tendency to alternate /16/ in the initial sounds. and. in particular. particular points which are extremely characteristic. for example. one that is common to all of them is a highly developed class system of numerals. according to which different categories of objects can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them. A system so complex. so far as I know. does not have any similar in any of the languages of the Asiatic continent. All this. however. is a problem for the future. perhaps the very near future.

Meanwhile. an easier question is still unsolved. the question of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from Tungus tribes for animals (the elk. the roe. the reindeer) it is known for sure that the bear. but absent on Sakhalin. the late academician Schrenck. the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of the natives of Primor'ikai. asserted that the original homeland of the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin. His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/81 cont./

Gilyak remained the indigenous type of the original Gilyak tribe? Yes. that original type intentionally disappeared. The body of the Gilyak tribe died forever. but its spirit is alive. alive in its language. A language which. as we have already mentioned. is unique among all the languages of the Asiatic continent. and in its peculiar customs and institutions which. reflected in its language. have survived all the vicissitudes of its physical transformation. The persistent preservation of the language is striking. It has not only protected itself against distortion by roots and forms from other tribes. but. in spite of the small membership of the tribe. has preserved two large dialects and no fewer than five or six subdialects. Nowhere else in the world is there such a phenomenon. The Gilyak language was spoken by many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals scattered over a vast territory. who left in numerous idioms as proof of their existence.

But not only the language of the Gilyak tribe continues to testify to its isolated position among the surrounding nationalities its social institutions. clan organization. religion. and especially /22/ the institution of marriage. amazingly peculiar norms of sexual intercourse. and equally amazing kinship nomenclature clearly testify to this. Before we proceed to this aspect of their life. however. we shall first touch upon. within the briefest limits. the external conditions of life in the nature which surrounds them. and the outward appearance of the Gilyak.

II.

132 Environment. Type. External Life.

The nature amidst which these people live at the present time is full of the greatest contrasts. In spite of the southerly latitude (between 49° and 54 1/5° north latitude). the average temperature in January is -18° Reaumur. The Amur. the Gilyak of mercury in the middle of the island is a common phenomenon. Even in July there are minimums of 5.2°. Ice floats off the

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even to his own clear advantage. but he has. as we know. an already well-tested expedient. with the help of which he persuades the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts. as in other cases. to pious deception of the gods. which offers him the possibility of fulfilling his religious duty and yet obtaining material gains from the conflict. Usually. this most important religious procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored. and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples. among the Gilyak. as we shall recount later on. this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom. which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clan. the killing of dogs. and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.

The place where the ceremony of reconciliation is played by the so-called khlaj-nivukh (1).

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man. /104/ eloquent. orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak. In the clan this individual is the representative of the clan. particular deity who constantly inspires him. dwells in him. and inspires in him beautiful. convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on the people. The very quickness of speech. the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time. even about such matters as the content of the speech. is already considered a talent of the highest order. "With tongue turn like the wings of a windmill." Thus. with awe. does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter. in turn. regard themselves as chosen ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod. on the head of which is carved a human face. depicting. apparently. that which gives them and helps them to perform miracles. At pathetic moments they wave these threatningly. swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/135 cont./

of mixing between the Gilyak and their neighbors, one can only be surprised that these kinship terminologies turn out to have so little in common.

The etymologies of the Gilyak kinship term themselves testify to this uniqueness of the Gilyak terminology with great palpability; the greatest part of them can be traced all the way back to their original roots, which point to their firm stability over a long period of time (1).

1. This cannot be said with regard to many kinship peoples. Thus, for example, at the famous Turkish special-ist, V. V. Radloff, has in fact reported to me, among the Turks, judging by Orkhon and Uigur monuments, the kinship terms that were in use from the tenth century and with the exception of one or two terms, has changed completely, even in such form as father and mother, and so forth.

(2) We shall adduce a few examples. Thus, the group "ata" — father, "ata" — grandfather, "ata-ata" — great-grandfather, "ata" — grandmother, "yokhsh" — old man, husband, "achish" — aunt, sister of the father, "ya-ya" — man, (western dialect) have a common root "ya" — body; the group "ana" — mother, "ynagir" — son-in-law, son of the sister, "ana-gir" — woman (western dialect) have the common root "yin." Further, "anKyel" — wife, from "anKh" — female; "anKnych" — beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "ax" — male and the root "ynych" — be, to become; "ynych" — husband, "ynych, ynnich, yanich" — woman and "yanich" — sister, etc. is of

(3) Dialectical differences in kinship designations remain to be documented. These differences are of a minor nature. In the fundamental terms there are either no difference whatever,

/135 cont./

or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character. Thus, for example, "yrh, yniF" — father, mother — are completely identical in all dialects; "ynen, ynen" — brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "yn" in the western dialect; "ok-ka, ok-ing" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o-ka" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "ata" and "ana," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "ghaqir" — woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "ax-nih" — female, and "ken-gir" — woman in the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ynych" — mother; in exactly the same way "ni-ax" — man in the western dialect has the same root as "ynych" — husband, and the corresponding axFnych in the eastern dialect is from ax — male, etc.

In the table of kinship nomenclature and the relationships for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' with (T.), and the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin —(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). In the table of kinship terms we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic (western) dialect has the common word "ynych" — husband, "anKyel" — wife, from "anKh" — female; "anKnych" — beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "ax" — male and the root "ynych" — be, to become; "ynych" — husband, "ynych, yanich, yanich" — woman and "yanich" — sister, etc. is of

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the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no condition on the father's side. Kinship through the father bear the same al-ready mentioned by us: kakhal, kakhal-ch'gyyr.

Table of Relationship

by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical in concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come about upon examining the table of relationship. It is precisely to an examination of each category of kinship separately. Cognate kinship, kinship within the clan, has taken the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my father's), without distinguishing between direct and collateral line, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own father; they only distinguish the generation of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood the children of the descendants of the speaker and of the whole clan of his own brothers and sisters (Gilyak clan) and his own line for all the subsequent descending generations of these persons.

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the cl. a of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called clan "nun."

In addition, for each generation of classmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("nun"). For a better understanding of what is set forth below we shall copy the table called /139 cont./

1. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ref-

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The Gilyak who speak the western dialect, i.e., the Gilyak of the continent and the western shore of Sakhalin, especially beginning from the settlement of Vaas and to the north of it, use the same terms, "ata" and so on (1), to

1. A full enumeration of the terms-synonyms is given below in the table.

designate, besides own father, all his male twin, i.e., his own and collateral brothers and, in addition, all the husbands of his own sisters. The term "ata" is used, however, in precisely only in the settlement of Tamlevo and to the north of it, together with "yin" and its synonyms still another term is used to designate the brothers of the father — "ytinag," corresponding in meaning to the analogous Tungus ayin — elder. Another group, the western Gilyak, designate for all the brothers of the father and called by the same term as own father; they only distinguish the generation of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood the children of the descendants of the speaker and of the whole clan of his own brothers and sisters (Gilyak clan) and his own line for all the subsequent descending generations of these persons.

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The class of brothers and sisters ("nun"). For a better understanding of what is set forth below we shall copy the table called /139 cont./

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Table of Kinship Terms

1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kot was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father called by the Tungus term yuqi, which is explained by the presence of a Tungus in the settlement of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of his phmnn. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special subject, designation for all the husbands of the husband — nfmnj (= cf. — my + qej — husband), a term also known to the Tymovsk Gilyak (1).

The class of the descending line. The class of the descending line within the clan, the clan ogilang, ogilg, is completely identical with the ascending line, the clan ata, ata. Finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the clan of younger "brothers" (nun) the clan ogilang, ogilg, is also applied, and also to all the children of his "brothers" (nun), just as /141/ a woman gives the same ogilg not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term ogilg is applied not only to the first generation of children, but also to the second generation of the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole clan of nun. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term ogilg to the children of the clan or to the children of nephew, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandson, great-grandson, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "ata" defines all the generations above father

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of his other sanish and a'kh — older "sister," and, conversely, — younger "sister."

The class of husbands. The class of husbands corresponds to the terminology of the foregoing class — "wives." Within the class of her husband the woman gives the same of "husband" (ch. 1ch, 2Xmn, etc.), not only to her official husband, but also to the representatives of the class of his "brothers" (nun), with, however, the following exceptions. The eastern Gilyak and a part of the western Gilyak differentiate between the younger "brothers" (nun) of the husband and the older ones; a woman calls the younger ya, ya, ybnn, ybnn, ya, ya — in-law, in formal husbands, and she calls the latter ata. The Gilyak of northern Sakhalin and the western Gilyak generally do not differentiate between the younger and older brothers of the husband, calling them ata, ya, ybnnn. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special subject, designation for all the husbands of the husband — nfmnj (= cf. — my + qej — husband), a term also known to the Tymovsk Gilyak (1).

The class of the descending line. The class of the descending line within the clan, the clan ogilang, ogilg, is completely identical with the ascending line, the clan ata, ata. Finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the clan of younger "brothers" (nun) the clan ogilang, ogilg, is also applied, and also to all the children of his "brothers" (nun), just as /141/ a woman gives the same ogilg not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term ogilg is applied not only to the first generation of children, but also to the second generation of the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole clan of nun. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term ogilg to the children of the clan or to the children of nephew, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandson, great-grandson, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "ata" defines all the generations above father

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/140 cont./

/147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other — sweethearts. It seems that they are often transferred to them from the fundamental terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart Xmn (husband, in the eastern dialect), axFnych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), hn (groom), nanih (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law with, however, the reservation that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term ashmnih, while the terms nanih and ashmnih in practical life have taken on the meaning of "sweetheart" or "participant in a common attack." Thus, the term "nanih" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes in name from this term.

As a result of our survey of the kinship terminology, we arrived at the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

/320 cont./

although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is already some question of little price, though, to be sure, a very insignificant one.

/321 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox marriage (1) a young girl there is even the special term tlnkagual (eastern dialect tqqyyal).

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a maternal society.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten". On the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individual of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gond, lhgond (root gy) with the addition of shmnih (woman) or axFqel (wife) is used; thus, shmnih gond, axFqel gond. When a woman is involved, — the verb ynych (root ynych) and ynych yyn, with the corresponding addition of nigyyn — person, or ax — husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (or — him + ynych).

1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms gond and ynych?

/322/ At concern the first, the male term gond, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/320 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox marriage (1) a young girl there is even the special term tlnkagual (eastern dialect tqqyyal).

1. On the side of the groom the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his wife, the son of the father of the sister of the father considers it his duty to marry his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the ulda n'yivih (honored persons) among his classmen. Since the Gilyak have a special subject, designation for all the husbands of the husband — nfmnj (= cf. — my + qej — husband), a term also known to the Tymovsk Gilyak (1).

The Tymovsk and the Chikonk Gilyak have one law

A legend about three brothers—cliffs in Alaisandrovsk on

Three Heng brothers swam with a bear to kill a cat—

(cat), and the bear and all of them turned into stone. Two boys and daughter — look after them.

A rat must not be killed with an axe; a wick is nec-

Nakhsun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat w-

ay. his son died for the same reason, and now his daugh-

The animals toward incest among dogs. According to the

of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not co-

excrepitate and are not in a relationship. The dog, if it is killed for this, otherwise this heavy sin falls on the man

will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and among dogs frequently have incestuous, but they are not

for this.

Hair may be thrown away in any place.

A person who has been rescued from death by a

Ikos chish—lhugrual — a dog — to Pal-'ngyyn. he

looks at a pillow wounded by a bear; only on old, in the

woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with

In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died,

they treat him like a killed one. When they set off

bear skins (sleigh) for general or important business, the

way take along their favorite yrrgi (non-in-law).

In Mil'nvo one Gilyak had two women. One

daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. So

to gether besties while the men went out to hair seal.

/761 cont./

heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

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197 LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION--dominant language or languages; affiliation with other languages; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic differentiation; processes of linguistic change (e.g., drift); etc. See also:

Racial affiliations . . . . . 144 Cultural affiliations 171

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the

199 language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on

129 Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the conti-

174 nent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of

[174] Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language,

[184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

SS /6 cont./

114 the lower Amur region who undoubtedly are the most interesting, since, due to their greater remoteness from the Manchu, Chinese, and Japanese, as well as the Russians, their way of life has best been shaped and preserved in a peculiar way. In particular,

G [197] however, this is true of the Gilyak, who, linguistically as well, stand wholly isolated among all the Amur peoples (1).

1. It may be noted in passing that even during the preparations for the second Bering Expedition, the instructions drawn up in the bosom of the Academy for the ethnographic investigations strongly urged

SS [113] a visit among the Gilyak. (Baer, "Kurzer Bericht über wissensch. Arbeiten u. Reisen /Short Statement concerning Scientific Work and Travels/," etc., see Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersb., 1855, p. 408, note). This request could not be complied with until over a hundred years later through Middendorff's and my travels.

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114 Nevertheless, here, too, in spite of frequent contacts with

122 the natives, a detailed investigation of their practices, customs, religious views, and the like still faced many obstacles. The greatest of them for a traveler, especially if he is a natural scientist and not a linguist, is his ignorance of the language of a people and the difficulty of learning it in a short time well enough to be able to converse in it. As a rule, one can overcome this difficulty by hiring an interpreter, but when the first contact with a people is made, he does not yet have one. On my first trip up the Amur to the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir, the Cossacks accompanying me understood so little of the languages of these peoples that I myself, noting down immediately every word whose meaning I learned, had to serve them as an interpreter.

/101 cont./

101 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge,

114 as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chādshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses

[113] 1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there

G [197] that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andā." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amalā."

himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chādshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakā (Fyake) (2).

[113] 2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

/102 cont./

Gi 101 inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of

114 the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the

G [101] Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are com-

Gi Gi pletely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be

G [197] a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese mer-

Gi Gi chants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern

101 and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be

G 101 clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

G [113] 1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX, 1852 /Vol. II/, pp. 216-223.

G Gi 101 114 From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

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101 /117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

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so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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[361] resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating

[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting:

802 in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

174 In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to

[361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
[291] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[231] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
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7: Kreinovich--23 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ɣ[illegible]) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (ta) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

193 [193] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmnar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmnar can be easily

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SPECIAL LANGUAGES--marginal languages (e.g., pidgin, trade languages); languages confined to a particular sex, occupation, social class, or ethnic group; special adaptations of speech (e.g., yodeling, whistling, ventriloquism); etc. See also:

Sign languages . . . . . 201 Writing 212
Drum languages 202

411 called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tatr-paχ . Large wooden floats (vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγt are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Loŋri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.

423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej,
524 3. ət.

471 Lulvəχ-pər and ŋaγreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock.(3)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paχ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ferd).

Clan Tnaunuŋ owned: 1. Mat-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə- vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
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198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ievropy i severnoĭ Azii"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Ėtnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.

mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.

mu 'boat' they say orq.

ke 'sun' they say am.

la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.

tełu 'fog' they say verq.

umgu 'woman' they say hiuləd.

qan 'dog' they say aim.

to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'

loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.

loŋr 'trout' they say manm.

nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.

vaŋs 'lake-salmon' they say vətik.

alŋon 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 tiŋr 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket tuγr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'

laŋr 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'

laŋr pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say ləŋr.

iŋd 'to kill' they say ŋazd.

pət 'tomorrow' they say mandəŋa.

eŋr vida 'let us return' they say pəχtkuda.

saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvəta-mu.

kər-ŋoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ŋod 'tava hurts.'

krəzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqn-taŋgad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-ŋod 'the hand hurts.'

7: Kreinovich--11 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'
ǝkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'
etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiriid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even it if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kas

20

20 COMMUNICATION--general statements dealing with several aspects of communication over space. For communication over time, by means of records, see 21.

1: Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
492 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
162

[126] 2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
• 20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
[484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
492 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

201

201 GESTURES AND SIGNS--patterned expressions of emotion (e.g., affect aggression, derision, fear, disgust); gestures of affirmation and nega indications of size and shape; directive signs (e.g., beckoning, warni sign languages and their use (e.g., by the deaf, in intertribal communi etc. See also:

Recreation gestures	52	Greetings and obeisances	
Gestures in dancing, drama, and oratory	53	Numerical signs	
Nervous gestures	157	Ideas about facial reactions	
Postures	516	Suggestive gestures	
Humor	522		

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur dialect the word jəjmd). In the direct object, which according to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate, the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the verb jajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem - hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb jajmnd 'to know') meaning 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first consonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin from the same stem and this is understandable for in the case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in the word hajm ar: hajm is derived from the intransitive form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.' is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmŋar means 'the knowing male' or 'old male.' The Amur hem is, of course, the same as hajm-ŋ in the Sakhalin dialect which change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance of in it is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its final ŋ's as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For instance, 'horse' is murŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in the Amur dialect, 'dog' is qanŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and qan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, contrary to the rules which would lead us to expect həjm as the counterpart of hajm; thus, həjmr instead of hemar. At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmŋar have the same meaning and, accordingly, hemanχ means a 'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use two words for man: azmət in the Sakhalin dialect and utku in the Amur dialect.

252 Hemanχ sat in squatting position at the trough containing
237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the snouts was untouched. First the old woman cut out the throat together with the tongue. Then she took out of the heqr kuti (?) the plant piskər placed there by the hunters. Then she pulled out the whiskers and put them in a separate cup. After

"A study of the C
in its veins, mingle
Golds, etc. [116]

The Gilyaks are
and customs from t
adds to the puzzle;
ancestors, perhaps
of hair. The most
race. Philologists
Academy of Science
the dwellers on the

Orochons suggest that they are a tribe which has mostly Tungus blood
ed by intermarriage with various neighbours, such as the Gilyaks,

even more difficult to classify racially. Separated in speech, manners
their neighbours, they yet have some affinities in feature. This only
for while many have scarcely any hair on their faces, others, whose
, have intermarried with Ainus, have bushy beards and copious heads
plausible suggestion is that they are of a semi-Tungus, semi-Mongol
of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and of the Imperial
es, St. Petersburg, hold that their language knits them in origin to
Pacific coast of Northern Asia, and America, and the Aleutian isles."

194 XVIII. Language.

128 In putting the Gilyak language into writing it is easiest to use Russian letters, for several sounds are pronounced exactly as they are in Russian and in the Slavic languages in general. The Russian letters Л, Ю, И exist in the Gilyak language, especially the latter sound which can be represented neither by the West-European "Y" nor by "ui", and which is pronounced exactly as in the Russian word b'il. The letter "i" is pronounced peculiarly full as in Slavic languages before a, u, o, and ui (1) and at the end of some

1. I use these two letters for the Russian И although they do not accurately reproduce it.

words; and for this there is no corresponding sound in the Germanic and Romance languages. The letters g, k, and h or really ch [German pronunciation] occur frequently in Gilyak words and are sharply accented by pressing the tongue against the soft palate, so that this language (like th Semitic tongues) has a peculiarly guttural sound. There ar so many consonants that it probably deserves to be called a hard and not a beautiful language. The language of the Goldi is softer. The t and tch, the k and ch [kh] often coincide and the y is sometimes pronounced almost like the sh and the French g.

197 The language of the Amur-Gilyak from the sea up to the village of Bogorodskoye resembles the Sakhalin language sufficiently so that the people can at least make themselves understood after a fashion. But it, too, already shows som deviations which even occur in neighboring villages. Thus the word "cough" is yeret in Kaka; in Vaida which lies on the shore about one and one-half German miles from it, the word is yaat. In Mikhil which is about 100 versts (about 14 German miles) up-stream, the deviations are more numerous. For instance, the word "friend" is there called napkhe; the word "heaven"; tle. In Vaida and Kaka these words are amgan and tly. In Mikhil the expression "good day" is designated by the Goldi word sarodé. Even in one and the same place many words are differently [252] pronounced; for example, ytyk ("father") is also pronounced styka. Other words change so much according to the way they are used that they are no longer recognizable. For instance "rufrokh" means "with the brother": ytyktokh,

197 "with the father", while ygryr means "with him", and nygryr: "with me". [F. S. Examples omitted]

193 Often the preposition is entirely omitted (see below). There are almost no grammatical forms. There are no declensions. The verbs sometimes change so much that they are hard to recognize, but these metamorphoses are not so constant that fixed rules could be derived from them. There are some conjugational forms, but they exist within such broad limits that there is room for arbitrariness, that is, one can use one or another form. [F. S.: Examples omitted]

[253] From these examples it may be seen 1) that the verbs are to a large extent modified, but 2) that it is difficult in these modifications to find a constant applying to a particular time, person, and number. It seems certain that up to the present time nothing of the kind exists. At least my Gilyak professors did not object when I used a certain verb in an indefinite form for all moods except the imperative, and for all persons and numbers. Only the imperative always seemed to end in "ya", with the accent on the last syllable. But many verbs are strongly abbreviated or changed; for instance "to sing" is lunyt; "sing" [imperative] is luya. [F. S: Other examples omitted]. The indefinite mood, with few exceptions, ends in "ty".

[254] There are no genders; "he" and "she" are the same. Singular and plural are also the same, only the pronouns are an exception.

The prepositions are usually placed after the word to which they refer; for example: "through the forest", pal (forest) shmy (through).

The adjectives have no comparative and superlative, instead the word lele (very) precedes them. For some things which can be large or small there are related expressions, of which the one referring to the larger object is a repetition of the one referring to the smaller object; for instance: a "small river" is la, "river" is pilala.

/247 cont./

580 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
157 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
234 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
614 were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
578 motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
463 women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
152 sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-
law" --akhmalik't but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
574 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
• [203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

/273 cont./

584 Even without invitations, however, there are always wit-
575 nesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes
known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of
[186] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to
court, and this results in a large fine.

584 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot con-
576 ceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit
them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement.
• [203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/274 cont./

584 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches
583 its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see
below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened
to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a
Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little
boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old
woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own
nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request,
therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his
father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the
business would quickly end, for the old woman was very
needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But
when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka
argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all
his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the
old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin
letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently
maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the
demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which
the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning,
namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations,
I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with
the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur.
The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is
asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men,
old acquaintances.

584 After the customary exchange of news, after drinking
583 some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both
539 have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger
• [203] (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have
[576] come through need. It was necessary to come to thee. It is
a matter, a big matter, when the need came, so thou come
to my aid.

/362 cont./

514 Try entering into a conversation with anyone about their
[520] life, customs, and so forth -- the whole yurt gathers about you.
The adults listen and reply with serious interest. The children
will not tear their gaze from /363/ you. Their eyes glow with
the fire of intelligence and fascination. They answer you seriously
and conscientiously; only inspire trust in them. You will feel
yourself drawn toward these barbarians... And never, so to speak,
does life stagnate here, because each day brings some large or
small occurrence in the life of the settlement, each day brings,
finally, new guests with new subjects for conversation. In each
yurt you will find many such guests, who often stay for weeks,
and during all this time the hosts feed them and their dogs.

The Gilyak are very hospitable and love to pay visits and entertain guests. Not only do the clansmen and kinsmen of the wife pay visits, but also those outsiders who are simply friends. In the yurt there often live together people of different clans, on whom guests and clansmen from all parts of the Gilyak territory
• [203] call. Imagine how much news each winter day brings. Winter is the preferred season for visiting. This noble custom of hospitality has still another good side. In a bad year, when the Gilyak does not have enough food for either himself or his dogs and nothing to buy it with, he does not have to stretch out his hands to a benefactor; he quietly sets off to pay a visit, knowing full well that in time his host will do the same. One encounters many guests in the summer as well. At this time of year, too, the Gilyak rarely lives alone in his yurt; there are always one or two families
177 of his brothers or other clansmen with him. Despite their long subjection to the Siniczed Manchu, despite the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region, the Gilyak, morally, preserve many of the virtues of primitive tribes. But the fate of their mode of life is irrevocably settled. One or two more generations, and the Gilyak of the mainland will become completely Russified and, together with the fruits of culture, will master all its vices. One must give his due to the Gilyak: he does not lightly abandon his ancestral traditions, but they involuntarily give way. At first they were indignant and perplexed, meeting

/558 cont./

411 same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity
107 or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a
152 great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had
[123] to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

123 1. At this point I cannot refrain from men-
152 tioning another and similar superstitious
• 203 fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

/558 cont./

123 1. (cont.)
& 152 the same thing was repeated several
times later with other Gilyak from the
• 203 various villages along the Amur and
Liman, so that I never once succeeded
in producing my stick in front of them,
and from then on gave it up completely,
trying in vain to think of a reason for
this strange, highly excited, and fearful behavior toward an object as harmless as a fishing rod. How great, therefore, was my surprise when, already in St. Petersburg after my return, I once happened to hear Mr. v. Middendorff, who had visited the Gilyak ten years before I had, and, to be sure, in their most remote dwelling sites along Ulban Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, relate how he had once played the following joke on them. As he stood in their company
[241] in front of a white-tailed eagle which, chained, was perched on one of the fish-drying racks - a very common sight in their villages, which will be discussed further in the following -- in front of their eyes he cut off a thin willow switch, stuck its point, unnoticed, into a little bottle of prussic acid which he carried with him, and held it in front of the beak of the eagle. The animal immediately collapsed and died, but the Gilyak were seized with horror and fear and from then on regarded our traveler as a powerful sorcerer. To me there now remained no doubt obviously the news

/558 cont./

123 152 203 1. (cont.) of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

41 17 [192] In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley [824] [192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Aina (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113] 2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

41 230 53 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3).

[104] 3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

206

206 TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH--technology; use of equipment; facilities and services; organization and personnel; public and private systems; finance (e.g., rates, subsidies); regulation; etc. See also:

Telegraphic codes	302	Description of equipment	403
Municipal telephone and telegraph systems	368	Military signal corps	708
Manufacture of equipment	393	Military communications equipment	718

000 Amoor line is closed up, the telegraph circuit around the globe will be complete.

206 The telegraph is operated on the Morse system with instruments of Prussian manufacture. Compared to our American instruments the Prussian ones are quite clumsy, though they did not appear so in the hands of the operators. The signal key was at least four times as large as ours, and could endure any amount of rough handling. The other machinery was on a corresponding scale.

574 A merchant who knew Mr. Borasdine invited us to his house, where he brought a lunch of bread, cheese, butter, and milk for our entertainment. Salted cucumbers were added, and the repast ended with tea. In the principal room there was a Connecticut clock in one corner and the windows were filled with flowers, among which were the morning glory, aster, and verbena. Several engravings adorned the walls, most of them printed at Berlin. We purchased a loaf of sugar, and were shown a bear-skin seven feet long without ears and tail. The original and first legitimate owner of the skin was killed within a mile of town.

346 In addition to his commerce and farming, this merchant was superintendent of a school where several Gilyak boys were educated. It was then vacation, and the boys were engaged in catching their winter supply of fish. At the merchant's invitation we visited the school buildings.

The study room was much like a backwoods schoolroom in America, having rude benches and desks, but with everything clean and well made. The copy-books exhibited fair specimens of penmanship. On a desk lay a well worn reading book containing a dozen of Æsop's fables translated into Russian and profusely illustrated. It corresponded to an American 'Second Reader.'

There was a dormitory containing eight beds, and there was a wash-room, a dining-room, and a kitchen, the latter separate from the main building. Close at hand was a forge where the boys learned to work in iron, and a carpenter shop with a full set of tools and a turning lathe. The superinten-

211

211 MNEMONIC DEVICES--aids to memory, elaborated devices (e.g., wampum, quipu); uses; interpretation, commemorative monuments (e.g., statues); etc. See also:

Memorial structures	349	Tallies	802
Property marks	432		

G 764 234 294 262 /767 cont./ them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

G 764 152 49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched together and wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, bulke, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

G 764

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

G [114] * See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 1) are called largha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center

G 211 and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

CHAPTER XII.

211 I HAD a curiosity to examine the ancient monuments at Tyr, opposite the mouth of the Amgoon river, but we passed them in the night without stopping. There are several traditions concerning their origin. The most authentic story gives them an age of six or seven hundred years. They are ascribed to an emperor of the Yuen dynasty who visited the mouth of the Amoor and commemorated his journey by building the 'Monastery of Eternal Repose.' The ruined walls of this monastery are visible, and the shape of the building can be easily traced. In some places the walls are eight or ten feet high.

211 137 Mr. Collins visited the spot in 1857 and made sketches of the monuments. He describes them situated on a cliff a hundred and fifty feet high, from which there is a magnificent view east and west of the Amoor and the mountains around it. Toward the south there are dark forests and mountain ridges, some of them rough and broken. To the north is the mouth of the Amgoon, with a delta of numerous islands covered with forest, while in the northwest the valley of the river is visible for a long distance. Back from the cliff is a table-land several miles in width.

This table-land is covered with oak, aspen, and fir trees, and has a rich undergrowth of grass and flowers. On a point of the cliff there are two monuments. A third is about four hundred yards away. One is a marble shaft on a granite pedestal; a second is entirely granite, and the third partly granite and partly porphyry. The first and third bear inscriptions in Chinese, Mongol, and Thibetan. One inscription

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

211 announces that the emperor Yuen founded the Monastery of Eternal Repose, and the others record a prayer of the Thibetans. Archimandrate Avvakum, a learned Russian, who deciphered the inscriptions, says the Thibetan prayer *Om-mani-badme-khum* is given in three languages.*

The lowest of the monuments is five and the tallest eight feet in height. Near them are several flat stones with grooves in their surface, which lead to the supposition of their employment for sacrificial purposes. Mr. Chase told me at Nicolayevsk that he thought one of the monuments was used as an altar when the monastery flourished. There are no historical data regarding the ruins beyond those found on the stones.

Many of the Russians and Chinese believe the site was selected by Genghis Khan, and the monastery commemorated one of his triumphs. The natives look upon the spot with veneration, and frequently go there to practice their mysterious rites.

Before leaving Nicolayevsk I asked the captain of the Ingodah how fast his boat could steam. "Oh!" said he, "ten or twelve versts an hour." Accustomed to our habit of ex-

* Abbe Huc in his 'Recollections of a journey through Thibet and Tartary,' says:—

"The Thibetans are eminently religious. There exists at Lassa a touching custom which we are in some sort jealous of finding among infidels. In the evening as soon as the light declines, the Thibetans, men, women, and children, cease from all business and assemble in the principal parts of the city and in the public squares. When the groups are formed, every one sits down on the ground and begins slowly to chant his prayers in an undertone, and this religious concert produces an immense and solemn harmony throughout the city. The first time we heard it we could not help making a sorrowful comparison between this pagan town, where all prayed in common, with the cities of the civilized world, where people would blush to make the sign of the cross in public.

The prayer chanted in these evening meetings varies according to the season of the year; that which they recite to the rosary is always the same, and is only composed of six syllables, *om-mani-badme-khum*. This formula, called briefly the *mani*, is not only heard from every mouth, but is everywhere written in the streets, in the interior of the houses, on every flag and streamer floating over the buildings, printed in the Landzee, Tartar, and Thibetan characters. The Lamas assert that the doctrine contained in these words is immense, and that the whole life of man is not sufficient to measure its depth and extent."

212

212 WRITING--picture writing (e.g., type, technique, use); written symbols (e.g., ideograms, phonograms); systematization (e.g., syllabary, alphabet); reading and spelling; incidence of literacy; writing materials (e.g., parchment, paper, ink); instruments (e.g., pen, brush); methods (e.g., shorthand, chirography); products (e.g., inscriptions, diaries, letters, manuscripts); clerical specialists (e.g., scribes, stenographers); etc. See also:

Communication	20	Representative art	532
Draftsmanship	341	Forms of literature	538
Description of typewriters	405	Signs for numerals	802
Description of writing instruments	413		

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Shternberg commenced a broader and a more systematic of the Gilyak in the first part of February, 1891, when the istration, having learned of his work with the Gilyak, com- ned him to make a family census of the northwestern Gilyak halin from the village of Arkyvo to Cape Marii.

/xiii/ During this trip Shternberg discovered group marriage classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak. Parallel to e carefully studied the clan rules and religious views of the . It might be mentioned here that prior to his scientific re- he had not even had the opportunity to become familiar with sic works of that time on the ethnography of the Far East. what he writes in the preface to his "Materialy /Materials/": o the conditions of my stay on Sakhalin, even Schrenck's n the history and material culture of the Amur peoples re- d inaccessible to me for a long time... (1). From a careful

1. Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, p. viii, St. Petersburg, 1908, publication of the Academy of Sciences.

s of Shternberg's literary heritage and of his first printed it is clear that at the time of his first trip to the Gilyak he t had the opportunity to acquaint himself with either ck's book, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskogo kraia /Concerning tives of the Amur Region/, or even Morgan's Ancient Society ee obshchestvo), Tylor's Pervobytnaia kul'tura /Primitive e/, or the other works on the history of primitive society. other hand, his prison acquaintance with Engels' classic as not wasted on him. There is no doubt but that it was to this study that he was able in such an astonishingly short to discover among the Gilyak group marriage and a catory system of kinship and, basically, to realize clearly l significance of this discovery. Thus, in a letter of the enth of May to his good friend and companion-in-arms in

/xiii cont. /

*114 121 127 [212] revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminology and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and the famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theory and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' works on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of the family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization of the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single family or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed questioning as to what different members of the clan and family call one another and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/ Al-

[161] 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coast, there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethno- [125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin late in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892 [125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along with the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

33 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.

35 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
01 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
17 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
21 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

27 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
87 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
83 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.

27 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
31 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.

27 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
41 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
37 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

203

203 DISSEMINATION OF NEWS AND INFORMATION--informal verbal transmission (e.g., rumor, grapevine); criers and heralds; bulletins and newsletters; etc.
See also:

Advertising . . . . . 447 Conversation 521

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FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

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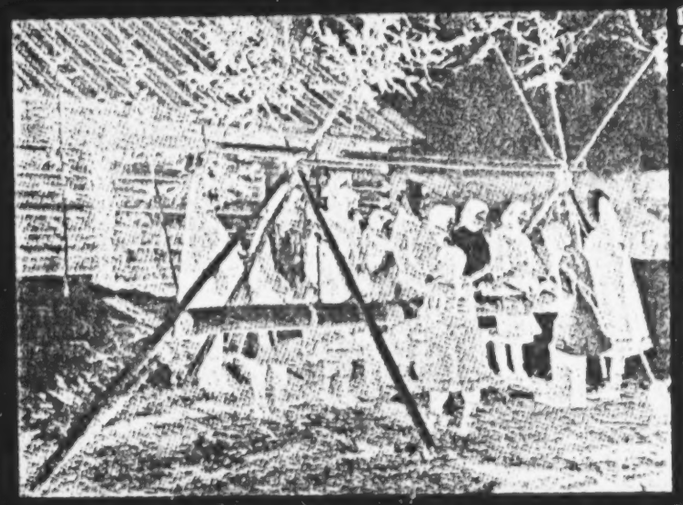

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth. 532 322 [191]

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks. 534 [196]

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi. 871 [212]

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

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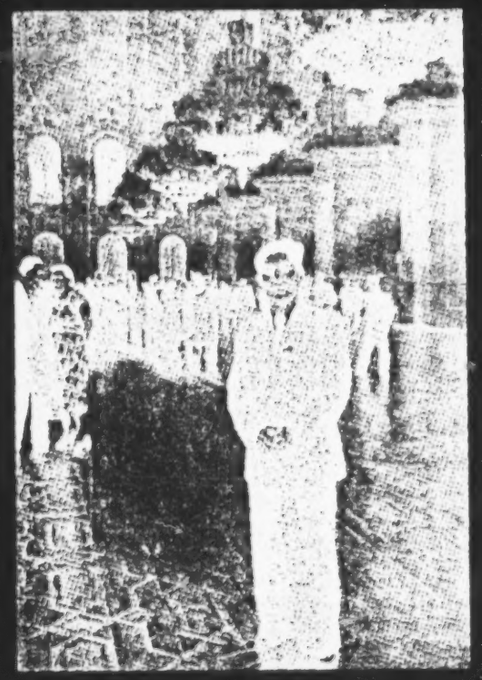
648

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.



Ch. Taksami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

Today the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse med institutions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most ren collective-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet governn was to bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy am the adults. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years a the establishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi yo people were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at c ters for the liquidation of illiteracy.

A Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbo were published. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children w already at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Ni children of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only a the establishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In village of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Nogliki th is a ten-year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade scho in Komosol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-the-Amur.

9: Hawes--240 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 173, 183, 212, 539

"The Gilyaks have no written language, but they have a legend to account for the want of it. I learnt it from one of their number, Imdin by name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak known to have been brought up and educated by the Russians. He is an intelligent youth, and had been sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I met him in the charge of a political exile, to whom he owed nearly everything.

'The legend current among my tribe,' he said, with a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and a Chinaman were talking together one day on the shore. The former was showing his books and letters (characters) to the latter, when most unfortunately a great wind arose, and blew away all the letters save five; and to complete this great catastrophe, when the Gilyak's back was turned the Chinaman meanly made off with the small remnant.'

The Ainus have a not dissimilar legend, in which, according to one version, their letters and records were stolen by their guest from Japan, while they were yet recovering from after-dinner effects."

22

UEST--general statements dealing with several aspects of food gath-
For food production through animal husbandry and agriculture see 23
For the relative importance of various productive activities see 433.

/27 cont./ In

22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/365 cont./

776 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed. But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes on his way without further consideration.

776 782 The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods -- nivukhi -- is quite clear. It is they who provide him with sables, 22 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and bears are just as much the property of Pal'-nivukh as fish and seals are the property of Toll'-nivukh, and as sled dogs are the property of the Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to man. It is not an accident that the fish appear with such amazing regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is not an accident that swans, geese, and ducks molt in the summer and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the 776 782 gods for man; he lives only by these gifts. It is clear that the Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail themselves of: saranka, roots, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When I once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Toll'-nivukh at the beginning of the seal season, they asked me: "But will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the exchange of portions with the nivukhi. That is why the sacrifice may never consist of the same objects for which sacrifices are made; for example, among the dishes offered in thanks for the seal, this last does not figure, although it constitutes an indispensable dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice. Thus, the bear at the well-known festival is in no way a sacrifice, as some think, /366/ for not a single piece of its meat is apportioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory: to sacrifice -- means giving the god something real. And actually, at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-nivukh, is given a sacrifice of saranka, "moss," yukola, and other viands. The [225] principle of exchange in sacrifices is not contradicted by the fact [226] that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple:

G1 T /383 cont./

342 dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need 171 only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

G G1 T In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different be-
361 tween the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the
342 Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later,
22 indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way

G of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are
361 predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal
433 hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyo-
226 phagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in
[231] order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both
[262] for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

G1 T /385 cont./

231 are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more
361 abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

/386/

Section 5

G 291 External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

G As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our dis-
22 cussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and seal-
231 hunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only
175 second place among them; furthermore they keep only one
439 domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals; and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203 above.

G Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, be-
291 sides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from
439 the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/638 cont./

586 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

462 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In 462 general, the man only has to attend to providing the most 22 important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, [251] make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods insofar as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, 462 roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to [313] cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

324 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after [184] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

324 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [198] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

179 By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 433 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material 177 culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a some- 648 what different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering 474 enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities [241] and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi [231] began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resist- [361] ance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. 177 The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with 648 seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked 226 scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats 474 (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing [22] usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin 177 Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was 648 organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. 241 In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its 474 acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

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221 ANNUAL CYCLE--seasonal distribution and succession of food-getting a
other economic activities; seasonal migrations in the gathering or produ
of food (e.g., transhumance, nomadism). See also:
Migrations . . . . . 166 167 Annual ceremonial calendar . . . . . .
Economic productivity. . . . . 433 Calendar . . . . . .

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,
[262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the
[574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and
[796] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February,
[538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the
[261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance
[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In
000

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
[435] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles,
[556] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native 574 517 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without [484] serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 157 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame- 128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 171 174

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely [614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the [595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo- * 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at * 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods 221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times * 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one [521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights [671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have [867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my [764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for * 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to 832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the 585 584

/202 cont./

* 174 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with 177 wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished [221] them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by [437] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of [439] neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purpos of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their [563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peop or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital relations with them or carried off their women. And altho these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

* 174 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has 177 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Ur 556 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or succ [439] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade wi the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consum but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possesso of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousne of their wealth and their importance, and together with thi the ambition to become related to their equals. Among th [583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the marryi of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the woma was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circum [581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti- tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers living together with on

them that the old people had told him that one part of the Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

G /534 cont./
227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
[286] the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and super-
[184] stition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he
must always go around them, never underneath them. And,
finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used
again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among
the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used
in making it.

G
Gi /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
226 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the
433 lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with
a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in
part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in
part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
G
Gi First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
[262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from
the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new
methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that
none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are
or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak,
and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and
with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
G
Gi all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
Gi to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life,
[224] hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying
the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more im-
portant role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is
more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream
and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently,
it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this
away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
G
Gi ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that
the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

G /535 cont./
Gi kinds of eager and assiduous hunting of game, whereas the onset
226 of winter seems to awaken in the latter a passion not entirely sup-
221 pressed by the fishermen's life, which temporarily transforms them,
as it were, into hunting nomads. Nevertheless it should not be
thought that among the Amur peoples the Gilyak alone busy
ooo themselves in the winter with fishing (1). The Olcha likewise

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1. As, for example, Arthur Nordmann ("Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/." -- Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1861, p. 230) says.

Gi
226 The Olcha likewise
practice it to a very considerable extent, and the Mariinski post
221 in the middle of their area was abundantly supplied with fresh
184 fish by them in the winters of 1855 and 1856. The Amur Goldi,
439 too, devote themselves to it, but it gradually decreases among
[262] them going upstream: as I myself experienced, the traveler
going in this direction in winter is more and more commonly
offered deer, elk, and wild-pig meat or fat instead of fresh
fish. Przewalski (2) said of the Ussuri dwellers that fishing

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 98.

practically ceases among them in winter because all the able-
bodied men go hunting then and only the old men and the
women left behind engage in angling. Sitting for hours at the
holes in the ice, they continually move their tackle, equipped
with only a small piece of red cloth or a bit of fur instead of
bait, /536/ up and down, and, despite this simple procedure,
it is said that on good days they succeed in catching from two
to three pood of fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon
ooo trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

/544 cont./
225 Along the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunting
184 takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in
general as long as there is an ice-cover, the Gilyak lie in wait
[192] for the seals at the places where they come to the surface of the
[221] ice to breathe, in order to kill them with the ordinary harpoon,
the tugngy (2) (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 2), also used for spearing

2. This designation primarily refers to the iron point illustrated, but it is also used for the entire harpoon equipped with a pole for hurling it.

sturgeon and hausen, or, when they have crawled out on the ice
itself, to cut them off from the water /545/ and simply club them.
The latter can be done more often and to a greater extent in the
spring, because then the seals are said to enjoy coming out on
the surface of the ice to sun themselves. Both the Tschomi
[221] Gilyak whom I met in Poghobi and the inhabitants of Tägl on the
mainland coast of the Sea of Okhotsk told me that the month of
April, arkail-long, was the month in which more productive seal-
hunting begins along the seacoast and in the Liman. In the Amur,
on the other hand, seal-hunting is practiced only when the river
has no ice, and, to be sure, especially in August, the pilja-
tschrar-long, because then the seals go into the river in greater
numbers in order to feed on the masses of keta salmon (S. lago-
cephalus) going up it. There is a similar situation at the mouth
of the Tymy on Sakhalin, where not only the Gilyak and Orok
living there, but also the Gilyak coming from the upper course
of the Tymy to fish, engage in seal-hunting as well as fishing.
For the former and in open water everywhere, in the sea as well
[192] as in the Amur-Liman and the Amur River, the Gilyak some-
times use the ordinary harpoon (tugngy, Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig.
2), which is hurled from the boat, and sometimes, and most
often, another weapon intended especially for seal-hunting, which
is called lych among them. It consists of a board about a foot
long, which rises a little in front and runs out into a horizontal

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Gi /586 cont./
224 the help of snares (1) in a manner similar to that of the Ainu,
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1. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperatorskoi gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 13, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

and from which they use the contents of the musk sacs in particu-
lar in trade with the Chinese. In converting their hunting booty
into profit, however, the Orochi, because of the great isolation
of their homeland, find themselves at a great disadvantage in
comparison with all the other peoples of the lower Amur region.
In the southern part of their territory, where, as so-called Ta-dse,
they live intermingled with the Chinese they do find, to be sure,
a ready market among the latter for all their hunting but, as a
rule, they are greatly exploited by them in connection with this
/587/ and not infrequently, through advance payments, are made
their lifelong debtors. Farther to the north, however, where the
Chinese element is missing, the Orochi, living almost exclusively
by hunting, rely on their neighbors, the Goldi and Olcha, to sell
their booty.

G
224 In concluding the above consideration of the way hunting
361 is practiced among the peoples of the lower Amur region and its
114 greater or lesser importance for the total pattern of their lives,
I cannot but make room for an observation which the traveler
who has ethnographic aims in mind is involuntarily forced to
make. Whereas winter is by far the most favorable season of the
year for ethnographic research among the Gilyak, and summer
the most unfavorable, this reverses itself more and more into the
exact opposite in an upstream direction along the Amur and its
right tributaries toward the Goldi and Orochi. During the summer
the Gilyak are wholly occupied with fishing and the preparation
of supplies of fish for the winter and even bring something nomadic
into their lives, inasmuch as many, in order to seek localities
more favorable for fishing, then change their place of residence
temporarily and often simply camp in tents scattered on the

2: Schrenck--921 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RUS

G /587 cont./
22 islands of the river and along the tributaries. With the onset of
36 winter, however, all of them again assemble in the more com-
114 fortable and spacious winter dwellings, and there begins a long
period of a quieter and more settled life which, in its regular
routine with the hunting carried on only in the vicinity, the
sturgeon fishing on the ice, the trade and communication, the
manifold domestic tasks and handicraft, the peculiar and pro-
longed bear festivals, etc., offers the ethnographer a rich field
for observation and study. It is almost the same among the
Gi Olcha. Among them, however, and to an even greater extent
22 among the Goldi, life in summer assumes an even more nomadic
114 character as a result of the easily transportable tent dwellings
36 solely used then, and the farther upstream one goes, the more
the winter dwellings are deserted, because part of the men have
left to hunt in more or less remote regions. As we saw, among
the Ussuri Goldi only women, children, and aged people are to
be found in them in winter, because all the able-bodied men go
hunting, and, finally, the Orochi not infrequently take their wives
and children along into the wilderness on their hunting, which
takes up the entire winter. With respect to them, therefore,
summer, which calls them back from the forests and for fishing
and seal-hunting assembles them in the summer dwellings, which,
though likewise only tent-shaped, are located at definite points
along the seacoast and at the mouths of the rivers, offers the
traveler the best time, in fact, almost the only possible time,
for ethnographic research. Thus, all the living conditions of the
lower Amur tribes vary and change greatly, depending on whether
and to what extent fishing or hunting plays the principal role
among them.

T /588/ I cannot discuss in detail the hunting practices of the
224 peoples of the upper Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and
114 Orochon, because I had only fleeting contact with them, and at
a time when, far from their hunting areas, they were still in
part occupied with fishing in the Amur River. With respect to

2: Schrenck--943 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

484 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that
437 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
439 is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a
[157] Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the
Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from
their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodi-
ties, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like,
in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these for-
eign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon
or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
[492] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs
which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in
the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on
the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests.
Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to
take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time,
the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among
them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods,
and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same,
the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese,
they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute
for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting.
Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodity
always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

439 These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
439 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
484 on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak Hynk) and the Samagir on Lake
648 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
[487] and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the
Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact
that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter,
aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the
Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone,
they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic
tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical
location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to
30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself
nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the
hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a
22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after
[184] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat
themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or
guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears
with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season.
Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an im-
portant part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn
in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, return-
ing from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable
on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees
which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century
[177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow
[198] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and
foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large
animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of
the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi
had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in
some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian
metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved,
adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so
forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of
massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old
smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The
887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these
462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation
and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the
skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and
ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did
the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite
179 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective
433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact
of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who
lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and
other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income
from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an in-
significant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and
sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fish-
ing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons.
Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during
the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in
22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola
262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

19:Genest--3 0-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 I like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunter
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, i
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something whi
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with thei
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roan
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whethe
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobse
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along th
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other han
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak wer
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there wa
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addit
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

/246 cont./

Among the Tlingit (the Koloshi) the institution is described
595 in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that
197 "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been observed among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

2. Tvorenitsa Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

XI.

Sexual Life

157 The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with
224 such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves
835 a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual
433 sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn,
could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor.
[226] The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake
221 distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

/333 cont./

224 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
782 trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigynd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

825 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are
177 found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a
784 woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If
[626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs.

Catching a wolf. In Ilkhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus; a net is placed around a tos' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

• 221 Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
[252] and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tkhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tkhusind.

/348 cont./

174 With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the
166 form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak
167 are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats
• 22 each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others
224 to Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their
[136] homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-verst sea voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Duf and the Tym' River, and at that time the Vaaz River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther
[648] to the north. There must have been some reason which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center of their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural dams used by the sable for crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
36 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
In connection with this settlement of
361 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following
221 comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
422 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
837 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
471 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

342 /357 cont./

342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

The above description also applies, apart from the
342 specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwell-
231 ings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

25 Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
• [221] summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter,
[226] one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
[417] hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crossposles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see
000 Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

/427 cont./

000 campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not
• 262 only eaten au naturel, but is also an important ingredient of many
[252] dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to
[231] later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for
262 the dog. In view of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is
• 221 understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or
226 less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on
252 preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. Thus, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers, some of the Liman Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tschomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, move to the Tymy /Tym'/ River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tscho (Gadus wachnja Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast of Sakhalin in order to feast for a while on these fish.
[628] In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of certain places, for example, between the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duf, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

226 However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however,
• 262 they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if
36 there were not at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides those salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality in the Gilyak region is, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of the Amur seldom ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/429 cont./

226 Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak
locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the en-
32 tire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its
361 upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the
low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of
mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than al-
most anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest
224 and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon,
is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon,
and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species gen-
erally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their
great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which
annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the
inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in

[13] various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callaris Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

/429 cont./

226 2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

● 22/ The
226 mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infre-
*262 quently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

226 Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habita-
*262 tion sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas
[361] or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other
259 places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is
*262 always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins
[231] is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating
[264] of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten
ooo without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

184 /430 cont./ Moreover,
252 with regard to these and similar views, there are many local dif-
114 ferences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as
[252] uitsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

226 As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the conti-
● 221 nental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kuli, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

*262 Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself
[114] as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do
[231] not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

[113] 1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

/438 cont./

*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits,
[252] tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccinium
[137] vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-als (7), or also /439/ simply called

[104] 7. The s is soft in pronunciation in this word, like the French z.

als, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them with

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or paghla(n)-als, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and
222 the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the
● 221 fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such
[251] families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house, where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the
252 Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil
*262 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

/516/ Section 8

ooo Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon.- Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed
[171] that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the
[833] peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing
[361] exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various
● [227] peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail.
[121] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

Gi /524 cont./
226 not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that is, toward the end of August at the earliest and during September.
287 Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by
226 the Tschomi Gilyak, unfortunately without any reference to
114 dates, that both species, the tengi-tscho and the lyghi-tscho,
● 221 were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers in-
184 sufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been men-
184 tioned (4), when this fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there.
G Some data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
114 to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff.
226 In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northwestern America, June 22 is given as the arrival time of S. proteus at the mouth of the Udj, and July 9 as that for S. lagocephalus along the same coast (5).

5. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that S. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ala and Uda (that is, Udj) fairly regularly about June 10, and 7-10 days later also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, is given with the reservation, "as is said." It is regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the explanation of the abbreviations which are used for the sources

These people might with propriety be called an aquatic tribe. During the summer they live almost upon the water, paddling here and there in their lodbas with unusual skill. They live, likewise, both during summer and winter, they rely upon the sea for their food, likewise, both during summer and winter, they rely upon source nearly exclusively. While traveling they do in winter be accomplished with ; but this is very little, their preference being decidedly to lie and vegetate in their ty, smoky habitations during the cold weather, waiting for the advent of spring re renewing their out-of-door exercises.

These exercises, rowing and fishing principally, are only partial, benefiting merely muscles of the upper portion of the body. Owing to this fact, it is not unobservable no more strong physical and robust about the chest and arms, while their lower es are comparatively so small and puny as to convey the impression of deformity.

/134 cont./

The place where a distinction is made between the wives of younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for the 10 more honor, the younger brother is one and the same clan everything is permitted (gaed), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." The simplicity and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his sons is intuitively more natural than the Chinese idea of memory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the women and, as far as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse, the right of a woman to complaint against her from his side fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that the husband often through /135/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that the bears, but quite often a gilyak, if he has several children, consider it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tyon of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. He also the substitary right of a wife and her group husbands in the petion of his "brothers" to a particular tyon is not indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, as a complete or substitute spouse (during his sleep or outside the homes), to enjoy their rights, but there are cases when sometimes through such opportunity, a man passes the greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the husband also allows himself, whenever he wishes, days, going into the taiga for berries, roots, and, finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the husband is not the right of group marriage but of group concubinage. The bachelor tyon more of all, only enjoy their rights. Matriarchal remnants of the Amur settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group of the tyon, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/Text cont./

The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the chanim, but "if blood pied jaiset comes, they said:

/Text/

The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Kunstkammera (Ethnographic Collection) 1899, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in The New Zeit, Ed.

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their Ethnical Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainu" means "man," the Gilyak call themselves "nivkh" (nivkhgu, nivkhvu) which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by mispeech of the word "nivkh," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom nivkhvu first had contact. Such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that the word nivkh, Tungus language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, visited the Gilyak and the Ainu, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/438 cont./

Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is very limited. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, annual or perennial, grasses, roots & rhizomes, small new-flower tubers, herbs, algae, and sedges. All of these vegetable foods are used by the Gilyak in the same way as the Chinese, or at least as they are used in and made into various kinds of dishes. The hilbery, Yacrinium uliginosum L. (Gilyak: nuyk-ai-ch (?), or also /439/ nuyk-ai-ch) flowers.

7. The h sch is pronunciation in this word, like the German ich.

Ab. i.e. "bery" (1), in particular stands first among them with

1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the hilbery ibi or paghaiu-ab, i.e., "red bery."

regard to both the quantity and the variety of its manifold uses and the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the fall great stores of this bery are put up for the winter. For this purpose various fastidious, tasty, and nourishing dishes and chilled, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur, and there pick the berries and put them into the sinew sacks or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a small fire is lit, where the sinew is dressed to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kerbe and Limch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, hollow, sinew sacks. For such trips as the Gilyak do by the boats, where, covered with grass, they are stowed for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs for the winter, they also supplied the Russian fleet. Hilberies, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil and stored, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment for the fish, especially pelaka, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

/439 cont./

/439/ northern primeval forest, inaccessible in summer on account of the dense undergrowth and the swampy fields, half-rotted, and many trees, is accessible under certain conditions to foot-travelers and high dogs, stands to the deep layer of snow leveling out all the unevenness of the terrain. In the Ussuri, in China, it is a refuge of the far-bearing animals in their valuable winter coats. As a result, the Gilyak, hunting bears in the summer, or at most visited only here and there along its edges by women and children gathering berries and roots, become in winter a theater of action for the hunters. Through the impassable forest and mountain undercourtesies and mountain passes paths and trails which temporarily connect otherwise remote villages. Moreover, the ice of the Amur-Ussuri does away with the similar position of Sakhalin for months at a time, and finally and primarily the mouth-course of the Amur River provides for the Gilyak a main arery of communication from the Liman up to the Sungari, and, in the winter, the Gilyak, for this reason, much the Gilyak are for winter locomotion. With all the similarity, and, indeed, in spite of the similarity, between the two sides of other, complex they differ enough deviations and peculiarities. The great amount of snow in the Ussuri-Amur region makes it necessary for the Gilyak to use ski at every step. Even the bear is hunted on skis and chiselled, by means of a few steps off the trodden or traveled path, the bear, which has gone into a deep sleep, and then it runs on the wind and deeper. They are, of course, even more indispensable on longer trips through the forest, where the snow is especially deep and loose, or after snowstorms, when, driven by the wind, it accumulates in places, and especially along mountain slopes, in valleys and gages, in such colossal quantities that coming them without ski is impossible. For such trips as the Gilyak by the boats, make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowstorm is against him, it is necessary, for easier and faster progress, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also permit gliding over it. In order to achieve this, the Gilyak apply the wax of the Gilyak ski: small ones -- iskh; and large ones -- ata.

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2. (cont.)

d'un Voyage en Chine (Journal of a Voyage through Chinese Tartary), Paris, 1844, Vol. II, p. 90. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambassade Française en Chine, Relation de l'ambassade en Chine, Paris, 1864, p. 187. Fleming, Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, London, 1853, p. 249. Gérard, France et Chine, Paris, 1860, Vol. II, p. 95.

3. (cont.)

Ethnographic Collection, 1899, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in The New Zeit, Ed.

4. Compare Steenberg, Sieben Jahre in Ostsibirien, 1904, p.57. Gdemann, Capt. Jacobsen's Reisen bei den Kosaken, Ostjaken und Jukagiren in Ostsibirien, Leipzig, 1884, Vol. II, p. 63.

the popular enjoyment of dog meat to Kuea (3) may perhaps be

traced back to Chinese influence.

Dogs are not the only animals which are fed that on mammals, and merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on account of their domestic nature. Other animals are hunted much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed immediately, and, in the winter, when game is especially more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At several places, for instance, the promtsyes (Lagopus alba Gm., Gilyak: ipsiaiu; Sakhalin dialect: ipsiaiu-ch; Sakhalin: ipsiaiu) in large numbers by means of tangle-nets. Along the west coast of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Ch'ut, I saw, when traveling with great relish the Phalaris canarella Fall. (Gilyak: cochia-ngh), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and force to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its nest, is also eaten with relish in order to utilize the hypnosis, or sorcerers by these means its most of death. Gilyak

/Text cont./

in fishing or net-hauling, a natural explanation is found in the circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among the Gilyak of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the rest of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers in order to further their esteem and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the feathers of the eagle as amulets or ornaments, the Gilyak hunt for the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they feel (at) most that are hard to climb and have seen in their age before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scrap until they are so full-feathered, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and then dried for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the mysle-tschum is captured, but also the redtailed-eagle, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Ainu and Limch Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closest and more distant neighbors, the Ainu, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the order species Haliaetus albicilla, Olcha: ambi, Goldi: Ilmachin, and, no be sure, are, at Mauch thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

1. Pueeh, an Amur", pp. 143, 170, 208.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to use the feathers for adornment, which a dose either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu and the Koriens, as has been

remember only two instances when Europeans were killed by natives, without having been the attackers.

The one case occurred in the year 1878 in broad daylight on the ice near present Nikolaiev. A port servant was gored by the tiger. The skull of this animal which was itself killed the next day now belongs to me. It measures seventeen and one-half vershoks (14 centimeters), the upper canines are as long as a finger!

himself takes the offensive, does the monster lose his instinctive fear of man, and becomes a dangerous and terrible natural qualities, to which belong an amazing toughness. Even with five or six rifle balls in its body it continues enormous leaps, and even in its death throes it can still overcome a man. The bullets because of the fur coat are supposed to aim at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart finishes it off. Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dangerous that bear hunting may be considered child's play in comparison, and the peasants and Cossacks should be glad in its dire necessity when the tiger breaks into their stables and cannot be got in any other way. In these cases 15-20 men with bayonets on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on the place where the animal was scented. But the regular method of capture is poisoning with strychnin or the setting up of rifles which go off when the tiger approaches the bait. The corpse of an animal that was killed by the tiger himself usually serves as bait, for the tiger returns to the laddabit habit of returning the day after his assault.

The world markets on the other hand, but rarely shows itself and does no harm. It is seldom shot.

223 Birds, especially ducks and geese, partridge and hazel grouse are now usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set for partridges on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel grouse are lured in spring with whistles, in winter they are gently hazed in a spruce thicket by the girls who live in the surrounding country are the chief purveyors of wild game for the Russian population.

462 We mentioned above the other occupations and embryonic handicraft and trades. Specialization [illegible] is not much more than a division of labor between men and women. The man hunts, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

224 HUNTING AND TRAPPING—animals sought, hunting methods and techniques (e.g., stalking, collective drive), description and use of traps and snares; use of dogs; weapons (e.g., dogs, spears); social implications (e.g., trapping for the fur trade); hunting trips, economic importance of hunting, organization of labor and division of catch; use and ownership of game, hunting territories and taboos; regulations (e.g., game laws, game wardens, etc.); fur-bearing animals (e.g., fur trade); [illegible] of hunting; [illegible] of animal carcasses etc.; [illegible] weapons.

/95 cont./

224 was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact. These fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve the basis of life for the Gilyak. Not only do people catch them, the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the ten of thousands. /96/ are stored in pile storehouses and. in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish, pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds constitute the second source of food for the Gilyak. Finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination demonic beings which he invokes calling on the aid of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagery of the Gilyak appear to him. to cause his destruction. And the terrible monsters by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins. which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy. seals also have been supplied. at first. serve as a seasoning for the hard /98/ and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the bear on the Gilyak is very strong. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by the cold, starvation, or hard work, or has not yet appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat. drinks it in all forms. with tea. with fish. and. and. and

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the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' balagan, they make chuih-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-u'ngyym, the master of the mountains, the master of the sea, "Ka'ngur'ldyd, ga'ldu'ldyd, mundyd" -- "there are no more pressents, make it so that I am not afraid, look after us all!" They also make chuih-bodyd (before a particular tree (cuig-chihar -- a taboood and forbidden tree); then they only feed the fire, saying: "Ungur ir'ch, hisian tugur mul, pal'ch pong ngrud" -- eat well, make the mountain people take pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien Ishkal. Only the master -- ya'ngr -- may clean the fire, nuyemmyr. /385/ The cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the summer quarters in spring: the rubbish is put in one place. Mor' for the fire is prepared also only by the Ishkals. In the winter quarters the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first evening they make the sacrifice to Pal-u'ngyym: "Ungur ir'ch, pal'ch pomrgul mile ir'mash mungd" -- eat well, make the mountain take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old tabaki (trees with tobacco-like leaves) are tied together, and one pipe is made. Near the balagan there is an ala-tashkar on which are bang tabiks, nonets, and so forth. The world cutter is: "Pal pomrgul mile ir'ch'ngyym mungd!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and make me successful in hunting the bear!"

Near the balagan is a pal-u'ngyym-tashkar to which sacrifices are thrown merely with spoons -- no chihlaui are made. They also hang bulmung ad'ch (a birch binding arm's behind) and tymyr'n mash.

Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the com-bun tashkar, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. Anyone from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled head of a zaibe is decorated with mun, placed on sticks on the front part of the beach, near the nonang (the middle plank-bed), and dice, nushka, saraus, and mun are muffed through the opening in the back of its head and placed on the nonang; these are also eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have been put together in chumdyd, sacrificial chihlaui are prepared, and the bones are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and blow all the bones into the hollow trunk.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the zaibe. The remaining beasts are signd hask (i.e., there is no taboo on chasing).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are put down in the right side by side in the taiga, the possessor of them gives the Gilyak luck.

During the hunting with snares (pochakhir o'ch'dondo), a woman must not see anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. The hunter should not eat the bear's side. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but must not take dogs. If a zaibe is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the master of the balagan is responsible, by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunt: otherwise the hunter's luck will go over to the master. In general any person commit an sigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

/386/ Zaibe, when caught, should not be hit on the dog. Catching a wolf. In Ishkam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and hang a dog on it, after they cut off her braids, the was thrown into a funeral pyre.

Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-u'ngyym or by Tol-u'ngyym, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/387/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and "as sharp as a knife, when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer and in fall, he stays in the house).

Ishkim'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Tiner -- the man who did the casing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

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Sakhalin's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

A representation of twin -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chuih-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin die, he goes to his father, Pal-u'ngyym, who gave birth to him, appealing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little tashkar, which is always kept in order to support him.

He is dressed in a white skirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- kasu. The mother of twins is illewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with kasu placed around. According to Pilsudski, the Yaut Gilyak are the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even further to the north, Yaut Gilyak have no reason which would lead them to believe that Gilyak ever ventured to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to settle down there. Instead of hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu hunting territories which they now own. /388/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting, then they set their sources ways down on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural trail used by the sable for movement from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same region for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

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With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the form of the original migration. The sable at present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats with sails, and then go to hunt for sable, often also going as far south as Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but the skin is not rare and those who hunt him are no many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a boisterous sea voyage, striving toward those tempting seaga where the population is sparse and satisfied with the sable, and where the hunting is easy, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. In the time of Sternberg's parents the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond the Amur, and the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Yaut Gilyak are the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even further to the north, Yaut Gilyak have no reason which would lead them to believe that Gilyak ever ventured to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to settle down there. Instead of hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu hunting territories which they now own. /389/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting, then they set their sources ways down on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural trail used by the sable for movement from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same region for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

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The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the Tilm, every member of the clan, wherever he may be, participates in this part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the ceremonies connected with the sacrifice and the festival are carried by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well. Among a great number of Gilyak during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is erroneous. Nevertheless, the festival is purely a clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an event considered to have been the greatest, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most successful when it was made by several clans, the bear was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in some way amalgamated the clans and established a festival ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable. The bear is considered to be a relative of the Gilyak, but not, like the dog, to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-uiuish." It also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor. In meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-uiuish" himself will exact punishment for such offenses, outgoing other bears to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on the other hand, as the nonparticipant clansmen, women of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which the meat of the bear is roasted is started only by the clan elder. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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inheritance. Only with relation to the daughter does the father enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as he pleases. Although this way, we do possess boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their fathers, and the daughters who live in their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained by the father, or, if the father, supposing the sons to be of full success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the reward for the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time, is no longer the meat goes for general use, but the skins. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but the money is not considered to belong to the family, the money is one of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, rather he sets aside the skins of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations of present times, the father is-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (the son-in-law and his children (144 persons on Viskva (116), Nyx (103), Arkyrex (87), Tal'vutgrra and Temyl (64 each), Ulkhuvo and Ulkhuvo Gilyak. This is the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaax (8), Nokyr (8) in the summer the most densely populated settlement is T'anlyv (1,026; tables included in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk, 258 E. /380/ Sternberg's Gilyak population is:

1. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The natives in the village of Kalinino, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth about the number of sables, martens and otters, would come and take away the booty ...

/384/ There are 113 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some idea

/385 cont./

many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the time of his death, and he, in his will, entained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

fertility rate -- 2.76, although this figure is below the actual one, it is not so low because children who have died, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives (the wives of children who died young). Among the Gilyak there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants. For example, one yurt in the settlement of Ivyalno accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of them is Ulkhuvo (144 persons) and Lakyrex (144 persons on Viskva (116), Nyx (103), Arkyrex (87), Tal'vutgrra and Temyl (64 each), Ulkhuvo and Ulkhuvo Gilyak. This is the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaax (8), Nokyr (8) in the summer the most densely populated settlement is T'anlyv (1,026; tables included in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk, 258 E. /386/ Sternberg's Gilyak population is:

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/384/ There are 113 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some idea

[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
433 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[294] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
[294] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
224 Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
[433] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
[648] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
[348] little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
[348] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead
[348] of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney like those with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
[184] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /house/ of the Manchu, from
[191] whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally enters the mountains. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Mur'vo, it strikingly

/109 cont./

1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tchchja and from there to Kuli, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hliska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kuli. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljanskja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the portage at the Ulakyt -- from the Nemlien to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because there neither the localities nor the designation "Giljak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stockenberg (Hydrogr. des Run. Reichen, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

175 come across Ulban Bay and Stegneka Peninsula to the mouth
131 of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for
[184] another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Stegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

There is still no mention of these islands in the reports
175 cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted
131 them on their return trip from the Amur. In the reports
[184] concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon
[224] accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus "there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

/109 cont./
purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

175 2. Müller, Samml. Rus. Gesch.,
131 Vol. III, p. 97.
[224]
175
131
[184]
103

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

[113] 3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, it certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

[192] 4. In Gilyak "island" is pólio-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land", e.g., Sa-mif, Ka-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pólio. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Luhin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandanskij." When the Russians
175 under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar
131 Islands in the summer of 1718, they found them uninhabited;
[184] on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

175 /384 cont./
131 most surely and best obtained by trade, permanent residence in a
[224] place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich
[224] in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into
[224] consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them
[224] with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese
[224] and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for
clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes surrounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessity, indeed essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the mouth of the Amur and with that slot in tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wilderness along the left tributaries of the Amur and Usuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the fare and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dieja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals, in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,

/432 cont./
*262 preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the fear
[136] and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence,
[165] of snake meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilyak do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433/

[113] 9. Wimen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Wenlaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and no whale blubber or oil.

224 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue
*262 fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts,
the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in comparison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such as
*262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal is
[136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close at hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus Pall.,
Gilyak nizgtsch), which is present in such extraordinary numbers in
[191] their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without doubt, the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is well

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherwise are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Translated from

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

484 /473/ northern primeval forest, inaccessible in summer on account
*262 of its underbrush and the many fallen, half-rotted, and mossy
[286] trees, is accessible under certain conditions to foot-travelers and
[184] light sleds, thanks to the deep layer of snow leveling out all the unevenness of the ground, precisely at the time when it shelters
[224] the Gilyak and reveals their valuable winter coats. As a result,
[222] the forest, empty of human beings in the summer, or at most visited only here and there along its edges by women and children gathering berries and roots, becomes in winter a theater of action for the hunters. Through the impassable forest and mountain wilderness hunters and merchants make paths and trails which temporarily connect otherwise remote villages. Moreover, the use of the snowshoe and sled has made the similar position of Sakhalin for months at a time, and finally and primarily the smooth ice-cover of the Amur River provides for the Gilyak a main artery of communication from the Liman up to the Sungari.

Let us now survey in greater detail the means which the Gilyak use for winter locomotion. With all the similarity, and, indeed, in part even identity, with those of other northern peoples, they offer enough deviations and peculiarities. The great amount of snow in the lower Amur region makes it necessary for the Gilyak to use ski at every step. Even for only a short walk from the house, indeed, for merely a few steps off the trodden or traveled path, ski are required if one does not wish to sink into the snow up to the waist and deeper. They are, of course, even more indispensable on longer trips through the forest, where the snow is especially deep and loose, or after snowstorms, when, driven by the wind, it accumulates in gorges, and, in addition, along mountain slopes, in valleys and gorges, in such colossal quantities that crossing them without ski is unthinkable. For such trips as the Gilyak has to make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowstorms surprise him, it is necessary, for easier and faster progress, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also permit gliding over it. In order to satisfy these various needs the Gilyak have two types of ski: small ones -- lakk; and large ones -- [illegible]

/534 cont./
[286] consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
[286] the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
[184] are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

/535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
[184] fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught. First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
[262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for their existence. Among the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest to the Gilyak in all their extensive travels and way of life, hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fishing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
[222] character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

/849 cont./ [illegible] strongly enough; the custom of sticking
[286] the skulls of slain white whales on a tree or, lacking one of them,
[286] on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some
[286] of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

[113] 1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 278.

Ontyak along the Obj River.

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Section 9

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence
[191] of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must
[191] first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks
[191] frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing,
[191] increases the more in immediate importance and significance
[191] the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and
[191] into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region,
[191] just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and
[191] most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most
[191] ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing
[191] people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples
[191] to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate
[191] satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

/313 cont./

morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots, and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzigr. This old man remembers four big takh.

Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur. If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtás', is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/) on which are placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhydz') -- a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

Amur

/313 cont./

778 782 224 225 to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

778 688 The customary takhej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or 782 a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

796 346 782 When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

/550 cont./

224 439 only indirectly inasmuch as it furnishes them with those article
by means of which they can acquire through trade with the neig
boring civilized peoples the foreign clothing, food, and stimu-
lants which have become necessities for them. Hence, among
them hunting is principally directed toward those animals for
whose furs there is a sure and good market among their principa
trade-lords, the Chinese, and since, merely in order to preserv
the pelts as intact as possible, it is practiced for the most part
means of various kinds of traps, snares, poison pellets, etc., or
can designate it, in accordance with its greatly predominant
purpose and character, as the catching of fur-bearing animals.

224 /551/ Obviously, the Gilyak engage in hunting only in
the winter, for they are then occupied with fishing only a little
have enough time for it, and, on the other hand, the animals
are in their full, valuable winter-fur. In addition, the deep
snow then covering the dense underbrush in the forest facilitate
to a great extent movement through it, so that, as experience
has taught, the Gilyak, too, know without any doubt that the
heavier the snow is in winter, the more rewarding and successfu
[171] the hunting will be. Nevertheless the Gilyak do not devote
themselves to hunting in winter nearly as much as their Tungus
neighbors do. Whereas the latter, as we shall see, frequently
move then from their own habitation area into distant forest an
mountain wildernesses, in order to live there for weeks entirely
by hunting, the Gilyak content themselves with practicing it
only in their own territory in a certain area, larger or smaller
cording to the locality, around their winter dwellings. For this
purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes
quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which hav
an especially favorable location for hunting.

The most important fur-bearing animals for the Gilyak,
because they are generally highly valued in trade and are prese
in great numbers in the Amur region, are the sable (Gilyak
lunr, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak oghrob and myghr-nga,
i.e., brown animal), the otter (Gilyak ngy, among the Tymy
Tro Gilyak pchyik), and the fox (Gilyak käkch, among the Ty

d Tro Gilyak paghlant and paghlantsch, i.e., the red one) in different color variations (1).

1. Concerning the designations for these color variations of the fox among the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples, as well as the kinds and the geographic distribution of both the mammals named and those still to be named in the following, one should read my pertinent discussion of the first volume of this work.

The Gilyak for the most part catch the sable, unquestionbly standing first in importance, with traps. The one most ommonly used is the so-called ha, a pinch-trap /Quetschfalle/, hich is set up in the following manner. In the trunk of a tree, a height of about three or four feet above the ground, a hollow made, and in it the end of a beam of corresponding thickness stuck and supported by a little stick resting upon another little ooden stick or plate, which starts at the bait at the bottom of the ollow. As soon as the animal lured by the bait, a piece of fish ukola) or seal blubber, nibbles at it, the little supporting stick ides off its base and lets the beam fall. But in order that the atter pinch the animal more firmly and securely, the edge of the ollow lying under it is framed by a small wooden crosspiece. The a is naturally set up at places which the sable likes to visit, in articular in the bottoms of valleys, on the banks of small rivers, which case the pinch-beam is laid across the brook, because ables like to use fallen tree trunks as bridges in order to cross ver from one slope of a valley to the other (2). Thus,

2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 101) even maintains, having often observed it, he says, in the tracks of this animal, that the sable never goes around a fallen

224

2. (cont.)
tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

224

3. (cont.)
others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among th Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ constructed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberi has already been described and illustrated many times by tra (4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not se

4. Recently, for instance, by Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar us among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them its individual components in comparison with those, in part identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly wi the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gi puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral n in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lo pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, i which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautnes the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply c ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ gener ization such as is not often found among them otherwise, an correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the mov ments of the ku is called kurscho(gr)tsch (1). A small stick

1. The letters in parentheses are only

/553 cont./

224 192 [104]

1. (cont.)

barely pronounced, like a faint growl.

Gilyak tschymrch), fastened to the side staffs as well as to the bowstring, serves for stretching the bow, and another (h, Gilyak ksull), which is connected with the former by a cord (g, ksull-puks), holds it taut, which is possible only as long as it is itself supported at its lower end on a thin stick (i, Gilyak taghr-tschissj) inserted into the cutouts in the side staffs between ku and lyms. The slightest pressure on it is sufficient to make the little stick h fly off, whereupon the taut bowstring is released and shoots the ku down to the lyms, tightly clamping anything found in between. In order to set up the klai, the Gilyak first make a hollow in a tree trunk directly above the snow, into which they put some jukola or seal blubber as bait, and then stick the trap under discussion in the snow in front of it in such a way that the animal can only reach the bait by way of the wooden step i and thus inevitably must be caught. In the klai, also, aside from sable, the above-mentioned, worthless small animals are all too often caught. According to the Gilyak, they sometimes also use this trap in their dwellings in order to catch in them the very numerous and annoying rats (Mus decumanus, Gilyak njagrsch), which, by the way, are not used in any way among them.

224 [136]

Taking advantage of the above-mentioned fondness of the sable to run the length of tree trunks felled across a brook, the Gilyak set up snares on them to catch the little animal. For this purpose, in about the middle of the trunk, a cross row of upright sticks more or less hidden by the tree branches is set up and only a single opening just large enough for the sable to slip through is left between them. Not far from there an upright flexible tree branch is stuck in the bottom of the stream, and the tip of it is bent down to the horizontal trunk by means of a string ending in a noose and is fastened in the opening left for the sable between the cross-sticks, in which the noose, too, is found, with the help of a little hook. The latter, since the opening is small, must inevitably fly off when the sable enters it, whereupon the bent branch jerks upward and the noose tightens around the

/553 cont./

224 animal and lifts it off the beam so that it hangs in the air above the brook and in this position is kept safe from beasts of prey. The hunter, therefore, even in case of a delayed inspection of the traps set by him, does not lose his catch. As customary as this method of catching sable, which is also used by other Amur and Siberian peoples, may be among the Gilyak, I never happened to come across it and am unable to give their name for it.

[171]

Furthermore the Gilyak pursue both the previously named, especially precious animals and some others by means of an apparatus which /554/ has much in common with the above-described clamp-trap and, though likewise known throughout Siberia, must be discussed here in greater detail for the reasons already stated. It is the so-called self-firer /Selbstschuss/ (Russian ssamostrel) (1), a bow which at the slightest touch shoots

[171]

1. It is very indicative of the common principle of these two devices that the clamp-trap, which is generally called tscherkan in Russian, is also called ssamostrel in the Orenburg Gouvernement, according to Tscherkassof (Zapiski okhotnika Vostochnoi Sibiri /Notes of a Hunter in Eastern Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 336).

[192]

(z)

224 192 off an arrow. Among the Gilyak it is called ngarchotsch and has the following nature. A simple wooden bow, as in the case of the clamp-trap, is fastened at its center to a wooden crosspiece (Pl. XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 1, c, Gilyak ksull) (2), on which

2. The identification in the naming of this piece with the small wooden piece h in the klai is most striking; we would rather expect such a one with the fork sticks (assj) of the klai.

/554 cont./

224 the arrow to be shot (d) lies. By means of a looped cord put in
192 its upper part and a little stick f (Gilyak nchimech) bent in a
right angle (cut from a branch) and likewise fastened to it, the
bow is stretched and through that the upper end of the arrow lying
in front of the stretched bowstring is pressed so strongly against
its support that it cannot slip off even if the whole apparatus
were inclined. Finally, when the bow is stretched, a small piece
of wood (Gilyak wettych), g and Fig. 2, ibid., natural size) (3),

3. In this figure, it is shown in a reversed position, the upper side turned downward.

equipped with a long and as fine a cord as possible, is inserted
by its upper, flatly pointed, and polished end at the upper end
of the tension stick and the looped cord. A slight pull on the
cord of this little piece of wood (h, Gilyak tchoch) is sufficient
to make it fly off, whereupon the looped cord also slips off the
tension stick, and, as a result, the arrow is shot. The self-firing
bow is set up on a tree trunk, or on a special pole (Gilyak kizp)
stuck in the snow for the purpose, in a more or less inclined
position, and the above-mentioned thin cord, in a taut state,
is drawn across the place where there is an animal trail or where
one expects an animal to pass. The main thing is to get into
the proper inclination so that the arrow will not shoot beyond the
animal or into the ground in front of it or underneath it. The
inclination naturally varier in accordance with the kind of animal
expected and according to the distance at which the self-firer is
set up from its probable path. For each type of animal, special
aim must be taken in setting up the self-firer and adjusting the
arrow, and for this the Gilyak use a special target-stick, their
so called nchiraff (ibid., Fig. 3), which they know to be accurate
by experience. In setting up the self-firer, it is put at the
point where the animal is to be killed, and the arrow is aimed
at one of the transverse stripes marked on it, according to the

/554 cont./

224 kind of animal expected. I have seen only the target-stick used
192 for the three most important fur-bearing animals, sable, otter,
and fox, as well as for hares (Gilyak chuf and chuft), along the
east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin onyk and kanak, i.e.,
the white one). /555/ On it three stripes or bands, each between
224 two transverse lines, are marked off: if a fox is expected, the
arrow is aimed at the uppermost stripe, point a of the illustration;
if the shot is readied for a hare, one aims at the second stripe,
point b; for sable one aims the arrow at the third stripe,
point c, and, finally, for the otter, toward the base of the
target-stick, point d. The height of these transverse lines and
stripes above the base of the target-stick is the following:

Height of transverse line of above the base (m)	. . 245	mm.
	target height for fox	
" " " ab	. . . 240	"
Average target-height for fox, point a	. . . 242 1/2	"
Height of transverse line ik above the base	. . . 188	"
	target-height for hare	
" " " lm	. . . 180	"
Average target-height for hare, point b	. . . 184	"
Height of transverse line no above the base	. . . 112	"
	target-height for sable	
" " " pq	. . . 112	"
Average target-height for sable, point c	. . . 115	"
The length or height of the whole target-stick amounts to	. . . 260	

224 The arrow (Gilyak kor) used with the self-firer for the ani-
192 mals mentioned has, in comparison with ordinary arrows, a very
peculiar iron point which consists of two prongs equipped on their
inner sides with one barb each (1). So that the animal struck by

1. It is noteworthy that whereas the

/555 cont.

224 1. (cont.)
192 downward-shooting wooden piece on the
khai, in no way resembling an arrow in
its form, is designated in a generalizing
fashion only as ku, "arrow," this proper
arrow, distinguished only by the form of
its point, has a special designation among
the Gilyak.

the arrow, but possibly not fatally and only wounded, will not
escape, the arrow is fastened by a loosely hanging cord (Gilyak
yoghi-pulu) to the pole on which the self-firer rests.

224 The high value of sable, fox, and otter furs makes the use
135 of the self-firer in the form described very general among the
Gilyak, and in the forests surrounding their dwellings one can
easily run into an apparatus of this kind set up, which makes
caution necessary when roaming in them. It is surprising that on
the above-described target-stick the worthless hare has been
given consideration along with the three most highly prized fur-
bearing animals. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that
it is very common in the entire lower Amur region and on Sakhalin
and, in the absence of other animal trails, often provides booty
for the self-firers, whereby a good piece of meat and a fur for
his own needs may fall to the hunter.

/556/ On the other hand, I have never heard it said that the
Gilyak use the self-firer for killing other, more or less valuable,
fur-target animals, such as the lynx, wolf, alpine wolf, musk
deer, reindeer, and elk. There may be various reasons for this.
[191] In general, the Gilyak are not hunters enough and are not enough
interested in hunting animals other than those with precious furs
to undertake long and strenuous hunting trips over a wide territory,
224 to lay out barricades, and to set up self-firers with arrows aimed
horizontally in their passageways, as is customary, for example,
among the Tungusic peoples and is discussed at length by
[191]

/556 cont./

224 Middendorff and others (1). Thus, larger animals are usually
191 killed

1. Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1382 ff., and the woodcut.

only killed by chance with the weapons to be described later.
224 Some of the animals mentioned above, such as the lynx, the
825 wolf, and the alpine wolf, conventionally offer such highly
prized skins that one would expect regular pursuit of them by
the Gilyak, and yet, as far as I know, they do not set up any
self-firers for them. Undoubtedly superstitious beliefs are in
part the reason for this. With regard to the lynx (Gilyak
nchlghi), it has already been pointed out above (2) that the

2. See p. 583 ff. above.

Gilyak see in it an image, as it were, of the tiger, of which
they have such a panicky fear that they hardly dare name it or
talk about it aloud (3). This awe alone may prevent them from

3. See Vol. I, p. 94, of this work.

hurting it in a premeditated fashion and with the same devices
as other animals, and only permits them to go after the carcass
adorned with precious fur in case of an accidental meeting and,
so to speak, in self-defense. The situation is similar with regard
to the alpine wolf (Canis alpinus, Gilyak tcheramatlach, on
Sakhalin tschodamatlach), which the Gilyak do not hunt at all
out of superstitious fear, and which, in addition, only stays in
remote mountain wilderness, into which, with their slight
[191] inclination for hunting, they may come but rarely. Finally, with
224 regard to the ordinary wolf (Gilyak lugr, along the east coast
and in the interior of Sakhalin antk), it is pursued by the Gilyak
[191] [192] [193] [194] [195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] [203] [204] [205] [206] [207] [208] [209] [210] [211] [212] [213] [214] [215] [216] [217] [218] [219] [220] [221] [222] [223] [224] [225] [226] [227] [228] [229] [230] [231] [232] [233] [234] [235] [236] [237] [238] [239] [240] [241] [242] [243] [244] [245] [246] [247] [248] [249] [250] [251] [252] [253] [254] [255] [256] [257] [258] [259] [260] [261] [262] [263] [264] [265] [266] [267] [268] [269] [270] [271] [272] [273] [274] [275] [276] [277] [278] [279] [280] [281] [282] [283] [284] [285] [286] [287] [288] [289] [290] [291] [292] [293] [294] [295] [296] [297] [298] [299] [300] [301] [302] [303] [304] [305] [306] [307] [308] [309] [310] [311] [312] [313] [314] [315] [316] [317] [318] [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324] [325] [326] [327] [328] [329] [330] [331] [332] [333] [334] [335] [336] [337] [338] [339] [340] [341] [342] [343] [344] [345] [346] [347] [348] [349] [350] [351] [352] [353] [354] [355] [356] [357] [358] [359] [360] [361] [362] [363] [364] [365] [366] [367] [368] [369] [370] [371] [372] [373] [374] [375] [376] [377] [378] [379] [380] [381] [382] [383] [384] [385] [386] [387] [388] [389] [390] [391] [392] [393] [394] [395] [396] [397] [398] [399] [400] [401] [402] [403] [404] [405] [406] [407] [408] [409] [410] [411] [412] [413] [414] [415] [416] [417] [418] [419] [420] [421] [422] [423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446] [447] [448] [449] [450] [451] [452] [453] [454] [455] [456] [457] [458] [459] [460] [461] [462] [463] [464] [465] [466] [467] [468] [469] [470] [471] [472] [473] [474] [475] [476] [477] [478] [479] [480] [481] [482] [483] [484] [485] [486] [487] [488] [489] [490] [491] [492] [493] [494] [495] [496] [497] [498] [499] [500] [501] [502] [503] [504] [505] [506] [507] [508] [509] [510] [511] [512] [513] [514] [515] [516] [517] [518] [519] [520] [521] [522] [523] [524] [525] [526] [527] [528] [529] [530] [531] [532] [533] [534] [535] [536] [537] [538] [539] [540] [541] [542] [543] [544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566] [567] [568] [569] [570] [571] [572] [573] [574] [575] [576] [577] [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594] [595] [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602] [603] [604] [605] [606] [607] [608] [609] [610] [611] [612] [613] [614] [615] [616] [617] [618] [619] [620] [621] [622] [623] [624] [625] [626] [627] [628] [629] [630] [631] [632] [633] [634] [635] [636] [637] [638] [639] [640] [641] [642] [643] [644] [645] [646] [647] [648] [649] [650] [651] [652] [653] [654] [655] [656] [657] [658] [659] [660] [661] [662] [663] [664] [665] [666] [667] [668] [669] [670] [671] [672] [673] [674] [675] [676] [677] [678] [679] [680] [681] [682] [683] [684] [685] [686] [687] [688] [689] [690] [691] [692] [693] [694] [695] [696] [697] [698] [699] [700] [701] [702] [703] [704] [705] [706] [707] [708] [709] [710] [711] [712] [713] [714] [715] [716] [717] [718] [719] [720] [721] [722] [723] [724] [725] [726] [727] [728] [729] [730] [731] [732] [733] [734] [735] [736] [737] [738] [739] [740] [741] [742] [743] [744] [745] [746] [747] [748] [749] [750] [751] [752] [753] [754] [755] [756] [757] [758] [759] [760] [761] [762] [763] [764] [765] [766] [767] [768] [769] [770] [771] [772] [773] [774] [775] [776] [777] [778] [779] [780] [781] [782] [783] [784] [785] [786] [787] [788] [789] [790] [791] [792] [793] [794] [795] [796] [797] [798] [799] [800] [801] [802] [803] [804] [805] [806] [807] [808] [809] [810] [811] [812] [813] [814] [815] [816] [817] [818] [819] [820] [821] [822] [823] [824] [825] [826] [827] [828] [829] [830] [831] [832] [833] [834] [835] [836] [837] [838] [839] [840] [841] [842] [843] [844] [845] [846] [847] [848] [849] [850] [851] [852] [853] [854] [855] [856] [857] [858] [859] [860] [861] [862] [863] [864] [865] [866] [867] [868] [869] [870] [871] [872] [873] [874] [875] [876] [877] [878] [879] [880] [881] [882] [883] [884] [885] [886] [887] [888] [889] [890] [891] [892] [893] [894] [895] [896] [897] [898] [899] [900] [901] [902] [903] [904] [905] [906] [907] [908] [909] [910] [911] [912] [913] [914] [915] [916] [917] [918] [919] [920] [921] [922] [923] [924] [925] [926] [927] [928] [929] [930] [931] [932] [933] [934] [935] [936] [937] [938] [939] [940] [941] [942] [943] [944] [945] [946] [947] [948] [949] [950] [951] [952] [953] [954] [955] [956] [957] [958] [959] [960] [961] [962] [963] [964] [965] [966] [967] [968] [969] [970] [971] [972] [973] [974] [975] [976] [977] [978] [979] [980] [981] [982] [983] [984] [985] [986] [987] [988] [989] [990] [991] [992] [993] [994] [995] [996] [997] [998] [999] [1000]

/556 cont./

224 of the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by
191 the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest,
such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used
much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most im-
portant fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise
evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same
time, their predominant and decitive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both
in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal,
not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example,
they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which constructed
in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for
224 the wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg
192 [1000]

1. The s is pronounced softly, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at
the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from
each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The
shorter one (called an ichlak) is sharpened on its inner side,
side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from
its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tignch) (2), on which

2. The s again pronounced softly. Tignch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of nioto or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is
224 put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the
bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and
remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the
kasma is different for the fox and the wolf; for the former it must
[1000] be no more than one and a half feet above the snow, for the latter,
four and a half feet.

/557 cont./

224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
192 catch fox and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
kakch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following. But also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
but they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two
directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western
neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Biegda, and Samagir, among
whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-
caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gotin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (potash), pórokc.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their
southern neighbor, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though like
wise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy
224 Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their
[1013]

5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritanischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 [Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/561 cont.

411 such specimens, however,
566 are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch
bark, are stored away by their owner as symbols of great wealth.

Bear pikes and lances are the weapons most commonly
224 used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like.
During the first period of my stay at the Nikolayev post, when
it contained only a few log houses erected at the edge of the
still completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front
of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward
the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping
there, tried to keep on going by swimming; but the Gilyak
immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water
with their lances, whereupon I received the skin of the animal.
In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement
for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order
to kill them eventually with their pikes and lances. They get
at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested
plains of northern Sakhalin and sets out in small herds on the
ice of the Liman, in still other ways. When in early spring,
under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a
thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough
to support the dogs, but breaks under the reindeer, they pursue
it on a light sled harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with
their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they use these weapons against
the bear. Aside from the tiger, almost only mythical because
[829] of its rarity, and the /562/ less unfamiliar Japanese bear,
which, out of superstitious fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention
by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 90-96) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

/562 cont./

224 prey in their region and at the same time the animal that most
pleases their palates and that, because of the festivities con-
nected with eating it, also plays an especially important role
in their social life. Driving, above all, to capture the animal
alive, they eagerly search in the fallen snow for where a bear
might have its winter quarters. When this has been discovered,
a number of courageous and strong men band together, in order,
equipped with the required paraphernalia of ropes, chains, pikes,
etc., to surprise the sleeper in its lair, disturb its rest, fetter it,
and lead it into captivity. Needless to say, this cannot be done
[579] without a fight, and however skilled the usually experienced
bear-catchers may be, more or less serious wounds are infre-
quently result, which, however, are borne more easily than
others by the Gilyak, because they are regarded as especially
honorable and lend the one concerned an aura of manly fortitude.
224 Nevertheless, the frequency of the bears kept in captivity among
223 the Gilyak indicates that the outcome of the battle is usually
or often successful: there is scarcely a village of any size in
which on a trip through the region, one would not see one or
several such animals. If the place where the bear was lifted
from its lair and fettered is not far from the village to which its
captors belong, it is simply taken to it in its fetters by ropes and
put in the prison kept ready for it. For greater distances, how-
ever, the sleds on which the hunters came also serve to take their
booty home. The fettered bear is put on one or, if the route
permits, even on two sleds put side by side and tied together,
and is brought to its new domicile in a triumphal procession amid
the loud cheers of the sled drivers and the barking of the many,
passionately excited dogs. The nature of the bear's prison and
the treatment of the captured animal will be discussed later in
224 speaking of the bear festivals of the Gilyak, but at the moment
it is primarily only a question of its capture. The battle with a
bear disturbed from its rest does not always end in its being fettere
It often defends itself so tenaciously and vigorously and is so
dangerous for its adversaries that they find it necessary to put an
end to it with their pikes and lances. In fact, the latter happens

/562 cont./

are a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the procesisaij, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not in fact have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on a fish diet. Footnote on the Cost of the Sea of Okhotsk Mildendorff (1)

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two even standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-noses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly associated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their observance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement that by Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce

/563 cont./

it to come out from its hiding place (?). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Gilyaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere in the hunting, fishing, practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstition, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of honor. The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Miawach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

/564 cont./

animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with other pieces of skin in the yurt. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "ulbuch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unblessed, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 85). In speaking about seal-hunting, The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

/564 cont./

to fishing or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among them hunting does not by far stand in the foreground of life to the degree that fishing and seal-catching do.

Delineating the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak, the hunting of wild fowl was also considered above in passing. A few pertinent remarks might be added in addition follow here. By far the greatest number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are not killed by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which on the whole are used very little, but are caught in nets during the molting season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally, but not infrequently, I have seen that geese that get their heads dividing into the water and become entangled in the nets. Among these they pay special attention to the divers. Colymbus septentrionalis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which however, is eaten not for profit, but as a delicacy, but out of superstition, about which I shall speak later when discussing their methods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hang) and white grouse (Gilyak pank), along the Tymy on Sakhalin tschkeala-ngaj, with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied the Nikolayev post during the winters of 1855-1857, are caught by them in snares (Gilyak kun). With regard to the white grouse, I also found superstitious notions and amulets among the Gilyak. Although in a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion, it likewise noted among them the above-mentioned superstition relating to the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird they giving the head first to the buyer.

For the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the fishing eagles: Haliaëtos pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tschamgaltschamp and H. albicilla Brin. (Gilyak mygir-tschamp, in the interior of Sakhalin ach-tschamp). The former, however, occurs only rarely in their territory and chiefly along the seacoast, but the latter, on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout the region, and, in fact, there is hardly any place where the eagle (tschamp (eagle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive from it consists in the fact that their feathers are an important

/576 cont./

In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shown many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Matilda Rimš's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tŭ-tan kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak; for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait — a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov "Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

/576 cont./ More Trustworthy

and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up traps similar to those used by the Gilyak, in the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamui), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I have found nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through the Gilyak living in the forest, in whose elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian — a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are known to have been in no less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of red deer, big game, wild boar, and, to be sure, they are not merely slain and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but are pursued regularly and zealously, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. This has already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points. With regard to food, however, all the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Gilyak, because, for it takes up much more of their time than among the Gilyak, and the farther upstream and inland, the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak contents himself with a relatively small sphere for hunting, set up his traps and self-fixers in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the spots suggested by animal tracks in the snow, visits them from time to time, and at night always returns again to his

/578 cont./

it must have gained far greater scope among all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region and must be of more essential significance for their entire lives than is the case among the Gilyak.

Among the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, too, just as among the Gilyak, the catching of precious fur-bearing animals, such as sable, river otter, and the fox, comes first, simply because by trading them they obtain not only clothing materials and foodstuffs, but also the universally popular luxury articles, tobacco, which has become indispensable to them. It is also practiced in the same ways and with the same means, but over a greater area and with more adroitness and skill and, therefore, with more success.

But whereas the Gilyak hunting is limited almost solely to the catching of fur-bearing animals and thus wholly in the interests of trade, among the Tungusic Amur /579/ people it also extends to no less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of red deer, big game, wild boar, and, to be sure, they are not merely slain and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but are pursued regularly and zealously, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. This has already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points. With regard to food, however, all the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Gilyak, because, for it takes up much more of their time than among the Gilyak, and the farther upstream and inland, the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

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/579 cont./

permanent winter-dwelling along the river or on the seacoast, the Amur Tungus not infrequently undertake long hunting expeditions which may last months, and, in addition, they most significantly express their predominant hunting nature, in contrast to the Gilyak. Although on the whole they have likewise become sedentary fishermen, their original inclination for the nomadic hunting life has not been entirely suppressed and breaks through from time to time triumphantly and irresistibly. In small parties of two to five men, they go on sids to the hunt grounds (hunting-grounds) and, along with them on light sledges, transported to a few dogs the necessary hunting equipment, a few of the most needed utensils, such as small cooking pots, etc., and some food supplies for the initial period. Having arrived at the place, they set up a hunting-hut in the forest a hunting-hut of the kind described above, a so-called alko, which serves them as a common dwelling and from which they make their further hunting expeditions in various directions in a closer or wider sphere. Beyond the hunting-hut they set up traps and self-fixers, the traps and self-fixers set by him, and toward evening the small company appears in the tent around a blazing fire, to eat a meal prepared from the parts of the captured animals. If, however, a hunter has been diverted too far by following an alluring trail or is delayed too long by some special occurrence or adverse while hunting to be able to return in time, he prepares for himself, either a small hut, either a small archer's tent of fir branches, a so-called homors, which I have likewise described above, or a simple resting-place in the snow, in order to have his meal and the night's rest there beside a small fire.

If it is required in the interests of the hunting, the fixed quarters are moved and the hunting carried on over other, less frequent and more productive terrain, and, finally, when enough game has been collected and the pelages for hunting has sufficiently cooled, the return trip to the kin who remained behind in the winter dwellings, to wife and child, is begun, on which /580/ the hunters in part proceed on the sleds laden with the hunting equipment and make a stopover for them and in part will along with the dogs.

/588 cont./

them, therefore, I can only refer to the descriptions by Maack (1),

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 49, 75, and 76.

Gerstfeldt (2), Ussolzef (3), and others. The picture of the hunting

2. "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amur /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/" (Vlestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 307).

3. "Putesh. po dolinie r. Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/" (op. cit., pp. 77 ff.).

practices of these peoples that they give shows the greatest similarity with that presented by their neighbors to the north and to the west, the Russo-Siberian Tungus, who are likewise not at all sharply demarcated from them geographically. On the other hand, how very greatly the upper Amur peoples contrast in this direction, as hunters and hunting nomads, from the more or less sedentary fishing peoples of the lower Amur region has already been noted several times in connection with phenomena discussed above, their dwelling, clothing, food locomotion, and especially their fishing.

To conclude these observations on the hunting of the Amur peoples, as a supplement, so to speak, the contrast that can be observed between the inhabitants of the upper and lower Amur region with regard to the animal species representing the principal objects of their hunting might be pointed out here. Whereas in the lower Amur region, and especially among the most typical and ichthyophagous of its peoples, the Gilyak, hunting is directed primarily and particularly against the precious fur-bearing animals, so that, in accordance with its principal aim and character, one can designate it as fur-bearing-animal hunting, or, on the

/588 cont./

basis of the most numerous and generally most popular of these animals, simply as sable hunting, among the peoples of the upper Amur region, who rely on hunting almost entirely for their food and in large part for their clothing, the meat animals, elk, red deer, roe deer, and wild pig, stand in first place as the objects hunted. Also contributing to this is the fact that the two large animals named first are also used for tributary payments to the Manchu officials (4), and the young and still soft deer antlers are

4. I again draw attention to the fact that my descriptions apply to the 50's, that is, a time when almost the entire Amur region was still under Chinese rule.

an important trade item. To be sure, the precious fur-bearing animals, and especially the sable, are regarded as most desirable booty, and, accordingly, zealously hunted, by the upper Amur peoples, too, but their number has so greatly declined in the course of time, both because of the constant and strenuous hunting and because of the frequent and extensive forest fires, in part caused by negligence and in part intentional, that, in addition to them, other animals formerly regarded as worthless and ignored have acquired value. In particular, as the sable gradually disappeared, the squirrels serving as food for it became so much more common and numerous that along the upper Amur and its /589/ tributaries on both sides they have already become the principal objects of attention for the hunters, and, though of little value individually, they repay their labor and expense because of their great numbers. The Schilka and Argunj Cossacks, who annually in the fall and organized in small companies (artels) undertake long hunting expeditions lasting for weeks and months in the Orochon and Manegir territories, therefore simply call this hunting of theirs, in accordance with its chief purpose, "belkowjo" (1), i.e., squirrel pursuit. Thus, another

1. Accordingly, the verb "belkowatj," i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting.

/589 cont./ Thus another

characteristic difference between the hunting conditions of the lower and of the upper Amur regions is presented by the sable hunting of the one side and the squirrel pursuit of the other.

Contributing very essentially to the change from the former to the latter in the upper Amur region, however, in addition to the causes given above, are the handy firearms, the small-caliber, Russo-Siberian rifles, which came from Siberia and whose importation and adoption are growing more and more in the course of time. Whereas in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay in it there were no guns at all, with a few minor exceptions (2), these rifles were already in general use among the

2. See p. 868 above.

Orochon, thanks to their immediate proximity to and long association with the Russians, and among the Manegir, too, they were already gradually pushing out the long and unwieldy Chinese matchlock guns, which were not very serviceable for hunting. Since the occupation and colonization of the entire Amur region by the Russians, the spread of good or at least serviceable firearms has made rapid advances in the lower part, which, in combination with the growing number of hunters must lead to a heavy decline in its wealth of sables and other animals in the future. How disastrous the consequences of this will be for the indigenous population of the region living on this wealth is easily grasped and can be judged in greater detail on the basis of the following discussion.

/600 cont./

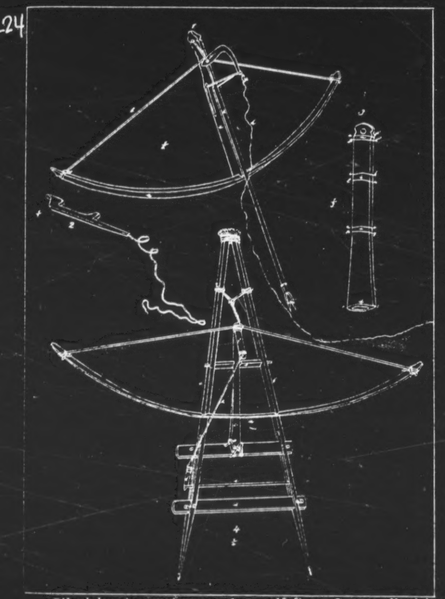
1/2 ja, a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these worthless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like the furs, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon, for example, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand because the fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in this respect as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of it, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to the above table /see p. 935/.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable, fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

2: Schrenck--1023 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- self-firer; 2 -- small stick (g) that goes with it; 3 -- target stick for setting up the self-firer; 4 -- trap for small animals.

2: Schrenck--1086 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/669/

423 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
224 that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunt-
226 ing, except for the places on the river where they have their
619 salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the
[648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to pene-trate into their territory without molesting them.

685 Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also
[421] based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and
[123] dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-
[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to
685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from
648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted
[192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met
685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc.,
123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a
324 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after
22 the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat
[184] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century
[197] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow
[198] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The
887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these
462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite
179 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective
433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in
22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola
262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

9: Hawes--179-180 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 776, 782, 825

"Gazing carelessly at the bank, I espied a head peeping out of the long grass, and called to my interpreter and the natives in a low voice, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!). Seeing nothing, they smiled; but on my reiterating and pointing, Vanka caught sight of it, and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! Gilyakskiy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak dog). Now, occasionally we had seen a native dog sitting alone at a distance from a village, fishing or waiting for his master, and we therefore hesitated; but before we had realized the mistake the animal had got up and trotted off, disappearing into the tall rushes and grass, giving us, however, one clear view of a beautiful coal-black fox with a white tip to his great brush. Even as he disappeared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet stryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh budet serditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The god of the mountains will be angry), and much more as to the fate the lord of this region would have in store for us should we cross his will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hopeless to expect to come up with the animal.

According to Vanka, if we had killed it, its brethren would have been informed, and when we set out for the winter's hunt they would have banded together to kill us. If Vanka was really sincere, I think it far more likely that he feared lest his winter's hunt should suffer, because, by killing thus in a haphazard fashion, it had not been inaugurated with the usual ceremonies. To seize of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh (he is lord of the forest and all therein) before acknowledging in due form his sovereignty and bounty, was to risk bringing down his wrath upon our heads."

9: Hawes--211-212 T-3
116, 224, 776, 782

"It is a wintry scene. The snare
streams and forest creeks. The fi
thin mantle of white. The cold nor
silent in the sombre depths, hangi
the hush a shadow steals quietly a
accustomed paths. He does not ca
log whereon to pass. All unsuspec
blocked by a tiny barrier of sticks
one way, is left, and that through
pushing through, he struggles, an
and a bent twig at one end of the c
are out, but each brings his first
the great giver of them, the lord
without grace, to start off on the i
are so valuable that anything, eve
them--without due acknowledgmen
dispense with feasting? and pieces
ground as an offering to the god,
cast into the sea. At this point it i
elsewhere, to call the attention of

es are set on logs and branches spanning the narrow
rst snows have fallen, covering all the forest with a
th wind hurries across the land. The trees stand
ng their hoary, lichen-covered branches, and amidst
cross the scene. [212] It is a sable. He goes by
re to swim the cold water, but seeks a fallen tree or
tingly he creeps along a trunk, only to find his way
, arranged in the shape of a fan; nevertheless a way,
a loop in the centre. Rising on his hind-legs and
d in so doing releases a peg hitched with a ratchet,
ord flies back, tightening the noose. Many trackers
catch to one place, where due honour is then paid to
of the forest. It would savour of greediness, of meat
mportant hunt of the sables--creatures whose skins
n in later times 'fire-drink,' may be purchased with
t to the giver. A feast is made; for what function can
s of roasted flesh, tobacco, etc., are dug into the
just as in the seal festival, we shall see, bones are
s necessary, lest he be not observing or engaged
Pal ni vookh to their offering, so they whisper,

9: Hawes--211-212 T-3
116, 224, 776, 782

'Chookh, Chookh,' i.e. 'God, Thou Go
rush (daimones) should hear; for these
of the forest, and might make off with th
Pal ni vookh generally walks among the
making their offering on high ground."

od.' They do this in an undertone, lest the pal-
: evil spirits dwell in the swamps and the deptl
ne offerings. For this reason, and because
mountains, the Gilyaks take the precaution of

9: Hawes--211 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 224, 527, 805

"Among the Gilyaks the hunt is preceded by
(Mustela zibellina) and seal hunts commence e
and thus he has two years to our one. If only t
be the envy of his western compeers. These tw
respectively, are called the winter year (tulf-a
opened by holiday festivals. The sable holiday
sonch, or 'the prayer to the lord of the forest.

an interesting ceremony. The sable
ach a new year in the Gilyak kalendar,
e Gilyak child kept 'birthdays,' he would
o years which begin in October and April
n) and summer year (tolf-an), and are
goes by the name of Pal ni vookh chi-
' "

9: Hawes--296-297 T-3 (
116, 224

"The autumn is not, of course, t
poor summer-coat on, which is of
though hunger or venturous hunters
When he comes forth from his cave
kindled in front, or by the sticks a
of Gilyaks lets fly an arrow at him
favourite track, where is placed a
touches the cord the iron-pointed a
of pain he turns on his pursuers,
One, however, is too late, and the
embrace. The unfortunate victim's
attention. They worry him with sti
man, one of them stands unflinchin
seems madness to stand thus, for
but it would be useless to do so, f
art of parrying. He holds his spea
the ground behind him, and the poi
It is a terribly anxious moment. H
flinging himself [297] upon him. A
bear is wounded and the man is sa

he season for bear-hunting, since Bruin has only his small value as fur. Early spring is the best time, s may rouse him from his torpor in mid-winter. e, half awake, and driven by the smoke of a fire nd stones of the hunters, one of the surrounding circle , or the whole party attempt to drive him down a yu-ru (an automatic bow and arrow). As his foot rrow is released and pierces his side. With a snarl who scatter in all directions, some climbing trees. bear is upon him, and has him already in his deadly companions approach and try to attract the beast's cks and stones, and when he drops the unfortunate gly waiting the onslaught of the infuriated animal. It he makes no attempt to thrust at Bruin with his spear; or he knows too well that the bear is a master at the r apparently quite harmlessly, for the shaft rests on nt on a level with his chest is hidden beneath his tunic. ow can the man escape? The raging beast is now ll hope is gone. But no. What has happened? The fe, for as the animal hurled himself at the hunter,

116, 224, 782

"When the hunting season is advanced
adopted. The native sets out with his do
imal, and drive it up a tree. The hunter
stuns his prey. With fair success he ma
He is careful so to kill them as not to in
like a sock. Half of the flesh he gives to
vookh."

, another method for the capture of the sable is
gs, who quickly find the tracks of the little an-
then lets fly a blunted arrow, and, if skilful,
ay thus catch seven or eight sables [213] in a da
ajure the skin, and in skinning he strips it off
the dogs, and the other half he offers to Pal n

the latter, in the twinkling of an eye, step
and the great beast impaled himself upon
his movements are impeded by the spear.
iron, for such is Bruin's cunning that he
through his body so that it may not hinder
efforts now grow weaker from loss of blo

The real bear-hunting season is rather
and the tiny streams are let loose in the
emerges from his winter's sleep and seek
the mountains. This is the opportunity of
favourite routes, and set their yu-ru. An
lets fly the arrow automatically, and wou
leaves his bloody tracks, and the hunters
hausted, he falls a prey to an archer or t
then drawn on a sledge to their village, a
During the winter such a lucky find is a w
of the prospective value of the skin."

pped back a pace without moving the spear,
it. The animal is still very dangerous; but
. On the shaft is a crescent-shaped piece o
is said sometimes to push the spear further
him in his angry pursuit of the hunters. H
od, and finally he sinks down dead.
later. As soon as the snow begins to thaw,
high valleys, the chief inhabitant of the fore
s food, going backwards and forwards amo
the native hunters. The Gilyaks discover h
unsuspecting beast trips over the cord, wh
nds, but does not kill him. Nevertheless, h
, following these up, worry him until, ex-
he owner of an old shot-gun. The carcass i
nd after two or three days a feast is held.
elcome addition to their menu, to say nothi

0: Coxwell--128 B-3 (no date)
6, 224, 539, 688

"THE GILYAK WHO MATED

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 5

Sternberg says that after every successful be
erformed; part of the meat being eaten and par
ide. In our story, the hero carries away meat
rime punishable by the gods. The Gilyak was
xtraordinary, namely his love for the tigress,
nd he married her. The largeness of the sacri
nportance of the tigress."

1925 Gilyak

WITH A TIGRESS
539, pp. 120-121.]

ar hunt, a religious ceremony must be
rt carried to the relatives on the mothe
to the forest; such an act being a great
induced to behave thus by something
a creature more powerful than any bea
fice in the story corresponds to the

10: Coxwell--130 [2] B-3
116, 224, 539, 782

"THE MOUNTAIN-DE

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see cat

It is noticeable that the hunting party,
but to the mountain and the sea. Later,
real relief in the power of the mountain
in the middle of a perilous adventure, b
sacrifice a reindeer at marriage; also d
foal, an ox or a cow to their gods, Kere
The Eskimo have a tale of a mountain
pretended to be dead in order to see wha
spirit carried the man to its home and t
captor, also the latter's children. The d
he escaped by telling hills to rise up and
pursuer. (3)

3. Rasmussen and Worster

(no date) 1925 Gilyak

VIL IN THE FORM OF A TIGER
tegory 539, pp. 126-127]

on setting out, sacrificed not only to the fire,
the sacrifice of dogs to the mountain shows a
spirit. In the Ostyak tale, 'Aspen-leaf,' the hero,
ends his neck in worship of spirits. The Yukaghirs
eer to a river. The Tcheremisses sacrifice a
met and Sheert.
spirit that dug up the body of a man, who had
t the mountain spirit would do. The mountain
e man soon opened his eyes and killed his
lead mountain spirit's wife pursued the man, but
a stream to flow between himself and his

, p. 84."

136
224
825

remember only two instances when Europeans were assaulted by it without having been the attackers. The one case occurred in the year 1878 in broad daylight on the ice near a post station. A post servant was gored by the tiger. The skull of this animal which was itself killed the next day now belongs to me. It measures seven and one-half vershok (33 centimeters), the upper canines are as long as a finger.

himself takes the offensive, does the monster lose his instinctive fear of him, and then suddenly shows all its terrible natural qualities, to which belong an amazing toughness. Even with five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes enormous leaps, and even in its death throes it can still overcome a man. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is supposed to aim at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart finishes it off. Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dangerous that bear hunting may be considered child's play in comparison, and the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in dire necessity when the tiger breaks into their stables and cannot be got in any other way. In that case 15-20 men with bayonets on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on the place where the animal was scented. But the regular method of capture is poisoning with strychnin or the setting up of rifles which go off when the tiger approaches the bait. The corpse of an animal that was killed by the tiger himself usually serves as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of returning the day after his assault.

The wolf exists on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself and does no harm. It is seldom shot.

223 Birds, especially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel grouse are now usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set for partridges on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel grouse are lured in spring with whistles, in winter they are openly hunted in spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the surrounding country are the chief purveyors of wild game for Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

462 We mentioned above the other occupations and embryonic handicraft and trades. Specialization [124] consists in not much more than a division of labor between men and women. The man hunts, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

225

225 MARINE HUNTING--animals sought (e.g., whale, alligator, seal, dugong, turtle); methods and techniques employed; special elaborations (e.g., whaling and sealing); organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; regulation; etc. See also:
Weapons 411

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/53 cont./

825 run on the harpoon of the Gilyak. Woe to the animal who falls to his teeth; he tears the great eared seal in half. The most awful sight, however, is kosatki hunting a whale. "Sighting him, the school of kosatki divides into parties. The younger ones set out on the flanks, trying to contain the whale, while the older ones remain in the rear. Having thus stationed themselves for a battue (cautiously without noise so as not to frighten the whale), they suddenly appear on the surface of the water when they calculate that the catch should be in the middle of the circle they have formed. They then throw themselves savagely upon the whale and begin to tear his body into large chunks and greedily swallow them. They all vie in particular to try to get his tongue. The whale thereupon raises a soul-rending roar which can be heard for many versts. Hearing such a roar, I always knew that somewhere close by kosatki were hunting a whale." Thus the zoologist Voznesenski described this terrible sight in the Aleutian Sea, and I happened to see the same sight many times in the waters of the territory of the Gilyak.

And yet this same monster before whom quake the titans of the sea, this tyrannus balaenarum (tyrant of whales), as he was called by Fabritsius, an ancient specialist on whales, not only never touches the boats of the Gilyak, but is his true benefactor, driving nammals and fish to him!

● [225] /54/ For hours on end the Gilyak waits in his fragile little boat for the appearance of the head of a seal on the surface of the water in order to throw his long harpoon into him. But the cautious seals prefer not to appear at all, or show themselves from under the water only to dodge in a most crafty way the blow directed at them. Then, quite unexpectedly, as if specially sent by someone, seals, eared seals, and beluga begin to run onto the harpoon of the Gilyak... The kosatka has appeared, forcing the inhabitants of the sea to throw themselves in all directions without a backward glance! -- How, after this, could the Gilyak not consider this mighty creature, who does not spare anyone but him and, in addition, is his bread winner, sending all sorts of sea animals, his god-benefactor? And he calls this animal none other than yz' -- "master."

476 615 885 591 796 615 476 /122 cont./

blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 * 614 476 574 [606] [431] The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There

* 614 731 476 574 606 615 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

615 224 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

● 225 476 * 614 The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

* 614 615 224 ● 225 476 /123 cont./

from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participatio not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general, i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than h does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know, with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan th ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their gener tion are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any r women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in th broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young ma population, they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i, where they meet the same reception from their

* 614 615 608 [601] "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Betwe the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1), as a result of

1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage, the most touching relations are established. It is in these su roundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchan of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such servic But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood n be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example, es cially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. B friends, "navkh'i," lived in one yurt; they had everything i common, went about together like lovers, almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both

225 The seal (1) is caught in several ways. On the island of
411

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long which is thicker at its lower end is laid into a wooden trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyak pursues it, often at the risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to it he places the trough which somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, aims and throws the lance while holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

225 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbakh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: near a place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom of the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunter conceals himself. The seal, all unsuspecting, climbs on a stone in order to sun himself and is hit by the lance which is attached to the boat by a long strap.

Finally the seal, when he is sunning himself on a rock, is sometimes killed by means of an endlessly long lance, the lower end of which lies on the shore.

The sea lion frequently is found on the coast of Sakhalin and it is the simplest thing in the world to kill it. The animal is stupid and at the same time inquisitive and lets the hunter come so near that he can beat it to death with a club.

224 The otter is frequently seen on the rivers of the country
225 and its pelt is very much prized. It is shot, sometimes even killed with sticks. Cross-bows are also sometimes set up for it, as for the sable.

224 Of land mammals the bear, the elk, the reindeer, the fox,
554 the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. The scars which a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men do not attempt this single combat and go after the animal in pairs, and [121] armed with rifles; sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

224 For the bear festival (se
527 sought and are raised in a
be caught in any other way

1. Sometime
about so far
that they can

with the mother bears. T
seek out a bear cave. On
out for the cave with lance
empty dog sleds. They be
ing long sticks into the cav
roar tremendously and sta
stant the bravest and stron
close to the entrance with
soon as the bear appears
against the bear's head.
leader and thus the alarme
impact and is soon bound.
he cannot be handled, he i
a noose is also put around
If the prisoner was a fema
home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in t
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk
farther up at the Amgun riv
because, like the horse, i
the deep snow, and the Gil
overtake it and kill it with
animal is killed with rifles
skin is used for shoes, st

The reindeer is also hu
manner. Occasionally the
tance from the target.

The wild boar does not
Amur; however, it appear
It is hunted with lances an
popular, its skin, among
drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably p
278 the Gilyak buy from the C
439 strong; much faster, in fa
effect of its alkoloid, i.e.
hunters use but which the

ee below) live young animals are
special enclosure. If they cannot
(1), they are sought out together

s young bears roam
from their mamas
be easily caught.

he Gilyak wait for winter and then
the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set
s, hatchets, straps, and several
gin to irritate the bear by thrust-
ve. Whereupon bruin begins to
rts to leave his cave. At this in-
ngest of the Gilyak takes his stand
his pelt coat on backwards, and as
he hurls himself with his chest
The others hurl themselves on their
ed bear is felled by the combined
If he is strong and raging so that
s immediately killed. Sometimes
his neck as soon as he appears.
le with cubs, they are all taken

he lower Amur region, that is, in
-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat
ver. It is usually hunted in winter
t can travel only with difficulty in
yak on his snow shoes can easily
his lance. In summer time the
. Its meat is very popular and its
raps, etc.
nted chiefly in winter in the same
lance is also thrust at some dis-

occur on Sakhalin and the lower
s 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk.
d with rifles. Its meat is very
other things, is used for the shaman

oisoned with the vomic nut which
hinese. But this poison is not very
ct almost instantaneous, is the
, strychnine, which Russian fox
Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

224 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
278 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
439 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

224 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

136 The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for
224 it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs
825 only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

'About the same time of the year is set the kas-m
rly interesting from its extraordinary simplicity.
k in it, and cuts it very carefully to the required
s a piece of flesh, wrapped in a rag to prevent the
ning along, suddenly feels the pangs of hunger esp
meat. How good it smells! Cautiously approachi
his hind-legs, he sniffs, and tries in vain to reac
h. He then tries with his paw, but the meat is fir
es again and again until, with a great effort, he 'o
paw in the fork of the stick and cannot withdraw i
paw up, until the Gilyak comes to examine his tr

a, or fox-trap, and this is partic-
The Gilyak takes a stick with a
length. In the fork of this piece he
birds eating it. Master Reynard,
pecially poignant as his eyes fall on
ng, and raising himself hesitatingly
h the bait with his mouth. It is too
nly tied. Fairly roused now, he
'er reaches himself,' and lands
t. There he stands, helpless, with
aps."

"All these traps and snares of the Gilyaks
the beginning and end of winter, when the sn
of storms, snares and tracks are covered u
in all her moods, and, recognizing the appr
they shall be lost, vowing in his heart that e

The sky is already wrapped in swaddling
sweeps through the forest with howls; blast
snow whirl by. The buran is upon him, and
its bitter cold. A group of reindeer is huddl
They are standing with their heads to the g
Blinded by the snow, their keen sight and po
weather, they have forgotten all caution, ye
bear or man. But what is happening? There
objects, and in a momentary lull of the stor
Their hoofs sink deep into the snow, and, di
the trees with the unerring dexterity of caln
glide like lightning after them. For long hav
just this opportunity of the buran to catch th
shoot in this weather, and while running, is
tray him.

are of use in calm weather, especially at
now-covering is yet thin, but with the arrival
p. The native has [299] learnt to know Nature
oach of a gale, gathers up his traps before
even the storms shall yield their prey.
clothes of snow. The north wind blows, and
after blast succeeds, and clouds of driven
he knows it will endure for a long time with
ed together on the borders of the forest.
round, for even they are cold to the bone.
ower of smell having failed them in this
t stand shivering and trembling in fear of
is a slight stir. They have seen some dark
m have fled helter-skelter into the forest.
istracted by fear, their antlers do not clear
ner moments. Dark figures, in shaggy skins,
ve they tracked this herd on skis, and waited
hem. Each hunter has a knife in his hand. To
impossible, but a good knife will not be-

ddenly a whitish-grey great buck is ca
in to free himself. Like a bird the wil
rs, stabs it under the shoulder. With
kly stripping off the skin, sits quietly
his home, in the buran."

ught. Absalomwise, in a tree, and struggles
d man is up with it, and, catching it by the
a gasp the animal falls, and the hunter,
down and begins to feast. He was born, and

5, 224, 483, 527

He [LSS: Vanka, the author's Gilyak be
ays since there had been a bear-hunt b
vo cubs had fallen to their prowess. Or
one. Starting out with the dogs, they ha
nd the dogs immediately began to worr
other bear called to them to 'take care
hile, the dam was shot. An experience
seal-hide noose in his hand. With this
climb down by degrees. The carcase
rawn by the dogs, and the orphaned cub
ence on the morrow there was to be a
ere coming in to celebrate it."

oatman] was in high spirits, for two or three
y his friends of Ado Tim, in which a dam and
ne old Gilyak described to me how the hunt had
ad come up with the ch'uff and cubs in the fores
y the cubs, biting at their hind-legs until the
e,' and run up a tree. This they did, but, mea
ed hunter then proceeded to follow the cubs with
he lassoed them, and, descending, forced ther
of the dead animal was then placed upon a sled
bs were led, pushed, and dragged to the village
great holiday fête, and Gilyaks from all around

604 This formula has preserved its ritual significance even
605 today. One is supposed to send spiritual help to the ten-law
606 gods of children and a share of every catch. Moreover, the
607 hunting gods of the category *jinga* during the course of some
608 months out of the year are entailing guests in the settlement
609 of their fathers-in-law and are indispensable participants in
610 the more important hunting expeditions.

In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the
611 time of distant sea excursions for the hunting of sea animals.
612 The master of the boat — he is the head of the expedition —
613 in such cases especially summons his *yrugi* to take part in
614 the hunt (I).

1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely matriarchal tribe. Here, so respectable a chief, one must not shoot in him. There is a contest going on on the other side — that is Pai-yu'-ut, a mountain master — likes a black dog. Tol — sea master — a white one. Each large house has two fires, Pai-ruu and Tol-ruu. If a person has one move, it is enough for Tol-ruu; and if he has bad luck, he blames the gods to a classman of that Shala who has two sources.

615 All this time the *yrugi* are not only fed for nothing, but
616 when they leave they carry away with them an equal share
617 of the catch and various *Pilsi* gifts besides. Only relations
618 with these young men are often much more tender than with
619 one's own children. And this is entirely understandable. For
620 a man's *yrugi* are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his
621 tribesmen, who under a maternal system must live with him,
622 while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement
623 of their wives and will be completely estranged from him.

624 This obligation for the "nourishment" of the tribesmen
625 through the female line, however, is a customary institution
626 in matriarchy. Among several peoples, as, for example,
627 among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the property
628 of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely
629 improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to revolt
630 with impunity the possessions of his uncle. This right is

Pilsi comes.

631 morning it is necessary to take back the sti and so forth quietly
632 and healthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-o'lvish
633 can see them and, by these signs, see what they had on the nature
634 of the Tly-o'lvish and "if he has a good or bad gift." Tly-o'lvish
635 "rain" *Pilsi* or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught some-
636 thing, one caught nothing, and one pursued bad gut and nothing.
637 What is the reason for this?"

During a talk — smallpox epidemic — in Tyr all the
638 Gilyak *nanaghik*, make a sacrifice — bow, present rice, roots,
639 and berries. First the 118-year-old man Zyavkaya from the vil-
640 lage of Pal'mun's sacrificed. They play bone dice for the dead.
641 This old man remembers four big *tabi*.

642 Pal'mun's tree with distinctive peculiarities, and on winter
643 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made
644 to one's own Pal-yu' (the master of the mountain), but they are
645 not made to Pilsi-yu' (the master of the sea), because, as regards
646 seen on a bushi. One must not shoot in him. There is a con-
647 test taken going on on the other side — that is Pal-yu'-ut, a mo-
648 untain master — likes a black dog. Tol — sea master — a
649 white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-ruu and Tol-ruu.
650 If a person has one move, it is enough for Tol-ruu; and if he has bad
651 luck, he blames the gods to a classman of that Shala who has two
652 sources.

653 Tol-tabkhip — a tabkhi of lands; a hammer, chong-shok'-
654 ch hung on it. Near it is a halgyep (bench) Fabar-pun which are
655 placed the corners of the house, and the Tly-o'lvish sacrifice. At
656 they invariably boil the dolphin, here the bones are left to lie,
657 and the shells and fins, which are placed in a kabuch
658 *Ranghi*, i.e., a place where they put shells. During the Tymmdo
659 only two dishes are placed on the halgyep — mos' and mos
660 (jelly-like dish). It is also from here, in the presence
661 of the entire Shala, that they throw a little of everything into the
662 Amur, but say nothing — otherwise another misfortune will
663 occur. — Then on the tabkhi they hang tobacco, *ngok* (*Abbyde*) —
664 a bush, *yuhala* — *pyr*, and announce that everyone should come
665 out and feed it. In the main office of the Tymmdo, they feed
666 with impunity the possessions of his uncle. This right

667 /313 cont.
668 to dunar; "Tra-ka?" — Is it enough?" — "Tra-ka!" — Is it enough?
669 Everyone approaches by honors and feeds it, and each says his
670 own: "Send the blessings to me, Tly-o'lvish, and so that every-
671 body must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would
672 be a heavy sin if they were to come back separately."

The customary tabkhi of a hunter is the individual sig. Any-
673 body who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has
674 smelled a bear's skin (the place for the bear festival), he appeal
675 *kumlaghi*: assumes, and they judge him; they demand a bear or
676 *Ish* — a shaggy dog. Pal-yu' — the master of the mountain is for
677 each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, *Fish*; they cut
678 the bones in a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have
679 stood for half an hour, they are thrown away.

When they build a pile *sigrgi* (house in which the bear festival
680 is celebrated), they do not forget to celebrate a bear festival.
681 Here is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a *Ish* — a shaggy
682 dog (Pal is just like *mish*, "i.e., like a bear). If the house
683 is simple, they kill only dogs, two or four in number, without re-
684 gard to kind. If a pest falls on a *Ishgi*, bear festival, a
685 dog pestilence, and the bear festival is not celebrated, the
686 bear festival, be given to the classman of that Shala who has two
687 sources.

688 Tol-tabkhip — a tabkhi of lands; a hammer, chong-shok'-
689 ch hung on it. Near it is a halgyep (bench) Fabar-pun which are
690 placed the corners of the house, and the Tly-o'lvish sacrifice. At
691 they invariably boil the dolphin, here the bones are left to lie,
692 and the shells and fins, which are placed in a kabuch
693 *Ranghi*, i.e., a place where they put shells. During the Tymmdo
694 only two dishes are placed on the halgyep — mos' and mos
695 (jelly-like dish). It is also from here, in the presence
696 of the entire Shala, that they throw a little of everything into the
697 Amur, but say nothing — otherwise another misfortune will
698 occur. — Then on the tabkhi they hang tobacco, *ngok* (*Abbyde*) —
699 a bush, *yuhala* — *pyr*, and announce that everyone should come
700 out and feed it. In the main office of the Tymmdo, they feed
701 with impunity the possessions of his uncle. This right

702 /313 cont.
703 are placed into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
704 trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and
705 place the head and horns there.

The other is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the
706 table. The remaining bears are stigmd kaub (i.e., there is so
707 many bears, so many).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are
708 found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives
709 the Gilyak luck.

During the hunting with nooses (*gochashp d'arkhosh*), a
710 woman cries because anything new is dragged from her own
711 house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing
712 has been a pipe and the house. One must cover the fire out-
713 side. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the
714 taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night.
715 It cable is lost, the Gilyak must go to the house, and if he does not
716 hands without the permission of the master, and in general during
717 the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by
718 a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunt-
719 ing party; even a killed hazel grouse may not be touched. If
720 it is not at all separately, it is enough for the hunter to take a
721 month on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

722 /*Shal* (*Pilsi*) — sable, weasel, ermine, should not be killed by dogs.
723 Catching a wolf. In Dikhem (northwestern Sakhalin) they place
724 it near a bent or forked branch and dispersed edges not far from that
725 *yurt*. Yahola is not allowed to approach the place. Sakhalin and
726 the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes
727 caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot it wolves.

Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a *ngr* (?), and
728 the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they kill
729 them with the net.

Mos is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
730 and in winter, before the sables. In winter of the dog year Gilyak
731 kill a great number of dogs onscoil (a maximum of four), make
732 jelly of *mos*, and in summer catch a great number of bears (this
733 will be the Tymmdo Shlamdo). In general a great deal is done for
734 the sake of Shlamdo.

735 /313 cont.
736 are closed with this nest. When a clan is divided and part of it
737 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (*khal*—*gorchan*)
738 takes with him a piece of the nest and hands it over to the elder among
739 the departing clansmen. The nest is the sacred place of the clan, and
740 light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be
741 sacred to the clan and will be used for the same purpose. Hence the ex-
742 pression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the
743 clan. This custom reminds us of Dravidian, where those leaving
744 their native land to found new colonies used to take with them
745 the sacred fire of the home altar.

746 Bear festivals are celebrated in bad in the spring before the hunting
747 of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
748 ment are borne by the Gilyak. The bear is the approach of ever-
749 ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the vil-
750 (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. There, in
751 the presence of the bear, they all bow deeply to him, and a specially
752 prepared, bad bears left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice.
753 Then all bow present squat down and each throws into the sea a
754 handful fresh catch rough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing
755 the customary formula of prayer: "Our tengo-shka" ("God,
756 Lord"), after which they place a bear in one pit, where the re-
757 freshments begin, in which the women take part.

758 The "Gilyak" clan, which, as we have seen, is not in each of its
759 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
760 another shal'. The means a clan vengeance.

761 Blood vengeance, as everywhere, is a tribal, it is true, has
762 assumed considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has
763 not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional,
764 calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered
765 man — his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his
766 other clansmen — must, in the figurative expression of the
767 Gilyak, "raise up the sindred bones" (um'ny yuyuadoh), i.e.,
768 kill the murderer or at least some person of the main sex of his
769 shal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even new-
770 born children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mother
771 of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

772 /365 cont.
773 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed.
774 But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes
775 away, and they continue their hunting.

The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods —
776 *ginnaki* — is quite clear. It is the same as between people
777 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and with sables,
778 the relation of the spiritual world of Pal'-ninvish all fish and seals are the prop-
779 erty of "Tly'-ninvish, and so and dogs are the property of the
780 Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to
781 man. It is not an exchange in the sense of a commercial deal
782 regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that
783 sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is
784 not an accident that weasel, ermine, and sable are in the hunting season
785 and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the
786 gods for man. In return, the Gilyak must give to the gods what
787 Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so
788 they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail them-
789 selves of, namely, "food, tobacco, bows, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When
790 once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Tol'-
791 ninvish at the beginning of the bear festival, they said to me: "But
792 will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the
793 exchange of portions with the nimshin. That is why the sacrifice
794 of bears took place in the winter, when the hunting season was
795 made; for example, among the dishes offered in thanks for the
796 bear, the last one not lapin. Although in certain cases indispen-
797 ble dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice.
798 Then, the bear at the well-known festival is no way a sacrifice,
799 as some think. *Pilsi* for not a single piece of its meat is appor-
800 tioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory to
801 sacrifice — means giving the god something real. And actually,
802 at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-ninvish, is given a
803 sacrifice of tasmny, "nuts," yukola, and other stands. The
804 idea of exchange is so strong in the Gilyak that it has
805 that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the
806 to demonstrate "mercy to a Gilyak. For him, it religiously
807 *Ninvish*, he does not understand religious feeling.

808 /338 cont.
809 correct, or those sacred treasures which hypocritically lie un-
810 touched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays
811 is considerably relieved by the natural mechanism of the tether
812 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
813 determined by the force of acquiring the means of existence.
814 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
815 of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
816 existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
817 Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
818 require the cooperation of many people, because the hunting of
819 hunting the Gilyak join in temporary strife, whose composition is
820 completely accidental. Thus, the necessity for the existence of
821 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
822 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
823 the employment for one or another family, for example, in the hunting of wash
824 and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several
825 men to a boat, the social relationship of kinship among the partici-
826 pants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth
827 who sits /*Ninl*/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who
828 inhabit the Amur, or who does not possess the craft, is not so
829 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
830 In the same way, the Gilyak, Gilyak, Orochi, Goldi, and Orochon than
831 an equal share of the catch is not the manner of the bear, but the
832 one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
833 carrying the bear from the place of the sacrifice to the Amur. In
834 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
835 share as his have-not companions ("*nanghi*"). True, I have seen
836 an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3
837 of the catch, while his have-not contrade — only 1/3, but to
838 question my informant, he said that "everything I received he re-
839 plied: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone,
840 and I have a family and many mouths." I encountered a relationship
841 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
842 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind
843 one of a hired worker. The master will help his worker gain
844 a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his
845 death.

846 /385 cont.
847 many of his children had died between
848 the beginning of the hunting and the
849 date of the census. In this way, we ob-
850 tained an exact number of the children
851 in a given family, living and dead.
852 Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate
853 of

854 fertility rate — 7.2%, although this figure is below the actual
855 for in the number of married people were included, on the one
856 hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives,
857 and, on the other hand, children who were married to adults
858 There is an average of 15 people living in each yurt, although
859 there are as many as 30 people in some yurts. Some of subtrapes,
860 for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyaniov accommo-
861 dated 42 persons of the same clan.

862 Gilyak, living in the coastal settlements, the largest of
863 these villages: the Tamlyno and Likleyvo (144 persons eac
864 Yukvo (102), Ashyuv (98), Tal'v-Mgrgo and Ko Tod
865 (64 each), Kinzdro and Pone (59 each), Nyaivo (98), the
866 intalent settlements are Yamg (4 persons), Vaan (8), Nobiy (8),
867 in the same way as the Gilyak settlements, Gilyak, Orochi, Goldi
868 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season
869 1,000, 1,200, and 1,500 respectively. Settlements nearer to the Aleksandr
870 post, 238 (?). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
871 for
872 5. The number of fur animals and so forth
873 killed during the last hunting was obtained
874 from reports of the Gilyak themselves.
875 These figures are more probably somewhat
876 low than actual. The data in the
877 village of Kinzdro, for instance, deliber-
878 ately underestimated the number of sables so as not
879 the truth to the Russians, who, according to
880 him, would come and take away the bounty
881 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
882 for every two persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some more

883 /385 cont.
884 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season
885 1,000, 1,200, and 1,500 respectively. Settlements nearer to the Aleksandr
886 post, 238 (?). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
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888 5. The number of fur animals and so forth
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890 from reports of the Gilyak themselves.
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892 low than actual. The data in the
893 village of Kinzdro, for instance, deliber-
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895 the truth to the Russians, who, according to
896 him, would come and take away the bounty
897 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
898 for every two persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some more

/319 cont./

3. (cont.)
not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 215 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaisenhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

55 / 164 / 164 / 36 / 121

count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found in the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

Gen / 36 / 121

fraction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the higher bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live — along the seacoasts, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank investing above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/431 cont./

Sea of Japan, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it, too, is used by the Gilyak as food for people and dogs (4), nevertheless

3. See Vol. I, p. 191, of the present work.

4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106), the fat of the beluga whale is used for lighting the tents and the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be discussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be done for only a shorter period in the year, only as long as the river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful as the seal, which, besides food, also yields valuable clothing materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale hunts, which one sees hanging on trees and branches at many places along the banks of the Amur River indicate that /432/ the white whale is not infrequently hunted by the Gilyak and, in conformity with its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

The Gilyak behave quite differently toward another cetacean, /433/ the sea-lion (Eumetopias jubatus Schreb.), which in our territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live — along the seacoasts, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank investing above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/533 cont./

Wound in this manner, the kilio, like a shuttle, moves from one side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, tightening its meshes. For in no way make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be three only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

The three meshes of a net are to be, the larger must be the instruments used in making it, the kilio and the kiwu. The net used for salmon (pach-hekhe) and for seal-hunting, also for seals — Gilyak pach-kil — has the largest meshes and, therefore, it can be made out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the nutmu-needle, Fig. 4, called pach-kil-hilte by the Gilyak (also tollen-hilte and kewaqhilte), and the corresponding mesh-board, pach-kil-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukhi-kil, follows: tukhi-kil-hilte (also jaghan-kil-hilte), Fig. 3, and tukhi-kil-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kil-hilte or also nohnal-hilte, is used for making the nets with which, in Gilyak, the pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimh (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), hich, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, called pach-kil-hilte, is used for the seal-net, pach-kil-kiwu, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (mytch-kil) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added, however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for catching the tangi, S. grotesus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, as S. grotesus in particular, do not get into these finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

/543 cont./

Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyak stand fare among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can see with enough from the above descriptions how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next to fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as we already pointed out, the seals migrate as far as the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, they hunt the seal not only on land and in the sea, but also often even comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the clothing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, of the skins of seals, that hunting seals plays a far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It should also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman there are two places that bear the name of "Tangi-wo," or "Tangi" for short, and "Tangi," that is, seal village, perhaps because they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting or perhaps because their inhabitants prefer to hunt seals and traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Tangi, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (fig. 1, merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

common village of the Gilyak of Tymy, /544/ The other one, however, Tangi, located on a small island in the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and its correspondence with it. It is one of the largest Gilyak villages on the Amur-Liman, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the Amur-Gilyak, using in particular his products of fur seal-hunting, such as skins, such as sealskin and fur and seal oil as means for bartering with them.

/544 cont./

Along with them, Tschonsi plays the same role in the southern part of the Amur-Liman that Tangi does in the north. In particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the localities more frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals, however, the enterprising Tschonsi Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Manzia-Kuo Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, in Pogholti, for this purpose. Nearly less than of the inhabitants of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur River, at Tschchabach, Igale-wo, and Pronge, where in particular the small island of Ko-ni is especially favorable spot for it.

Of the seals found in the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the "ahch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the Gilyak do not actually go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis Schleg., which in the adult state is called pghli-lungr by the Gilyak, gilachna by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak. One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, for bags and decorations in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely less important for them, however, is the hightsch, the Ph. barbata Nilss., which is less common in the river and whose thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to be about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Poro-Tymy (1), but as yet nothing is known about

1. Schrenk, Gilyaks' von Sakhal. Sketch of Sakhalin Island, St. Petersburg, 1892, p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

/544 cont./

Along the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunting takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in spring as long as there is an ice-cover, the Gilyak lie in wait for the seals at the places where they come to the surface of the ice to breathe, in order to kill them with the ordinary harpoon, the tungu (2) (Pl. XIII /p-1025/, Fig. 2), also used for spearing

2. This designation primarily refers to the iron point illustrated, but it is also used for the entire harpoon equipped with a pole for hurling it.

sturgeon and hausen, or, when they have crawled out on the ice itself, to cut them off from the water /545/ and simply club them. The latter can be done more often and to a greater extent in the spring, because then the seals are said to enjoy coming out on the surface of the ice to sun themselves. Both the Tschonsi Gilyak whom I met in Pogholti and the inhabitants of Tagi on the mainland coast of the Sea of Okhotsk told me that the month of April, called Ang, was the month in which more productive seal-hunting begins along the seacoast and in the Liman. In the Amur, on the other hand, seal-hunting is practiced only when the river has no ice, and, to be sure, especially in August, the pghli-lungr-time, because then the seals go into the river in greater numbers in order to feed on the mangs of kera salmon (S. lagocephalus) going up it. There is a similar situation at the mouth of the Tymy on Sakhalin, where not only the Gilyak and Orok living there, but also the Gilyak coming from the upper course of the Tymy to fish, engage in seal-hunting, the dog harness, and the straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to be about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Poro-Tymy (1), but as yet nothing is known about

1. Schrenk, Gilyaks' von Sakhal. Sketch of Sakhalin Island, St. Petersburg, 1892, p. 48.

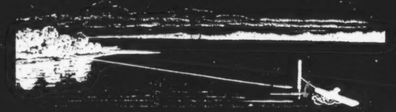
the habits of the individual species.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/546/

Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.



Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon. Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

/546 cont./

225 825 seals was very inconvenient for me inasmuch as, because of it, I was unable to obtain perfectly whole and intact skins of the seals of the Amur region.

A 225 Just as among the Gilyak, seal-hunting also plays an important role among the Ainu living on both coasts of Sakhalin and is practiced by them in quite similar ways. Thus, according to Mizul's information (2), the above-described, long-handled

2. Op. cit., p. 130.

harpoon, the Gilyak lych, is also used among them, and even Mamia Rinsô mentions /547/ that they put in the water small wooden floats onto which the seals crawl and are then killed with javelins (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

G1 225 Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region it is possible for only a few, because of the location of their habitation area, to turn to seal-hunting among other sources of subsistence, or to practice it at all. The former is the case in particular among the Orochi of the coast, who do not practice [439] seal-hunting merely to satisfy their own needs for seal furs, skins, and oil, but also get from it important articles to barter in trade with their western neighbors, the Goldi. Nevertheless, even among the Orochi seal-hunting falls far behind the preferred [361] hunting of forest animals. The Olcha, too, though to a lesser extent, have an opportunity to devote themselves to seal-hunting within their own borders, thanks, on the one hand, to their dwelling sites on de Castries Bay and, on the other hand, to the ascent of the seals in the Amur River far into their territory. [191] [197] There can be no doubt but that they practice it in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak, who here again are their teachers. G1 225 221 361 Finally, the Negda, though living at a distance from the sea, annually travel in some number from the Amguni, and especially from their northeastern dwelling sites on Lake Orell and

G1 225 221 361 /547 cont./

Lake Tschlja, across the mountains to the Sea of Okhotsk, in order to occupy themselves there for a time with seal-hunting (2).

2. According to Boschnjak and Schmidt, see pp. 26 and 63 above.

G1 225 191 For the other Tungusic peoples of the Amur region nothing can be said about seal-hunting.

G 225 136 Catching the white whale comes into consideration for the Amur region within even narrower limits than seal-hunting. The distribution of the white whale (Delphinapterus leucas Pall., Gilyak pomi-tscho, Olcha malta) in the Amur region approximately coincides with the habitation area of the Gilyak; only along the east coast of Sakhalin and in the Amur River does it go somewhat beyond it to the south, whereas on the west coast G 136 of the island it falls back to the north behind it. An inhabitant of the arctic seas, among which the Sea of Okhotsk also belongs in view of its general character, the white whale goes down along the east coast of Sakhalin to its southern end and occurs in particular in great numbers in the Bay of Patience and at the mouth of the Poronai (3). On the other hand it remains far from

G [113]

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" /Journey to Sakhalin Island/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 107, 111). The same, Otchet" ob" izslied. na ostr. Sakhalinie, v" Iuzhno-Ussurisk. krae i v" Iaponii /Summary of the Research on Sakhalin Island, in the Southern Ussuri Region, and in Japan/ (supplement to Vol. XLVIII of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 6, pp. 5-7). At the latter place, Poljakof reports that the white whale appears in large schools in front of the mouth of the Poro-nai even before the river has shed its cover

/548 cont./

225 191 In view of this distribution of the white whale in the Amur region, the Gilyak are practically the only one of its peoples that occupies itself with catching it. To be sure, the Ainu along the east coast of Sakhalin would have the opportunity for it, but there is no mention of such an occupation by any of the travelers who became acquainted with them. Little inclined toward bolder hunting ventures, they presumably are satisfied, so far as the white whale is concerned, to capture the individuals stranded on the shore, just as they do in the case of the larger 225 true whales. With regard to the latter the Gilyak do no differently, but they pursue the white whale with weapons, and, to be sure, for this they use a harpoon intended specifically for this purpose, their so-called parr (Pl. XLII /see p.1022/, Figs. 3 and 4). This consists of a thick and short bone tube into which a dagger-shaped, double-edged and pointed iron lamella provided with a barb on either side in the back is inserted. This piece is mounted on a wooden shaft (Gilyak werl) for hurling it and, in addition, is equipped with a long, stout strap by which the wounded animal is pulled in, either to the boat or directly on land, depending on where the hunter may be, in order finally to be beaten to death. Here, too, as in seal-hunting, super- [825] stition, and presumably as the result of a similar idea, demands that, first of all, the head of the slain animal be cut off; it is not thrown into the water, however, but hung on a tree standing on the bank, after all the muscle meat and the like have first been removed from it. At various places along the right bank of the Amur I saw such trees with many skulls of white whales hanging in them, which at the same time showed the success [191] of the Gilyak in hunting /549/ the white whale. I cannot say whether the Olcha, in whose territory the white whale is much rarer, likewise hunt them, but, if this should be the case, only the Gilyak could have been their teachers. Thus, the hunting of the white whale is a characteristic feature in the way of life of the Gilyak in contrast to the other Amur peoples and brings them closer, in view of the arctic nature of this animal, to the ooo polar peoples. And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

/549 cont./ And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

225 191 825 the skulls of slain white-whales on a tree or, lacking one of them on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

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1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 275.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

/550/ Section 9

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Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 191 As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing, increases the more in immediate importance and significance the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

224 The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples [439] to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

Economy and Everyday Life

226 [433] The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "xyyezdki," nets and seines. A "xayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this [433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000–5000 fish, which quite filled the [446] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. 225 They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the 288 shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from [199] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

● 225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well, in open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

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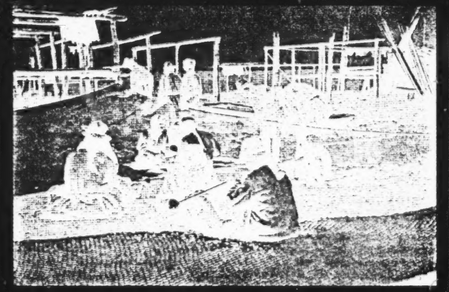


Sewing together a seine.

● 225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 82 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after [184] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [198] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

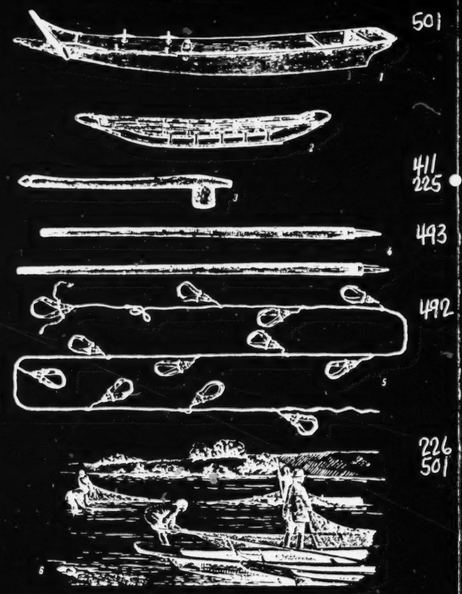
326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 199 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective 433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with



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Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with 262 fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, 252 seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi 129 became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded 262

● 225 [108] Hunting of the Beluga by the Gilyaks of the Village Puir
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433 As L. Schrenk (1) rightly points out, hunting of the beluga

1. L. Schrenk, Ob Inorodtsakh Amurskovo Kraia, v. II, [Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region)

(white dolphin) does not play an important part in the economy of the Gilyaks which is based on fishing and, to a lesser extent, on seal hunting. Nevertheless, hunting of the beluga, which is now of an accidental rather than systematic nature, contains some features which merit description. These features are:

1) The primitive Communist character of the distribution of the catch. The hunters as well as the other village folk share the beluga. Not so in seal hunting, where the quarry is shared by the hunters only. (2)

2. E. A. Kreĭnovĭch, Morskoĭ Promysel Gilĭakov Derevnĭ Kul', [Fishing Industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul), Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.

2) The religious ceremony held by the Gilyaks on the occasion of a successful hunt.

124 We did our best to authenticate the facts we are about to
225 report by writing them down in the Gilyak language under the
115 dictation of the informant. Besides writing down texts, we collected maps, plans of summer and winter settlements, plans indicating the location of landed property, drawings, etc.

In the present article we publish drawings by the Gilyak Mytka which depict all the important phases of a hunt of the beluga and two accounts of the hunt; one told by the author of these drawings, the other--by the Gilyak Khor.

115 Mytka lives in the village Puir. He is about 35 years old. He is one of the most outstanding and talented Gilyaks I have met. He has a tremendous thirst for knowledge. When I went to see him for the first time, he was lying on his plank-bed and reading Goroda i Gody [Towns and Years] by K. Fedin, a book that he took out from the library at his place of work. Mytka is very much interested in problems of technology. The model of the airplane that I brought to the anthropological and ethnographical museum was made by him for his son. Mytka likes to draw, but, unfortunately

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/545 cont./

[225 184 192] prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uĭsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lych held in readiness (2).

[128 126]

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Mr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

115 his drawings have not been preserved. He is unable to go to Leningrad to study for he cannot leave his family and his old father.

225 Mytka made the sketches of the beluga hunt at my request.
124 Three of these are rough sketches which [109] I was fortunate enough to find at Mytka's. They are considerably better than the final sketches in which Mytka partly imitates the style of sketches he had seen in Russian books. (1)

1. On publication we were forced for technical reasons to substitute slanting lines for Mytka's shading.

Description of the sketches:

Sketch 1. The Gilyaks, having sighted a beluga, depart on the hunt.

Sketch 2. The Gilyaks have driven the beluga to a shallow. The Gilyak at the prow is about to throw the harpoon.

Sketch 3. A detail relating to the second sketch.

Sketch 4. Flight of the harpoon aimed at the beluga; the harpoon is supposed to hit the beluga at the moment when it emerges from the water.

Sketch 5. The beluga drags the float behind it. When the harpoon hits the beluga, the tip of the harpoon which is tied to a long strap, remains in the body of the beluga. The movements of the beluga are hindered by the float attached to the other end of the strap.

Sketch 6. The Gilyaks have caught the float and are getting ready to thrust the second harpoon at the beluga.

Sketch 7. The Gilyaks haul the beluga to the side of the boat and are about to kill it with a blow of a lance in the area of the respiratory orifice.

Sketch 8. The Gilyaks take the beluga which is fastened to the side of the boat to the village. An old woman sits on the shore and beats on a board using two sticks. This peculiar music stands for a welcome for the killed beluga.

Sketch 9. The hunters have brought the beluga to the village. The inhabitants of the village have come out to meet them and are about to haul the beluga ashore. The old woman continues to play on the board.

Sketch 10. The Gilyaks haul the beluga ashore.

Sketch 11. A Gilyak cuts up the beluga.

Sketch 12. The Gilyaks depart, each with his share of the beluga.

Sketch 13 & 14. The head of the beluga on a birch (From photographs).

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore.
225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the
533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we
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3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskər plant. (1) Then we

1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskər to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

We went to the "Cape Facing the Sea." (Tol-nun-iv-Kn=k)(2)

2. It is of interest to note that the Gilyaks sometimes name places according to their economic usage. This cape is named Tol-nun-iv-kn=k because from this place the Gilyaks watch the sea waiting for the sea animals which swim past the cape.

When we arrived at the "Cape Facing the Sea" no animal came up to the shore. We went back. We descended to our place. We had tea. We finished drinking our tea and loaded our things. We went to Otvax. From there we headed out to the open sea. When we were going down by boat to (the place) across Vaspn, the belugas came in behind us. The mother had a young one. (3) So they swam. When they passed by

3. He means the female beluga with a young.

us, I got up and wanted to shoot. As I was about to shoot, my friend (said): "It is too far." He did not want me to shoot. Then I said: "All right, I will fire, we will see." When I got up, the young one broke the surface. I let it emerge and fired. Then I fired (that is, I hit it). The young one plunged beneath the surface. I thought for a long time that it was lost. "Ah! There it swam away, it came up." Then we rowed and followed it. We caught up with it. We hurled the harpoon. Then we got up and lanced it a second time. Then we pulled the strap and hauled the beluga to the side of the boat, we fastened it, pierced it with a lance, and killed it. We took it in tow. Our children were happy. Then we came ashore and hauled the beluga ashore. I went up the hill to gather pisk=r. I came back, shoved the grass in the respiratory opening of the beluga, and fed it. Then we cut off the strap, cut up the meat, dragged it away, ate some of it, and covered up the rest. We went to sleep. We slept. When we got up in the morning, the animal did not come up to the shore. We ate and loaded our things. Then we went by boat to Otvax. When we came to the upper side of Otvax (Otvax k'eqr-ksef hertox), the seals crawled out of the water at the tip of the cape. We went to the tip of the cape and untied the harpoons. At that time the animals swam up to the shore. We let them come up, we aimed and missed. Then the animals fled. Then we came up (the mountain) and went down to our boat. Afterwards, we went by boat and

225 landed at P'arqaiv. We slept. Afterwards, when we got up, the seals were on a stone sticking out of the water, on the other side of P'arquaiv. (4)Then the two of us went by

4. Near the shore of P'arquaiv there are stones on which the seals rest. These stones are called norpax.

boat and fired our (Berdan) rifles. We let them thrash in agony. We went into the water, hit them with a harpoon and dragged them ashore. Striking the heads of the seals with a stick, we killed them. We dragged them to our place, skinned them, cooked and ate them. Then we slept. Then we got up, we ate, and when we turned back to the Big Cape (Pila-kp), the belugas swam up to the shore. We let them swim up to the shore and, taking the harpoons, we went up to the cape "Facing the Sea." We went down to the end of the stone Norpax. There they were, one on each stone. We untied the harpoons. Then we let the belugas approach us. We aimed, but missed. I was picking out a strap when, suddenly, a beluga came near us. My friend aimed, hit and threw a float. Then the beluga swam out to sea. We went up (the hill) to our boat. Following the beluga, we headed out to sea. [115] We went by boat and caught the float. Pulling out the strap we dragged the beluga and flung (the harpoon) a second time. Our beluga towed us between and past steamboats. I took the (Berdan) rifle, aimed at the respiratory opening and killed the beluga. We quickly attached it to the stern. We went down. We rowed and came to (stopped at) our place. Here we could not drag it out (we lacked the strength). We waited for the ebb and got ashore. Then we gathered some pisk=r, came down, shoved it in the respiratory opening and fed the beluga. Then we cut it up. When we finished, we quickly put the straps in the boat. We also put our things in the boat. Then we took off and went to the end of the cape having a sledge [Mys imeyuschi nartu] (T'u ift kr x). There was a storm there, the water came overboard, and we turned back to our places. We arrived. We took out all our things and dried them. We put part of the straps in the boat. We left our two children; the two of us went up in our boat to Hivzu. When we arrived, there were people there. We took out our things and, towing our own boat, we went down in another one. When we came down, we took the meat, our things and our friends. Then we went back. We landed at Hivzu. There we slept. Next

225 morning we returned to our village. We took everything out
and put it on the dock. Then we slept. Next day we got up
225 in the morning and called the people. We took off the head,
252 cut it up, fed the head to the people raw, (1) and cooked the
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1. The Gilyaks call all raw food talq. The Gilyaks eat certain kinds of fish such as Siberian salmon and certain parts of seals and belugas raw.

parts designed for cooking as well as the jaws. After we cooked it, we took it out. Some ate the meat; others took off the meat from the jaws and ate it. Then we went to gather Hapzas. Then we brought it, cooked it, ground it and made muvi. Then we got some rowan shavings and shoved them (in the nose of the beluga). Then we took the head; we took it to throw it out. Here we cut off a young tree. We cut off a forked aldern tree. We spread muvi over the shavings stuck in the nose of the beluga; we spread muvi on the holy bones. We stuck the tree through the ear-ring holes of the beluga, lifted it and hung it up here. Then we lifted the holy bones (jugular vertebrae) and tied them to the tree. We put down the jaws and pressed them with a stick."

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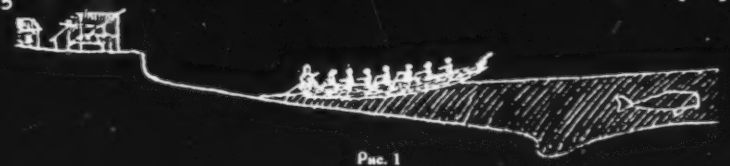

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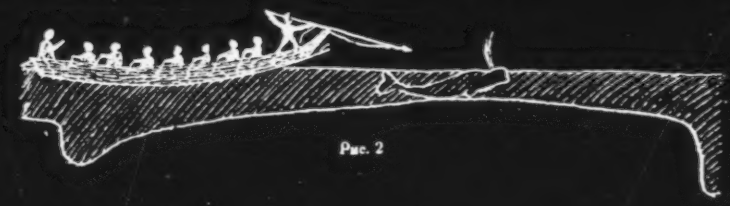

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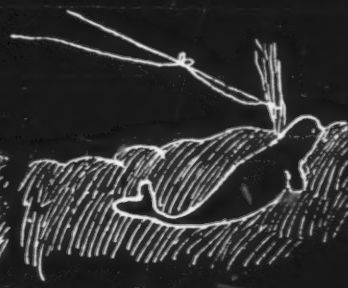

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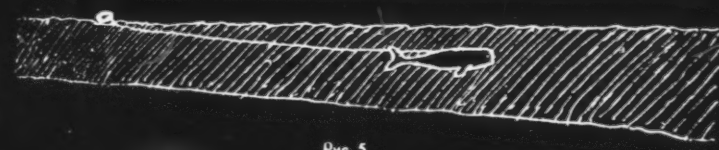

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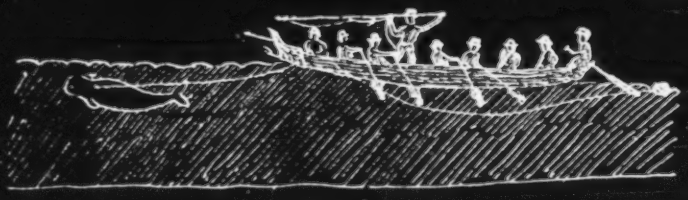

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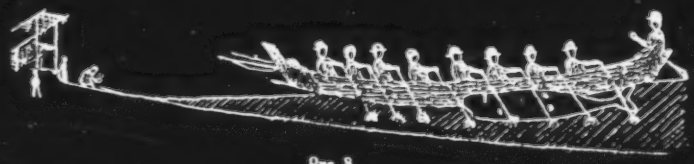
Рис. 7



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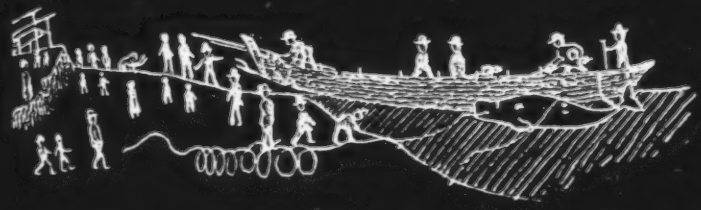


Рис. 9

Рис. 10

533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182

225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

782 and suspend the head of the beluga in the tree.
778

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the childre

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoi Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(? telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the briginal.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-kr-) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

Рис. 11

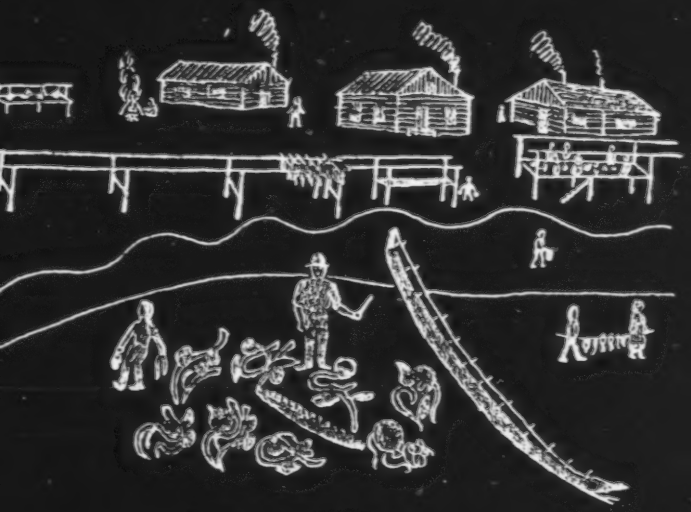


Рис. 12

the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the zayezdka.

When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects hunters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo afi , t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from clan Tf nu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, 1 tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big, - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:

1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be, to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila.

3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs mu-zi d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 the division of the quarry. Why this ceremony should have
422 stopped at the pilaŋ appropriating the first sivuch rather
476 than asserting his full title to it on top of his share of the quarry is hard to tell. It seems to us that this can be explained by the essential preservation of the primitive Communist method of distribution of the quarry among the Gilyaks of the village Kul which do not permit a single individual to assert his title to an entire extra sivuch.

225 [89] I gave here a few examples which I have recorded
476 of the distribution of the quarry among the Gilyak hunters on their return home to the village Kul on August 2, 1931. These examples demonstrate clearly the primitive Communist character of the distribution.

The quarry of ʼəlʼtun's collective consisted of 18 sivuchs 9 pəγi, 11 qoma and 1 alχ. They sold 3 sivuchs, 5 qoma and the fat of two seals on Cape Litke at the branch of the Rybaksoyuz [A, B Fisherman's Union]. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares. (1)

1. Unfortunately I did not write down how they distributed the money.

ʼəl tun.....received 2 sivuchs 2 pəγi
Jotkun.....received 2 sivuchs 1 pəγi 1 qoma 1 strap (2)

281 2. The hide of a young sivuch navəŋa is cut into three pieces and that of an older one - into four. Out of each piece the Gilyaks cut one thin long strap which is immediately spread out to dry.

225	Nərp (a shot)...	received	1	sivuch	1	p i	1	qoma	3	straps	
476	Rəntik.....	"	2	"	2	"	-	"	1	"	
	Təvus.....	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	-	"	
	Zabojko.....	"	2	"	1	"	2	"	1	"	alχ
	Tuŋs.....	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	1	"	strap
			13	sivuchs	9	pəγi	6	qoma	6	straps =	
										= 2 sivuchs	
										1 alχ	
	On straps		2								
	Sold		5				5				

Total.....18 Sivuchs 9 pəγi 11 qoma 1 alχ

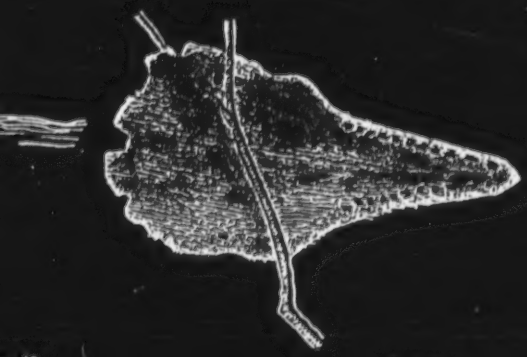
225 The quarry of Nitgin's collective consisted of 19 sivuc
476 and 8 qoma and 1 pəγi. They sold 3 sivuchs and 4 qoma o
the cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and
remainder of the quarry into equal shares.

Nitgin.....	received	2 sivuchs	--	2 straps	
Nlamin.....	received	2 "		1 strap	
Kizgun.....	"	2 "	1 qoma	1 "	
Verun.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	
Ozgun.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	
I nun.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	
Izgun.....	"	2 "	1 pəγi	1 "	
		14 sivuchs	4 qoma and 8 strap 1 pəγi	2 sivuchs	
On straps....	2				
Sold.....	3		4		
Total.....	19 sivuchs	8 qoma	1 pəγi		

The quarry of Norp's collective consisted of 26 sivuch
1 pə i and 12 qoma. They sold 8 sivuchs and 4 qoma on ca
Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the re-
mainder of the quarry into equal parts.

Norp.....	received	2 1/2 sivuchs	2 qoma	2 straps	
?t.....	"	2 1/2 "	2 "	2 "	
Potaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Otaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Tesq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Onkan.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	and
		15 sivuchs	8 qoma	12 straps 3 sivuch	
On straps....	3				
Sold.....	8		4		
Total.....	26 Sivuchs	12 qoma	1 pəγi		

[90] The fact that Norp received an extra qoma does n
prove that he received more than the other hunters. The
is not a valuable seal and it is really of no account whethe
does or does not get an extra qoma. What is important is



ne. 13

Fig. 14

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (t'ɘkr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋəŋ-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kitə (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
11 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
31 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called tonr-tas (from tonr 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
e broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
ats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping
ater of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

d a dried plant aγs, called puchka by the local Russians.
metimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby
es.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fond (major feeding of
e sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged
ly after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.
For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
os and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
rana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
s). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not
oked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will
t the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of
stination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks
ecially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the
liefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like them-
lves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind
chka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into
e sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that
e dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had
eir fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their
asters.

When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
omen are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore
e Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very
ge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ŋaks twig and the other
a qosk ŋaks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from
ese he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the
ter. These peculiar gates are called taγr. The offering is
own into the sea through the taγr. First to be emptied are
e uiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

they keep for a long time. When some one is drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and run. In this connection I wish to note that in the valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

ed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos s emptied out of the tol-ʔir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ʔir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the ti - ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and young hunters must not taste this mos.

It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of 80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul here are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

reason the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

ring the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
ght a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.
4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
es. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
f the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters
e not worried."
5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.
As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible
nctions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if any-
ng goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.
In the collective of hunters there must be not only organ-
ers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.
[81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
signated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its
me.
The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the
rn, is called ŋ̊tivd, the second - taŋpuf, the third - alx-
, the fourth - mɔ̊yerq-ŋid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth -
em-ŋid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with
and even seven pairs of oars.
Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋ̊tivd, is oc-
pied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
t pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
s at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in
boat.
When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the
ition at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until
t time he rows just like the others. As long as there are
eals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position
he bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often
s out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such
es he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits
he bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak
ŋ̊ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals.
he same time Gilak st tended the rudder which the pilaŋ
turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the
during the hunt. According to his information he had killed
imself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to
y that of the whole collective of hunters only one person
ots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 mu-ziv̊d on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziv̊d on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.
782 Aside from mu-ziv̊d, taj is performed on the boat. Taj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inaŋ) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ɔ-ks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugʲ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these taj elsewhere.
782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
375 boat and fan, they tie to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
all sits at the stern. It happens that the pilaŋ is younger than
the extra man in the boat. In that case the pilaŋ tends the
rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know
of such a case. Pilaŋ Norp took along with him in the boat
old man Onan who sat at the stern and did nothing while
Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting
at the seals and st, to whom Norp had turned over the steering
oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting
about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting with-
out doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others
that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare
food. He also seems to have helped with some other things;
which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable
to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time
in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number
of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner,
he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.
Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient
degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.
225 [82] As mentioned above the pilaŋ performs mu-ziv̊d
789 and taj.
774 Mu-ziv̊d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
751 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern
board. The distance between them is approximately two fin-
gers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres
around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform ziv̊d on hands
of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog
and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the
child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
823 similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together
766 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Ui,-kr, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which
they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krʲ) there
lives a tik- an old woman. These old women must also be
given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed
that tɯx-tik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who
lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.
225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf
(Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes
spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks
told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kɯvr-
mif (Shantar Islands). (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo-ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, they put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

411 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
225 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
283

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the tola-k'e is called ɔski 'back.' The shore-end of the net is

411 called ɔmɯus and the sea-end is called ɔz-bax-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied ɔz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the
seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom
of the seine. They are called tatr-pax. Large wooden floats
(vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the
head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to
flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of
the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and
finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into
the seine. The seals pɔyi are shrewd and are seldom caught
in the net.
In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of
the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Kɛ-ŋalu, Vilk,
Lo-ri, and ɔt.
414 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvɔz-pər, 2. ŋ̊ayqej,
524 3. ɔt.
471 Lulvɔz-pər and ŋ̊ayreqej are names of rocks sticking out
of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks.
ɔt is a small island close to which there is another such rock (β)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ɔt. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onɔt two laqr-pax stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (tɛ̊ɔt ferd).

Clan Tɯaunuŋ owned: 1. Mat-lo-ri, 2. Tɔ-ri-γrɔ, 3. Zomi-
vɔr.
The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.
Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapɔz-vɔr a stone.
225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552
198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-'Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ĭevropy i severnoĭ Azii'
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say ɔtx 'excrements.' If they are far
from land, they say tevl-ɔtxta, if near - knemla-ɔtxta.
mu 'boat' they say ɔrq.
ke 'sun' they say am.
la-urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am
sodra.
tulu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiulɛd.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo-r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'link' they say naɔ-tomr.
va-s 'lake salmon' they say wɔtik.
al-o 'kunzha' they say doɔti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words
manm and doɔti from Tungus.

198 ti-r 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket fuyr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la-r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' ɔor vaad
'three seals.'
la-r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say ɔrɔ.
i-d 'to kill' they say ɔazd.
pɔt 'tomorrow' they say mandɔa.
e-r vida 'let us return' they say pɔtkuda.
aaru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvata-mu.
kɔr-ɔqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ɔ̊od 'tava
hurts.'
krɛzd 'I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqn-
tanɔgad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-ɔ̊od 'the hand
hurts.'

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'
ǝkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'
etc.
225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunter is supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kivid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even if it were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' Kas

225 hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt the Gilyaks do not allow any jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.
776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of kas, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home? " he told me. "Surely kas must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kas exists."
225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivgv, 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
57 following ui-nd "taboo." "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guests. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals:

Pila-la-r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i.e. a sivuch born in the given year.
2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 3. Pila-lanr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825 Pa-yi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups; a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qr-or is the youngest of all pa-yi.
2. Mat-na-ga-l is the next to the youngest pa-yi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-'nasal-k-id; mat - 'smal,' ga-ski 'back,' kid 'long,' 'little long-back.'
3. Tje-n-ga-l last year's pa-ga-yi.
4. ...at next in age to tje-n-ga-l.
5. Siusui- a next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pa-yi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta-a-a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Ar-fk - next in age to ta-ar-a, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alx.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alx.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (mǫxt) and two upper ribs.
225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskǿr. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orqoit."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muǫxk. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave par 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskǿr.

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
-a-ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,' i.e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.

The beads with piskǿr stuck in them are taken home.

225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines t'aǫ. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first sivuch.) The pila cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as belonging to the pila. However, as far as the distribution of the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances. First - the pila appropriates the first sivuch killed during the hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise of a religious ceremony.

784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the interdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
183 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
626 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.

Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Carvax (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and Qiak (Agiska) informed
625 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by women in cutting leather and cloth (tana-kalmr). Also, a child must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dagǿ).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,' 'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow, or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local Russian - fartz). If a woman or a girl were to step inadvertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in play - have anything to do with implements used by women in their tasks and that, conversely, girls must not use implements used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legitimize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.
462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs, row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreputable and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food, make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dignity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food. They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

452 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
552 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time they are born, and when they grow up they are given away, in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that takes the woman in marriage is called ga-ya-ain (ga-ya) becomes dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also, women play no part in the religious life of the clan.
527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in the life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat. They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts. Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, otherwise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return home empty handed, etc., etc.
784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
472 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the t'aǫ where the pila attempts to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pila distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes apparent that the sivuch, which is the pila's legal property and whose blood he used in feeding the t'aǫ, is included in

225 distribution of the sivuchs . The number of sivuchs he re-
476 ceived was the same as that received by the others. If at all it is Nitgin who received a tiny bit more than the others; he received one extra strap but did not get a qoma and so he
225 really got no more than the others. My report of my obser-
476 vation in the year 1931 of the primitive Communist method of
461 the distribution of the quarry in the village Kul can be appropriately concluded with the following passage from L. IA. Shternberg's work "Sakhalínskiĭe Gilíakī" (The Sakhaline Gilyaks), mentioned by F. Engels and published in "Etnograficheskoĭe Obozreniĭe" in 1893, i.e. 40 years ago. "During the common hunt, for instance, during a seal or dolphin hunt, when a group of Gilyaks banded together for this purpose set out in a single boat, the quarry is shared equally by the participants. The owner of the boat receives a share equal to that of the young man sitting na grebkakh. The skill of the maker of spears and arrows is not specially rewarded. Moreover, during a long expedition, i.e. from Amur to the South of Sakhalin, it is not the owner of the boat who receives more than his share of the quarry, but rather the man who, on the voyage, performs the bothersome duties connected with the preparation of food and the collection of firewood." Apparently, it is for this kind of work that old man Onkan received not only a participant's share but an extra p=-i.

476 I find it necessary to give one more example of the
225 distribution of the quarry in the collective of Xitkun, for in it we come across an entirely new phenomenon.

The quarry of Xitkun's collective consisted of 14 sivuchs. They cut the hides of two sivuchs on straps. They cut the hide of the youngest sivuch nav-ŋa into three straps, and the hide of the tje-ŋa into four straps. There were seven straps in all. There remained 12 sivuchs. Of the remaining sivuchs Xitkun gave one and a half sivuch to each of the seven members of the collective. This made a total of ten and a half sivuchs. The fat of the remaining one and a half sivuch was divided (unfortunately, I did not find out how) and as for the hides, the hunters decided to let them dry and then make ki (vamps and soles for shoes) of them. Including Xitkun there were six men in the boat and they divided the quarry into seven parts. It turned out that the seventh share was mu-ar, the share of the boat (or as the Gilyaks say pay), that is, what they were supposed to pay to the Gilyak Arban from whom they rented the boat for the hunt. Xitkun and the other hunters

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

116, 225, 731, 776, 782

"It often happens that by the time of the arriva
quite exhausted, and hunger reigns in the village
fête held in honor of the first catch; see categor
with all due ceremony. On the following day the
groups begin to gather up the 'fragments,' inclu
and reverence, are cast into the sea. The flesh
has plenty of raw, are offerings to Tol ni vookh,
permission to use the products of his domain, th
offering in acknowledgment of the god's goodwi
Gilyaks to open the New Year's fête with the due
bones the great Tol ni vookh will make many mo
the bones to the four winds, thus making it more
Tol ni vookh would in that case have to recreate
has only to reclothe them with flesh, and lo, the

The offering is cast into the sea in complete s
Uichkha rush, or water daimones, who, if they
would spoil the whole affair, by seizing what wa

After the day of the offering, the Gilyak is fre
ful is he with his harpoon that a canoe of five wi

l of the seals, the winter stores are
; nevertheless, the fête [**LSS**: The seal
y 116, pp. 252-254.] must be celebrated
whole village turns out, and the family
ding the bones, which, in deep silence
and fat, boiled or roasted, for the god
with the request that he will give them
e sea; and the bones are the thank-
ll in sending the seals and allowing the
and proper ceremonies. With these
re seals. It would be a sin to scatter
difficult to create for want of material.
entirely, whereas, given the bones, he
seals are complete, alive!
ilence, because there are many
should overhear the Gilyak praying,
s intended for the god.
e to follow up the hunt, and so success-
l sometimes take as many as fifty

9: Hawes--255 T-3 (1901) 1

116, 136, 225, 825

"In autumn a few seals ascend the river,
low in the wake of the Salmo lagocephalus,
grampus, or black killer (Orca atra). This
family, is armed with a formidable dorsal
species attains to the enormous length of s
terrible wolves of the ocean will even attac
ing its throat and lips, and finally hauling i
great pieces of its flesh in their maws. Ev
with its young to be out of the way of these
such as the smaller dolphins or seals are r
a meal for this hungry animal.

Hence, before it are driven ashore and u
etc., upon which the Gilyak lives. It is, th
upon the 'sword dolphin,' as the Germans c
successful catch. The grampus never meet
and if his lifeless carcase be cast up on sh

It is otherwise with the white fish or whi
the mouths of rivers; for his flesh provide
SS: of the white whale.] I believe, and cert

and these are shot by the natives. They fol-
or are driven before the attack of the dreaded
terrible enemy, the largest of the dolphin
fin, which in the case of the rectipinnia
ix feet. Not content with smaller fry, these
k a large whale, gathering round it and gash-
t to the bottom of the sea to rise thence with
en the fierce walrus will crawl upon the rocks
voracious creatures; and when larger prey,
not to be had, salmon and smaller fish furnish

p the rivers the seals, salmon, smelt, trout,
erefore, not unnatural that he should look
call it, as a friend to whom he owes many a
s with a hostile reception from the natives,
ore, rightful honours are paid it.
te whale Delphinapterus leucas) which haunts
s a feast for the Gilyaks. From the skin, [L
ainly from that of the rarer seal

52 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

63 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
77 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
58 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
14 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
15 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

52 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
82 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
25 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of qosk-γəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanγ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (maʒt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

the bow and one was at the stern. Then we went down, pushed the boat off and went. "Row, ice is there. Use more strength, we shall go more quickly." We came to the ice, we pulled the boat out onto the ice. "Throw into the sea." After throwing (the offerings) into the sea, we stalked the seals. Then one comrade, carrying a gun, went towards the seal, stalking the seal. He went stalking the seal, he fired, killed it. "Fellows, go to your comrade, bring the seal." Four went. We dragged a big seal (sivuch). We hauled it to the boat. "Skin the seal. After skinning the seal, we shall cook and eat." We skinned it, then: "Go quickly, a seal is there again. Many seals, go quickly." Three went together, going towards the seal they stalked it, they shot, the shot another one, they killed two. The pilan said: "Those in the boat, go to your comrades." Two more went to their comrades. Only the pilan was in the boat. Then dragging we hauled a seal. Three dragged one, two dragged another. "Haul it to the boat." We hauled it to the boat. The pilan said: "skin it." We skinned it next. "It is already dark. We shall cook meat and eat. We shall cook meat, eat and go to sleep." It got dark. "Let us sleep." [96] We slept and got up in the morning. When we got up in the morning it was dark, a fog. The pilan: "It is dark. How shall we go. We won't go. We shall wait on the ice. We shall dip the companion (1) we shall see if we go soon or not.

1. ŋafq-vax 'companion stone' or 'companionable stone.' In olden times the Gilyaks used to take along to sea a small stone with a string tied around it. Using this stone the Gilyaks measured the depth of the sea, determining in this way the distance from the shore. Sometimes they take a stone of this type along with them even today.

We shall dip the big companion and we shall see." When we dipped our companion: "We won't go soon. We will wait till dawn." When we were staying it was dark. Then it dawned a bit. Then the pilan: "When it dawns we will go." We lighted a fire, put up the kettle and ate. We ate and when we finished the mountain could be seen. "When it is quite light we will go. It dawned, the whole mountain could be seen. "It is far. That is bad. We will go toward the land." We went. While we were travelling it got dark, we kept on going during the night. While we were travelling at night, it began to dawn. When it dawned the land was near. "We shall travel toward the land." We went. We put in to shore, pulled out the boat. "We will eat."

nd proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners," I. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new

1 N. V. Slîunîn, Sovremennoîe polozhenîe nashevo Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

xploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis f ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms f distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form f the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares. was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new ontent was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of abor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began o claim shares for members of his family who did not articipate at all in the process of production such as wives nd children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

f the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even or the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick ver the door of the house (mγamr-tis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

According to the Gilyak ;argun (?) now living in the village γarva: (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other ilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from e village Təlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and orked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island anger for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the land. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked ith him. In all there were seven men working. When the shing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and s brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks re- ived five shares, one share per man. The six shares ob- ined by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for rmən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of e boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one are each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom ok part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

225 for their families.

171 I observed analogous facts on the very same island in
127 1927 and in 1931.

In the village Vaz-vo (cape Vasin) from which the Gilyaks were driven out in 1914 or 1915, the system of exploitation on the basis of ownership of the instruments of labor was, it seems, even more cruel. According to the expert on Gilyak life, the inquisitive Gilyak ə̄ʃisk, an owner of a zayesdok claimed one share for himself, one share for the boat, one share for the plank-bench in the boat (mlət) and one share for the nγəmr-ṭis - the shelf over the door in the entrance-hall. I failed to find the reason for the claim to an extra share in connection with the nγəmr-ṭis. I am inclined to think that no such reason exists and that nγəmr-ṭis is used by the owner of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

The Gilyak Miskin, inhabitant of the village Puir, told me of an incident that sounds like an anecdote. The incident took place in that village in 1931. An old Gilyak, called for one reason or another Tetkin, asked the young Gilyaks Pnadainu, Lakhtaku and Kondinu (?) to come with him to hunt (AB: fish?) kaluga. On return Tetkin took for himself four shares: one for himself, one, for some other obscure reasons, for some Russian acquaintance of his in the village Makarevka, one for a daughter in the village Langer and one for a daughter in the village Charbakh. As for his companions, he gave a single share to each. I later talked about this incident the Pnadainu. Pnadainu confirmed Miskin's story and further clarified it. Unfortunately, I wrote down Pnadainu's information on a separate piece of paper and, it seems, lost it.

My lengthy discussion is meant as a very general introduction to this problem. It is meant to show how, among the Gilyaks, the owner of the tools of work, as still found in the village Kul, could under the influence of Russian capitalism turn into a kulak-exploiter. This discussion is also meant to show how he utilized the old forms of the distribution of the quarry into shares for the purposes of exploitation. This interesting process deserves careful study.

281 After the distribution of the quarry the hunters and their
462 wives at once start to work. There is a lot of work to do. The suet has to be separated from the hides. The hides have to be stretched on special frames used in drying seal hides. Some hides have to be cut into straps and those have to be stretched to dry, for one cannot make dry hides into straps

2 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzŋisŋar.
2 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
5 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
2 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
2 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
5 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).

There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

A seal hunt. (1) Supplement

5

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

5 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. I. e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

We were almost falling asleep; it is bad: we did not sleep one night. The pilaŋ said: "Well, fellows: It is hard. We'll sleep here." Then we slept. Then we got up. We killed few seals."Fellows, shall we go back and hunt seals again." The fellows: "We'll hunt seals again." Again we went to the ice fields. We got there. As we got there, we saw seals. We sneaked up in the boat (literally: using the boat only). One at the bow did the shooting. Another was next to him. Both were shooting and killing. We went and kept on shooting, killing. Then we went again and kept on shooting, killing. The boat was almost full. We already killed fifteen sivuch. The boat was full. "Now we'll go toward shore." While we were travelling it got dark. We travelled during the night. When it dawned we reached the shore. We lighted a fire, ate. "Fellows, we'll eat and return home." We went. After a long trip we got to the mouth of the river. From there we went to the village. All the women got (to the shore). The children came. The women: "Our comrades got seals. Fine. Nice." The men dragged out the seals. We dragged them all ashore. We pulled the boat and lifted it (ashore). We divided the seals. We made six shares. The pilaŋ made the shares. After that: "Take your shares." We dragged them away. Then the woman cooked the heads. Then we ate. The women skinned the seal. Then they put them in the kettle. The men stretched the skins and dried them.

116, 225, 411,

"On shore
the water or
Wild men,
of the rivers
provisions a
approach of t
floes seen on
quite near, f
habitants run
concealing th
the fish-spea
jointed, each
which the har
better to thru
the seal suffi
unsuspecting
ing cover beh
By a quick th
In so doing h

preparations are being made for the Chak vi hŭnch, or Tol vi hŭnch, i.e. sea holiday; for this is the inauguration of the tolf-an, or summer year. with raven pigtails and high cheek-bones, are bustling about at the mouths preparing to receive the unsuspecting guests. [LSS: i.e. seals] Last year's e all consumed, and the Gilyaks await with suppressed excitement the heir fat lazy visitors. The wind from the sea increases in vehemence, ice- the horizon are being driven closer and closer to the shore. Now they are orming great glistening fields. The whole Gilyak village is alive, the in- ning about on the swaying white floor quickly taking up [253] positions, emselves behind the bergs. Each one has in his hand a harpoon similar to r already described on a larger scale. The pole consists of five lengths 7 metres long, and is therefore at full length about 135 feet. The end, to poon is attached by a thong, is ski-shaped, with its end bent upwards, the st into the side of the seal. The thong itself is also 135 feet long, to allow cient play. This great length of weapon enables the Gilyak to harpoon his prey at a considerable distance. He stealthily approaches his victim, tak- ind the bergs, and placing the harpoon on the ice slowly unwinds the thong. rust the animal is speared, and flings himself frightened into the water. e frees the head of the harpoon from the shaft, to which, however, he is

"The first catch is collected and left on
evoured there would be a graceless, gree
anction to the domestic use of them. Such
eal season, owing to the god's anger. No;
hough at some inconvenience, in full view
On the bank, therefore, fires are kindle
vith it is hashed up anything left over from
he feasting commences, and lasts all day.
anks, but in the huts; at the same time it
ewly caught seals shall not be brought wit
ven the blood spilled. If the god has allow
hem to be consumed only on his premises
ttention on the part of the Gilyaks, Tol ni
end them abundance of seals and all mann

the shore. To take it to their huts to be
dy thing to do, for there is as yet no divine
a proceeding might result in a failure of the
the feasting must be done openly, and,
of the god's province.
d; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, and
the winter's stores. When all is prepared
Eating and drinking go on, not only on the
is strictly observed that the pieces of the
thin the hut, nor left scattered about, nor
ed seals to be caught, he has [254] permitted
, i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and little
vookh will be content, and in future will
er of inhabitants of the sea."

G Gi T 342 171 /383 cont./
dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

G Gi T 361 342 22 In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are

G 361 433 226 [231] [262] predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

G 361 433 [224] [224] [439] /384 cont./
most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

G Gi T 224 226 231 433 361 The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes surrounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is

G Gi T 231 361 possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals, in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,

SS 262 171 /425 cont./
in that they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment, and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese,

SS [184] Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples of the Amur region primarily differ from one another as far as food is concerned only in that fish among some or meat among others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relation with the Chinese or Japanese.

G *262 G [231] Among all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their life without fish; it is the conditio sine qua non of their own existence as well as that of their only domestic animal, the dog, which provides them with food as well as transportation and clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak

G *262 226 251 would not, if necessary, use as food. But standing in the first rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the large supply needed to last through the long winter when fish are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers from the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall. (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin laghi-tscho) and Salmo proteus Pall. (Gilyak /426/ tengi-tscho) play the principal role (1).

G [104] 1. In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka and northwestern America, the Russian terms for these two species of salmon are keta and gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall refer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and its tributaries, which falls in June for S. proteus, in August for S. lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
[412] side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1),[1]
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[226] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longr[sch]), Salmo leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out
[1] [See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively—Analyst]

/427 cont./

000 campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not
*262 only eaten au naturel, but is also an important ingredient of many
[252] dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to
[231] later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for
262 the dog. In view of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is
221 understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or
226 less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on
252 preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. Thus, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers, some of the Liman Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tschomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, move to the Tymy /Tym'/ River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tscho (Gadus wachnja Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast of Sakhalin in order to feast for a while on these fish.
[628] In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of certain places, for example, between the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

226 However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however,
*262 they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if
361 there were not at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides those salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality in the Gilyak region is, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of
The Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/428 cont./

226 the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat. Needless to say,
*262 the above-mentioned species of salmon used for jukola by the Gilyak are also eaten fresh and even constitute their principal food when they come upstream in great numbers. In addition, however, the river also offers them an abundance of fresh food in its more or less permanent species of fish, such as sheatfish (Silurus asotus L., Gilyak mub), eelpout (Lota vulgaris Cuv., Gilyak mad[r]sch), pike (Esox lucius L., Gilyak iwys), and espe cially many cyprinoids, among which the pilengat (Cyprinus carpio L.) plays the principal role (1). But more important and

[113] 1. Incidentally, on the basis of the findings of Herzenstein and Warpachowski ("Notizen über die Fischfauna des Amur-Beckens /Notes on the Fish Fauna of the Amur Basin/," in Trudy S. Peterb. Obshch. Estestvoisp. po otd. Zool., Vol. XVIII, 1887), we shall name here a number of the permanent Amur fish, the larger of which are generally used for food by the Gilyak, the smaller only when necessary and if nothing else is available. Thus, the following: lering (Carassius vulgaris Nilss.) uk or uk-tscho (Barbus labeo Pall.), koll (Pseudas pius leptocephalus Pall.), kunung (Parabramis bramula Val.), mimk (Hypophtalmichth dybowskii Herz.), wa (Culter erythropterus Basil.), mykyk (Idus waleckii Dyb.), isn-ngoch (Pseudogobia amurensis Dyb.), markram (Gasterosteus pungitius L.), and others.

more precious to the Gilyak than all these fish are the two specie of Acipenser that occur in the Amur and sometimes reach tremen proportions, the tukki-tscho (Acipenser schrenckii Brandt), the Amur sturgeon, and the patch-tscho (Acipenser orientalis Pall), 000 the Amur hausen (2). On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning fr

[113] 2. Cf. J. Fr. Brandt, "Einige Worte über die

without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1); near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

The women also take part in this catch. There is no particular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter come very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rope about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the animal reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

225 The seal (1) is caught in several ways. On the island of
411

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long which is thicker at its lower end is laid into a wooden trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyak pursues it, often at the risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to it he places the trough which somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, aims and throws the lance while holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

225 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbakh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: near a place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom of the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunter conceals himself. The seal, all unsuspecting, climbs on a stone in order to sun himself and is hit by the lance which is attached to the boat by a long strap.

Finally the seal, when he is sunning himself on a rock, is sometimes killed by means of an endlessly long lance, the lower end of which lies on the shore.

The sea lion frequently is found on the coast of Sakhalin and it is the simplest thing in the world to kill it. The animal is stupid and at the same time inquisitive and lets the hunter come so near that he can beat it to death with a club.

224 The otter is frequently seen on the rivers of the country
225 and its pelt is very much prized. It is shot, sometimes even killed with sticks. Cross-bows are also sometimes set up for it, as for the sable.

224 Of land mammals the bear, the elk, the reindeer, the fox,
554 the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. The scars which a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men do not attempt this single combat and go after the animal in pairs, and [121] armed with rifles; sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

226

226 FISHING--species sought (e.g., fish, shellfish); gathering of marine fauna; fishing methods and techniques (e.g., hook and line, nets, poison); description and use of traps and weirs; special elaborations (e.g., fishing for sport); economic importance of fishing; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; fishing for sport; regulation (e.g., licenses); etc.
See also:

Marine fauna	136	Net manufacture	288
Manufacture of poison	278	Boats	501

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature
that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and
women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and
fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion.
Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the
belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect
the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in
the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black
coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background
the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in
gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat
of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves --
the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling
completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak,
made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In
recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drei'
has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more
imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported
materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along
the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which
sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely
disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly
stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of
the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the
[133] Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a
fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold
northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence
[226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons
and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other
fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and
streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount
by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I
myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This
[172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the
strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

/25 cont./

080 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
269 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal
sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long
winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are
merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The
countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to
spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of
all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
269 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished
native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity
to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

205 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a
boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the
Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves
as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food
product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak.
The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here
it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been
brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only
appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws
himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with
fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes un-
recognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and
vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down
to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and
the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear
killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations.
Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable
has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the
setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/246 cont./

595 Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described
171 in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that
"the second husband must always be either a brother or a
very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

157 The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with
224 such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves
831 a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual
433 sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn,
could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor.
[226] The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too
much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which
could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital
energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant
role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake
[221] distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables,
squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions
after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any
special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very
weakly developed.

/365 cont./

776 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed.
But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes
on his way without further consideration.

776 The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods --
782 nivukhi -- is quite clear. It is they who provide him with sables,
22 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and bears are just
as much the property of Pal'-nivukh as fish and seals are the prop-
erty of Toll'-nivukh, and as sled dogs are the property of the
Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to
man. It is not an accident that the fish appear with such amazing
regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that
sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is
not an accident that swans, geese, and ducks molt in the summer
and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the
776 gods for man; he lives only by these gifts. It is clear that the
782 Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so
they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail them-
selves of: saranka, roots, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When I
once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Toll'-
nivukh at the beginning of the seal season, they asked me: "But
will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the
exchange of portions with the nivukhi. That is why the sacrifice
may never consist of the same objects for which sacrifices are
made; for example, among the dishes offered to thank for fish in their
seal, this last does not figure, although it constitutes an indispensa-
ble dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice.
Thus, the bear at the well-known festival is in no way a sacrifice,
as some think, /366/ for not a single piece of its meat is appor-
tioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory: to
sacrifice -- means giving the god something real. And actually,
at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-nivukh, is given a
sacrifice of saranka, "mosa," yukola, and other viands. The
principle of exchange in sacrifices is not contradicted by the fact
225 that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the
226 head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple:

/366 cont./

776 the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the
782 creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason
224 the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and
225 any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak
a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business
on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices
offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special
solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable
season. He offers this sacrifice at his yurt. In the taiga, at the
342 side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the
whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual
gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After
striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to
the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen.
He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little
at a time, believing that a hundred fish more or less is little to a god
as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made
during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a
journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge
unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama
of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically
before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of
them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka,
tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps
to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the
snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up,
he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same.
Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and dis-
tributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted
a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had
771 been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the re-
ligious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a
Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition,"
the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem
to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion
everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no
781 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

/376 cont./

593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
176 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
176 of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
168 existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
224 Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
225 require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
167 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
594 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
168 But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equip-
ment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations
of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual
aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between mem-
bers of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among
these barbarians than in a civilized family.

/378 cont./

482 And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
422 together and eating together, individual members, such as, for
594 example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs,
boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with
their father obtain in good time property for their future inde-
pendence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
[133] Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
[224] as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
[165] success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the re-
sult of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
[224] the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his
[225] fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but
he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
[165] same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for him-
[226] self a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
422 prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain
606 a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
422 tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
556 the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
[151] "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and
does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable
fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with
silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches
pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only
at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the
storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son,
when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, depart-
ing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its com-
mon efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when
he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and
whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of
sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
556 brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward
rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie un-
touched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays
hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled
to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing
of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods
of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in
favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the
trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will
ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it
may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask
him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the
debtor)" replies the puzzled creditor.

Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one
433 cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital,
46 as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.
[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals
422 and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several
606 men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the partici-
pants. The master of this boat gets the same share as the youth
who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who
makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for spe-
cial reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example,
from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than
an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the
one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In
165 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
433 share as his have-not companion ("navikh"). True, I have seen
an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3
of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to
my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the re-
ply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;
554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling
176 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
426 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind
one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase
a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his
death.

G- /319 cont./

161 3. (cont.)
114 not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as
161 Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur
as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by
Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and
elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast
from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange
it must seem to one to find at the very beginning
of an article supposedly dealing specifically with
the Gilyak such a convincing mixture with their
neighboring tribes who are completely different
linguistically and to some extent in their ways
of life!

SS
161 count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an
114 approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the num-
361 ber of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with cer-
tainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of
SS this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings
[121] are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a
consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

G- A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satis-
361 faction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost
226 exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle
225 along the banks and estuaries of water with the most fish in their teri-
tory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak
villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the
seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern
half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains
or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less
favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the
seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against
the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above
the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing
the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against
the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/357 cont./

342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the
dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.
The above description also applies, apart from the
342 specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwel-
231 lings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on
Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar
nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the follow-
ing remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is
on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front
side is likewise on the ground level. As in the pile-yurt, this
space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to
the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on
both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a
few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the excep-
tion of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and
the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brush-
wood, so that a sort of mattehouse is produced. This is assigned
to the dogs for their abode, where, protected at both sides of the
entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

251 Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
[231] summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winte
226 one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivance
225 for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
[417] hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and
not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite simila
to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crosspoles
under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected
against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see
000 Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer

1. A more detailed description of the
treatment of the fish before they are dried,
as well as of the use of the individual parts
and the like, will be given later at the
appropriate place.

Hawes--255-256 T-3 (1901) 1903

, 225

"In the autumn comes also another inhabitant
lleri). Gazing far out to sea, the Gilyak has s
-appearing, and then a second and a third. Thi
apparatus, his nets with their floats of burnt
ese he sets far away from shore, near great r
d them, patiently awaiting results. A little wa
s on the pebbles. The black floats are gently
crest, at the next in the trough of the wave.
-lions swimming near the pebbles? The midd
ter, and beckons the herd outside to a sun-bat
o have preceded them in this intention, they s
t ere before the first has discovered the decep
noe shoots rapidly from behind the rocks, and
ever."

of the ocean, the sea-lion (Eumetopias
een a black point disappearing and [256]
s is enough. He hastens to bring out
wood shaped like the heads of sea-lions.
ocks, while he lurks in his canoe be-
ve breaks lazily on the shore, and rip-
ocked, at one moment they appear on
Who could doubt this to be a herd of
ay sun has heated the surface of the
h on shore. Sighting these 'comrades,'
wim towards them all unsuspectingly.
tion, he is entangled in the net, a
a skilful thrust quiets his fluttering

28 cont./

2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from
halin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of
Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup-
es and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the
geon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to
end the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at
ctically every season of the year and even throughout the
ter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post
amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the
ki-tscho which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur,
t this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter,
9/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it
ime. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular,
e the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they
mselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it
y much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which
y always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded
ong them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities
turgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear
ivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw
le rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the
t decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the
u of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten
etween them or on the days preceding or following the festival.
e the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these
, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less
rable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the
t clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle
rder to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/429 cont./

226 Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the entire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than almost anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon, is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon, and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species generally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in

[132] [361] [221]

[113]

1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callaris Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

/429 cont./

2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

The mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infrequently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habitation sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Dul', Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

/430 cont./ Moreover, with regard to these and similar views, there are many local differences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as uitsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the continental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulj, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

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3. (cont.)
II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been shot.

of the great similarity between the
n externals and in their way of life, it is quite possible
ilyak have the same attitude toward both and therefore
o not eat the raven.
ong the reptiles and amphibians, there is not a single
it the Gilyak eat, for with regard to all of them, but
snakes and toads, they have a fear rooted in superstiti-
, which will be discussed in the following (4).

4. In China, frogs, turtles, and even snakes are eaten. Jakinf, op. cit., p. 262; John Bowring, loc. cit.

lly, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few
tes must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not
ering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks
by the sea or left behind by the ebb. For example,
st coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina
Gilyak kär wub) (5), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a snail shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubk, according to Glehn.

llach and which remains unknown to me, as the species
nals they eat and at the same time praised them as
eet as sugar."

G1 48 171 175

/478 cont./
basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

G G1 484 171

Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this respect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

G 492 231

Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as draft animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river rich in fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them.

G 226 484 492

These requisites, as discussed above (3), are best met among the

3. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

Tungus Rus
Goldi RX

SS 492 184 G1 T 492

/500 cont./
of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

SS 501 184 484

As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G 501 484 [226]

None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concentrated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

G [361] [181]

50 Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed
171 that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the
335 peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing
[1] exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various
[2] peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail.
[1] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
796 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
226 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1008/). It was a long boat with
[50] one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
[192] automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
[194] to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

796 Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure,
226 they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid
782 and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the precise intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the zach in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration with sacrifices and zach takes place. The Gilyak then go out on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up it from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit: the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak tukki-tscho) and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak patch-tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the Ussuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the kaluga of the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occurs in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka /Shilka/ and in the Argunj /Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

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1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 207. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

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1. (cont.)

Ac. dauricus, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 27), is too shallow and stony for it. When in other older as well as more recent reports on Dauria, chiefly Russian ones, reference is made simply to hausen (bieluga) and sturgeon (osetr") in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in its rivers, as, for instance, in Hedenström (Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, 1830, p. 146), Parschin (Poiezdka v" Zabaikal'skii krai /Journey to the Transbaikalia Region/, Moscow, 1844, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibiri /Statistical Survey of Sibiria/, St. Petersburg, 1854, Vol. I, p. 351), Kaschin ("Nieskol'ko slov" ob" Arguni /A Few Words about the Argun/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VI, Irkutsk, 1863, p. 103), Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1567), and others, undoubtedly the two Acipenser species named, which go from the Amur up its source rivers, are to be understood.

226 above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The
226 situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is
171 eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

226 in general the same everywhere. But the individual peoples
[197] prefer one or another method of fishing, according to their nature and the local conditions in their part of the river. The Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are knotted with large meshes and very strong twine so as not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay closer to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get along with a simple, longish-quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out in the channel of the /519/ river with this net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper ends of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current against the ascending fish. If the surface of the river is calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swirling of the water, etc., and guide their boats with the net between them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has
[192] become entangled in it, the wooden float affected gives notice of it, and now both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak schab-tschamrch, Pl. XI /see p.1020/, Fig. 2) and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and
[411] taken to land to be killed there. The proper club for this is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

226 ancient use of this weapon from the Stone Age (1).
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1. I myself did not see it among the Gilyak, but received a picture of it through one of my friends in Nikolayevsk, as well as one of a similar instrument used for smashing the bear skull, which are to be shown on a later plate.

When the water is more agitated and the sturgeon or hausen stay at greater depths, the net, especially at its lower ends, is weighted with larger stones so that it will sink deeper, and at the same time an arrangement is made so that from each of the two lower ends of the net a string runs through several rings plaited out of willow bast on the side edges of the net to the hands of the fishermen. Since, in addition, with more agitated water the entry of a large fish into the net would not be indicated as noticeably by the wooden floats, there are attached to the rear wall of it several thin strings (Gilyak umysij), the ends of which are likewise in the hands of the fishermen, and which by their subsequent jerky tension, reveal the presence of the fish in the net. As soon as this is recognized, the net is raised by pulling on the aforementioned two strings, and thus withdrawal from it is cut off for the fish, whereupon it is killed in the previously described manner.

Finally, the Gilyak also use a bag net for catching sturgeon and hausen. It is likewise equipped with stones at the lower edge of its opening and with wooden floats at the upper one. At each of the places where the ones end and the others begin, there are a ring plaited out of willow bast and a few strings which serve for holding or fastening the net. Fishing with this bag net is done in the same manner as with the above-mentioned net, in that the fishermen go out in two boats, cast the net, and, holding it in between at the sides, go downstream toward the ascending fish. As soon as the movement of one of the wooden floats or the jerky tension of one of the signal lines

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226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance /520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed at a per pendicular to the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal stringers in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

(227) 1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
(229) ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long,
(532) flat, wooden staff curved slightly toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/520 cont./

226 upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the sections of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschongr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this fashion the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords from the wall of the net or bag, so that the presence of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance of the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces.

(532) The representation of a face on the odn-tschongr is always necessary, however, according to Gilyak belief, and very essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /521/ Gilyak superstition should be considered, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon
(845) and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I shall return later with regard to its consequences.

226 Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the
171 Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known in Siberia as siamolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obj, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 444; Vol. III, p. 88.

/521 cont./

226 Among the Gilyak this fishing is done in the following way. An
192 anchor (Gilyak tschabchy consisting of a branched tree-root, or of three wooden pegs connected with one another in the manner shown on Plate XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 10, and fastened to a stone between them, is lowered into the deep channel of the river by a rope (Gilyak tyk) (2) plaited out of willow bast and

2. Perhaps tyk merely means "rope" in general.

many fathoms long. Extending from this thick rope at certain intervals are thinner and shorter bast cords, and at the end of each one there is fastened a wooden clog (Gilyak kita, ibid., Fig. 9) equipped with a pointed and sharply ground iron hook. From the upper end of each of these clogs a thin string runs to the surface of the water where it bears a wooden or bark float. At certain intervals stones are tied to the main rope so that it will remain lying on the river bed, while the clogs with their iron hooks float some distance above it and, thanks to the floats, assume a more or less vertical or slanting position. Finally, at the very end of the main rope, which is lowered into the water last as the apparatus is being set up, a heavy wooden block is attached as a float, which makes the end of the rope easy to find at any time. The fish going up the river run into the clogs, push past them or even play with them, injure themselves in doing so, thrash about, and only remain ever more firmly hung on the hooks, as is revealed by the movements of the corresponding wooden floats. As soon as the Gilyak notice this, they come along in the boats, wind up the rope from the floating wooden block, and lift the fish into the boat by means of the hooks described above.

226 In fishing for sturgeon and hausen, the Gilyak use the
411 harpoon, though again less frequently than the net, simply because, as was said above, they move on the water with great caution and not too easily and boldly. The fish-harpoons customarily used among them are of two kinds: one consists of a simple iron point equipped with a couple of barbs, which

/521 cont./

226 is also used for seal-hunting and is to be described in the fol-
411 lowing in discussing this; the other is a trident (Gilyak tschak, Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 8), with barbs put on each prong. The one as well as the other is /522/ put on the tip of a wooden pole for hurling and, in addition, is tied to the end of a long strap remaining in the hand of the fisherman, by means of which the fish hit is pulled in and out of the water. The former weapon is more common among the Gilyak than the latter and bears the name tugngy.

226 Finally, it not infrequently happens that sturgeon and
411 hausen get into the nets set up for salmon and are caught together with the latter, or, and especially in midsummer with receding water, as I myself have seen, they are stranded in the shallows and then merely need be simply clubbed.

Soon after the opening of the river, the ascent of the species of salmon in the Amur and its tributaries begins, which, all together, lasts throughout the summer and early fall until into October, in fact, even after a new ice cover has formed, not counting the completely stationary species go upstream singly or in small parties, others in mighty processions repeated at intervals, and in particular there are two species of the greatest importance to the Gilyak on account of the great
(136) numbers in which they appear. These are the tengi or tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, and even more the lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin lughi-tscho, S. lagocephalus. How essential and indispensable they are for the diet and the total economy of the Gilyak has already been discussed in detail above. We shall therefore have to go into somewhat more detail on the catching of these fish, and especially the latter. First, however, space might be found here for a few remarks about their seasons of migration both in the Amur and along the adjacent seacoasts to the north and south.

/522 cont./

226 Salmo proteus, the gorbuscha of the Russians (1), is not

1. i.e., the same as saying hunchbacked fish or hunchbacked salmon. As is well known, it is called this because of the bulge that develops on the back of the spawning fish.

only one of the most abundant, but is also one of the earliest species of salmon entering the rivers along the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, northwest of the Amur-Liman, and along the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan south of it. Here it always precedes Salmo lagocephalus (the Russian keta) by a few weeks. According to Mizul, it appears on the west coast of Sakhalin in June and goes up all of its rivers and streams indiscriminately and in great quantities (2). the keta, however,

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khozyaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Standpoint of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 46.

appears in them somewhat later and in smaller numbers (3).

3. Mizul /Mitsul'/, op. cit., p. 49.

The situation seems to be similar along the opposite coast of the mainland (4), with the difference, however, that there the keta,

4. In the Ssuifun, according to Barabasch ("Sungar. Eksp. /Sungari Expedition/," -- Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 1, p. 167), the gorbuscha is caught chiefly and is sold by the Chinese fishermen to the gold-washers in the interior of the country, and in part even as far as Nitguta.

/522 cont./

226 too, appears in great quantities, at least at the mouths of the
6 large rivers. For one spot along this coast, Kaiserhafen at the mouth of the Hadshi River, there are detailed reports concerning the date of the appearance of the two species of salmon named, which here, too, play the principal roles. Margaritof, 226 who, for the /523/ purpose of ethnographic research, spent a
[114] whole summer among the Orochi in Kaiserhafen, reports that there the gorbuscha (okô among the Orochi), as well as the keta (dawâ among the Orochi), have three migration periods each, during which they enter the bay and the rivers emptying into it in greater quantities and alternate with each other in intervals of half a month each, in that the gorbuscha comes there during the first halves of the three summer months, but the keta during the second halves. With regard to the keta, he says in greater detail that their first migration begins around the middle of June and lasts until the first days of July, whereupon a pause of about ten days occurs, after which, about the 20th of July (the statements follow the old style /calendar/), they appear anew and continue to come until the beginning of August; then there is another interruption of a couple of weeks, after which, toward the end of August, the third migration period begins, which lasts far into September. The first of these migration periods, however, for the one species as well as for the other, scarcely deserves the name as such: the fish only appear in small numbers and do not go up the rivers but appear only at their mouths as far as the tide reaches in them. During the second period of migration they advance upstream in shoals, and, finally, in the third, they reach their maximum number, whereupon, however, as a result of exhaustion and the process proceeding in their organisms and, as is well known, manifesting itself by external changes, their goodness decreases in the same proportion, so that the jukola supplies made during the third migration period are the easiest to procure, to be sure, but at the same time are the most
6 inferior in quality. Incidentally, the Orochi are said to
226 prefer the gorbuscha generally for making their supplies of
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/524 cont./

226 not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that
6 is, toward the end of August at the earliest and during September.

Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by
226 the Tschorki and Ulchi, unfortunately without any reference to
114 dates, that both species, the tengi-tscho and the lyghi-tscho,
223 were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers in-
187 sufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been men-
480 tioned (4), when this fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there.

6 Some date for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
114 to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff.
226 In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northwestern America, June 22 is given as the arrival time of S. proteus at the mouth of the Udj, and July 9 as that for S. lagocephalus along the same coast (5).

5. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that S. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ala and Uda (that is, Udj) fairly regularly about June 10, and 7-10 days later also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, it gives with the reservation, "as is said." The regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the explanation of the abbreviations which are used for the sources

utilized for the above-mentioned list of the migration dates of the fish (op. cit., p. 1228) is limited to only a part of them and many remain completely incomprehensible.

Moreover, /525/ the statement that S. lagocephalus does not seem to occur in the waters of Great Schantar Island, whereas S. proteus is caught there (1), is of interest for our purposes.

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1261

226 Finally, so far as the mouth of the Amur is concerned, S. proteus enters it as early as May, soon after the ice goes. But it appears then only in small numbers, only as the vanguard so to speak, of a second, large migration which takes place in June. During the latter month it is eagerly caught by the Gilyak for use in the preparation of supplies of jukola and also goes up the first major Amur tributary, the Amgunj /Amgun/, where it, together with S. lagocephalus, is the mainstay of the economy of the Negda (2). In July, finally, some straggle

2. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1524.

appear around the mouth of the Amur, but they are scarcely worth mentioning. It would therefore be an exaggeration to speak of three migration periods for S. proteus into the Amur; it is more correct to assume an initial weak migration in May a second strong or principal migration in June. Salmo lagocephalus does not appear in the Amur mouth until August and, in fact, except for a few forerunners, its actual great ascent into the river in shoals begins around the middle of August, reaches its peak toward the end of this month and the beginning of September, and then lasts with waning energy all through this latter month and continues into October, until

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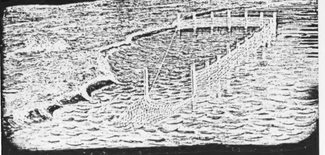
thin cord, initially single, but very soon divided into three strings which are attached by their ends, at about half the length of the net, to its opposite wall. When the net is to be set up, its lower end is drawn together into a bag by means of a strap, it is weighted with stones above at the lower edge of the bag opening, and, by means of the cords on it, it is fastened to the above-mentioned myr piles, whereby the side of the net equipped with the slit in its upper part is turned toward the middle of the river, and the opposite one toward the bank. In order to give the net more support and also in order to pull it out later, a long, thick cord runs from the opening of the bag to the bank and is fastened there to a pile. /530/ Once the net is set up, a Gilyak stations himself in a boat at its exterior point of attachment at the end of the second row of piles and holds the signal cord in his hand, putting each part of it between two fingers. The salmon ascending along the bank and now coming upon the willow plaiting built out crosswise to them find no way through it and, in order to get around it, crowd along the plaiting running downstream and thereby get into the net. This is made known to the Gilyak



A salmon-weir (Gilyak myr) in the Amur River.

on guard by a pulling and tugging on the signal cords, and, as soon as he can assume from the repeated and strong tension on them that the net is

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226 full of fish, he lets the signal cord fall and draws together the opening of the bag, whereupon it is dragged ashore with the booty. Needless to say, besides the salmon going upstream at the time, other fish, sometimes even sturgeon and hausen, are caught in these bag nets. Since some labor and trouble is connected with making a myr, the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time ascending in the greatest multitudes, the lyghi-tscho. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of its ascent the myr are not infrequently seen throughout the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

The Gilyak pursue salmon fishing in the Tymy River on Sakhalin in the same manner and with no less zeal. But this is less suitable for the erection of myr on account of its smaller size and, in places, its shallowness. They are nevertheless in use in its lower course and at the point where it empties into Nyi Bay. It is here that at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus, 226 in addition to the Gilyak, the Orok, too, zealously engage in 191 fishing and the preparation of fish supplies. Indeed, during the 648 last decades, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Ainu, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of S. proteus at the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the mouth of the Tymy at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus and engage in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Poljakof, who met them there at this occupation in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had first erected a weir of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river and opened one-twelfth of the width of the river only as a result of his threatening demand, but then immediately above the first erected a second weir blocking no less than nine-tenths of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

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226 Tymy River: no less understandable, however, is the harm that 191 they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of 648 the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of their river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living permanently in the Amur, such as carp, eelpout, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets during the /531/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, under the ice, in the same way as sturgeon is then caught. In the calm, lake-like wide places with a muddy bottom, of which there are many along the banks of the Amur River, and which are always connected with it by a more or less swampy branch of the river or a small water-course, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish, which are abundant in these small basins.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its great importance for some of the Gilyak, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the kangi fishing along the west and east 136 coasts of Sakhalin. The importance of the kangi fish (Gadus wachnia Pall.) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above (p. 653 ff.). The vast quantities in which they appear directly under the ice of the sea permits the Gilyak to 192 employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kulk. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak pukij) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

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226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish; even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about 285 the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is 286 provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and 324 Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first 462 part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women: the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, 114 as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kulk. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak pukij) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

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286 Wound in this manner, the kilks, like a shuttle, moves from one 192 side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, knotting its meshes. But in order to make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be there only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

286 The larger the meshes of a net are to be, the larger must 192 be the instruments used in making it, the kilks and the kiwu. 286 The net used for catching hausen (patch-tcho) and occasionally 192 also for seals -- Gilyak patch-kā -- has the largest meshes and, 223 correspondingly, it is the out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the netting needle, Fig. 4, called patch-kā-kilks by the Gilyak (also tolles-kilks and kerwagn-kā-kilks), and the corresponding mesh-board, patch-kā-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukki-kā, follows: tukki-kā-kilks (also jaghin-kā-kilks), Fig. 3, and tukki-kā-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kā-kilks or also nokn-kā-kilks, is used for making the nets with which such fish as pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimk (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), kych, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, was designated for me by the Gilyak as mych-kā-kilks, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (mych-kā) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added, 287 however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for 227 catching the tengi, S. proteus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, such as S. proteus in particular, do not require finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

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226 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily 286 slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the mych-kā, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

192 1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it ilaking.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While 227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark 226 floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The 286 nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

/534 cont./

227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in 286 the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they 184 are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

226 /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak 183 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught. 262 First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing, all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest 224 to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life, hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than fishing. Among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular, it cuts heavily into winter fishing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in 226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the 262 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite vario

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kinds of eager and assiduous hunting of game, whereas the onset of winter seems to awaken in the latter a passion not entirely suppressed by the fishermen's life, which temporarily transforms them, as it were, into hunting nomads. Nevertheless it should not be thought that among the Amur peoples the Gilyak alone busy themselves in the winter with fishing (1). The Olcha likewise

1. As, for example, Arthur Nordmann ("Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/." -- Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1861, p. 230) says.

The Olcha likewise practice it to a very considerable extent, and the Marinski post in the middle of their area was abundantly supplied with fresh fish by them in the winters of 1855 and 1856. The Amur Goldi, too, devote themselves to it, but it gradually decreases among them going upstream: as I myself experienced, the traveler going in this direction in winter is more and more commonly offered deer, elk, and wild-pig meat or fat instead of fresh fish. Przewalski (2) said of the Usuri dwellers that fishing

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 98.

practically ceases among them in winter because all the able-bodied men go hunting then and only the old men and the women left behind engage in angling. Sitting for hours at the table in the ice, they continually move their tackle, equipped with only a small piece of red cloth or a bit of fat instead of bait. /538/ up and down, and, despite this simple procedure, it is said that on good days they succeed in catching from two to three pood of fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

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zin-jui (3), hausen, in the Churcha or Mutwan-ho (Mudan-shan

3. According to Maack (op. cit., p. 201), Acip. orientalis is called zing-huan by the Chinese.

in the Russian version), the last large right tributary of the Sungari, and that they are speared with iron fishhooks through holes in the ice in winter, was reported even by the Chinese Utchen in his memoir on Ninguta written in 1722 (4). But of all

4. Vasil'ev", "Zap. o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (zap. Rustk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, p. 88).

the Sungari tributaries the Nonni is said to be the richest in fish (5). The big sturgeon or hausen which Father Paranin served

5. Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 1, p. 149; No. 2, p. 346).

to the Russian ambassador Ismailof and his party in Peking in the winter of 1721, and which allegedly had been brought from the Amur frozen and packed in snow, may even have come from the Sungari or Ussuri (6).

6. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage depuis St.-Pétersb. en Russie dans diverses contrées de l'Asie, Paris, 1746, translated from the English by M ***, p. 366. According to Maack (op. cit., p. 201), Chinese merchants annually bring hausen and other fish from the Ussuri to Peking to sell.

Aside from some minor differences in details, the methods of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Olcha and Goldi are exactly the same as among the Gilyak, but the inclination toward

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hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it certain that they will prefer methods of fishing that are less common among the Gilyak. For example, the /537/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden clog, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular among the Olcha and even more among the Goldi, both on the Amur and in particular on the Ussuri, and, judging by the striking correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1),

1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called tschabch by the Gilyak, tschabbe by the Olcha and Goldi; the main rope fastened to the bottom by means of it is called tyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the clog equipped with the hook is called kita by the former, kuirai and kuitraie by the latter.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the teachers of their Tungusic neighbors, have borrowed this method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic in comparison with the Gilyak is the preference of the Olcha and in particular the Goldi for catching sturgeon and hausen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XLI /p.1021/, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (tschak) is very similar to that of the Olcha-Goldi (dshogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from their Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much greater and more characteristic harpoon, the tugnay, was probably theirs originally. In the preference of the Olcha and Goldi for this method of fishing, which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, their Tungusic hunter-nature is clearly to be seen. Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the boldness, ease, and adroitness with which they glide over the water in small

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extensive trade relations, keep a smaller number of dogs than the Gilyak, their requirements for winter supplies of fish are not as large as among the latter. And naturally they spend less time and effort on obtaining and preparing them. Linked with these more or less purely quantitative differences in the salmon fishing of the Olcha and Goldi in contrast to that of the Gilyak, there are also qualitative ones inasmuch as the individual species of salmon go up the Amur and its tributaries in varying numbers and frequency and therefore vary in their importance for some of the dwellers on it. Salmo proteus, for instance, highly regarded among the Orochi, the Gilyak on the coast and on the Amur, and the Negda on the Amguni on account of its mass migrations, very soon loses its importance farther upstream. To be sure, it occurs throughout the Olcha area and is said to go up the small river emptying near the village of Kada as far as the lake in its upper course; indeed, a fine-meshed net used among them, as well as among the lower Goldi, for catching smaller fish bears the designation daa-magda after it, but it was not named for me among the Gorin fish by the Samagir in Ngaghs, and it is likewise not mentioned by Maack, Przewalski, and others for the Ussuri. On the other hand, another species of salmon, S. lycaodon, which is less important to the Gilyak, receives greater consideration among the Olcha and Goldi. Whereas it plays only a very subordinate role in the mouth part of the Amur River, in comparison to the great masses of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, between whose migrations it appears in incomparably smaller numbers, its appearance farther upstream comes at a time when there are relatively few fish, in that the former gradually declines and the latter appears later, and therefore meets a definite need of the river dwellers. On July 3/16, 1855, I saw the Olcha of Adi and in the days following also the Goldi of Kõurmi and the adjacent villages upstream busily catching cheike or selike, as they call S. lycaodon; not only did they feast on the freshly caught fish, but they also took advantage of the great schools in which they traveled for the preparation of supplies, which the Gilyak, as a rule, disdain to do with this species of salmon (their well-

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in spite of the fact that the Olcha and Goldi villages named, where I saw S. lycaodon in great numbers, lie quite close to the mouth of the Gorin, it does not seem to enter this latter river, for among its fish enumerated for me by the Samagir the cheike was absent. In the Amur, however, it also occurs farther upstream and is designated by the Goldi above the Geong Mountains with the name uru. Nevertheless it does not seem to reach the Ussuri; at least I did not get any information about it there, /539/ and in the latter reports by Maack and Przewalski concerning the fish fauna of this river, it is not mentioned.

By far the most important of all the species of salmon, however, for all the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region, is for the Gilyak, it S. lagocephalus, called daua or dawa (1)

1. The w here is pronounced like the English w.

by all of them. This salmon goes from the lower Amur into all its tributaries, the Amguni, Gorin, Chongar, and Ussuri, and goes up to their uppermost tributaries. In the region of the latter, strange to say, it avoids Lake Kengka, otherwise so rich in fish, and, to be sure, as Przewalski (2) suspects, because of its all too

2. Op. cit., p. 97, footnote.

muddy water. Its migration up the Ussuri is said to last for about 14 days, from the middle of September on. Late in the summer of 1855, when I traveled down the Amur from the Ussuri mouth, I met the first specimens of S. lagocephalus going upstream on August 25 and 26 (September 6 and 7) near Sioja and Emmero at the outlet from the Geong Mountains. Just three days later, near Chongar and Ommoi, I met it in mass migrations, and the Goldi were completely absorbed in catching it. In the latter village, where I rested for a few days, an old and very intelligent man told me that the mass migration of the daua lasted here for about 10 days, after which it was scarcer, to be sure, but continued to migrate for another 20 days or so. Farther downstream [Gilyak, the villages of Adi and Kõurmi--Analist] in the Gorin fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

/539 cont./ Farther downstream everything revolved exclusively around the catching of this fish and the preparation of winter supplies out of it, everyone feasted on it, the drying racks standing around the yurts were hung with tight rows of cut-up fish, like wide red ribbons, and the refuse poisoning the air yielded abundant food for the dogs, crows, and blowflies. In Mongolo, near the northern boundary of the Olcha, on September 13/26, the people thought that the mass migration of the daua had already come to an end, and only straggler were still going upstream. Nevertheless I found the Gilyak as far as Nikolayevsk still busy everywhere catching lyghi-tscho, either at the salmon weirs or with the help of ordinary nets. By the way, the catching of S. lagocephalus is done among the Olcha and the Goldi in precisely the same way as among the Gilyak, in part with ordinary nets, which, with meshes of a definite size, bear the name daua-magda after this principal fish, and in part with the help of the above-mentioned salmon weir, called mynga by them. The bag-shaped net on this latter (adule) is also made exactly like the myreh-ki of the Gilyak, is likewise equipped with signal cords (Gilyak umyss), Olcha and Goldi sirachs), and is also handled in the same way. But the salmon weirs of the Olcha and Goldi, in accordance with the above general remarks about their fishing in comparison with that of the Gilyak, are, as a rule, smaller, less carefully made, and less numerous than among the latter.

Prior to the surplus of fish brought about by the appearance of S. lagocephalus, there is a rather long period that is relatively poor for fish, during which the Olcha and Goldi /540/ are dependent on the fish living permanently in the Amur. The most important among them, aside from the species of Acipenser already discussed, are several cyprinoids, such as Cyprinus carpio (Olcha ua, Goldi kyaga; Carassius carassius vulgaris (Olcha and Goldi chargi), Pseudaspius leptocephalus (Olcha and Goldi suwa and ava), Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii (Olcha and Goldi takko and tawa), Leuciscus erythropterus (Olcha and Goldi diadi ch), and other fish as well as Salmo fluviatalis (among the Olcha and Goldi dhal, among the Samagir on the Gorin dishl), the sheatfish, Silurus asotus (Olcha and Goldi lachu), and the pike (Olcha koro, Goldi guzza, Samagir gutscha).

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Goldi guzza, Samagir gutscha). I have even seen jukola made from the last two, though only in small quantities and for the immediate future. Certainly a river so rich in fish as the Amur could provide the dwellers on it with a rich yield of fish even when it is not filled with species of salmon going upstream, if only they were willing to fish with diligence and energy, but in this respect the Olcha and Goldi fall far behind the Gilyak. I sometimes saw the Goldi badly in want in the middle of summer but instead of energetically going fishing, which would certainly have crowned their efforts with success, even though not to the same extent as in the period of the migrating salmon, they contented themselves with lazily and comfortably angling for small fish near the shore, which were supposed to relieve their momentary distress. They lack what is needed to overcome their natural indolence, the peculiarly Gilyak love of fishing, if it does not have the character of hunting, as in the case of sturgeon and hausen fishing carried on with a harpoon.

With regard to the fishermen's nets of the Olcha and Goldi, it is to be noted that, with the same nature as the Gilyak nets, they nevertheless present some variety with regard to the materials used in making them, for they are not only made out of nettles, but also, and, to be sure, the more frequently the farther upstream one goes, out of the stems of the hemp plant (Cannabis sativa L., Olcha and Goldi onochto), which grows in great profusion along with nettles and artemisia around their yurts. Moreover, instead of the stones which the Gilyak sometimes use to weight their nets, they use oblong-parallelepiped pieces of clay (libicha) intended expressly for the purpose, which fit exactly in between the two willow-bast cords (Olcha and Goldi bartoche) framing the net and are equipped with suitable straps for being fastened to them. For making these net-weights, a wooden mold consisting of two individual halves is used. It is first greased with fish oil, then the clay is packed in, and any protruding beyond the mold is cut off with a knife. These pieces of clay are not fired, however, after they are taken out of the mold, but instead are dried and slightly hardened on the seven Sling benches or in front of the hearth-fire in the yurt.

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226 [114] The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and /526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 192 805 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish especially *important for the economy of the Gilyak* are, of course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

/526 cont./

226 192 805

1. (cont.)
it seems to me that in these as well as in the following designations for the months the first expression refers to the first and still sparse appearance of the fish concerned, and the latter to the main or mass appearance of it.

during which the lyghi-tscho (S. lagocephalus) goes up the Amur River in colossal numbers and the activity of the entire population is required for the preparation of winter supplies, is called among the Gilyak lyghi-wota-long or pilja-tschrar- (2), or simply

2. The word "tschrar" is undoubtedly related to "tscho," fish.

pilja-long, i.e., the "great fish-month," or also simply "great month." This latter designation gives especially convincing evidence of the great importance which S. lagocephalus has for the entire economy of the Gilyak. In comparison with June and especially with August, July is only poor for fish. Among the species of fish peculiar to it S. lycaodon (Gilyak well, the nerka of the Russians) is the most prominent. This species of salmon, however, only plays a certain role farther upstream, among the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed at the appropriate place, but for the Gilyak it is of no special importance, inasmuch as it does not appear by far in such quantities as S. proteus or even S. lagocephalus and does not provide as good and as long-lasting a jukola as these do; indeed, in view of the certain quantities of lyghi-tscho to be expected soon, the Gilyak regard it as useless and not worth the trouble /527/ to prepare jukola supplies from the well. In contrast to August, the "great fish-month," July is therefore called by the Gilyak matschn-

226 192 805 /527 cont./
tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

[128]

1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

226 The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nvi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

25 cont./
ice cover forms. Middendorff's migration date for S. ocephalus into the Amur (end of August) known to him ough the work of Przewalski (3) -- who, however, had not

3. Puteshestv. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 97.

n at the mouth of the Amur himself -- did not seem to ee with that for the same species along the south coast of Sea of Okhotsk (4). But for this he had in mind only the

4. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1221.

tement, questioned by me and, one can almost say with tainty, erroneous, concerning the migration date of S. ocephalus at the mouth of the Udj, which has been dis- sed above (p. 816, note 5). The subsequent entry of S. ocephalus into the Amur, much later than Middendorff pre- med (5), explains quite simply and naturally the fact stated

5. Op. cit., p. 1220, where it is said that the keta salmon goes up into the Amur at least at the same time as into the Tugur (June 17-20), and probably even earlier.

him (6) that the keta salmon going up the Tugur arrive much

6. Op. cit., pp. 1220 and 1485.

ier than those going up the Amur and Amgunj at the point re the Tugur and the Amur systems come close together result of a bend in the river beds of the Tugur and Nemilen, hat the Tungus have plenty of time to do their fishing at Tugur bend (near Burukan) and then to move over to the by Nemilen to fish anew for keta salmon there.

/527 cont./

226 throughout the second half of August and did not decrease until the 30th (3). For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na o. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. I. R. Geogr. Obshch.; p. 97).

226 184 805 For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and especially along its upper course in great density, September is therefore chiefly the month that brings them the greatest quantities of laghi-tscho, so essential to their economy, and in which, traveling to meet the ascending fish, they devote themselves entirely to fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter. This explains the fact, repeatedly told to me by the Tymy Gilyak, that among them not August, but September bears the name pilja-long, "great month," whereas August, less rich in fish in comparison with it, is designated only as matschki-long, "little month." Thus, as a result of somewhat different natural conditions, a shift in the names for the months customary among the Amur Gilyak takes place there (4). Whether this also extends to the Tro Gilyak, for

4. The shifts or other differences in the names of the rest of the months that occur among the Tymy Gilyak in contrast to their countrymen on the Amur will be discussed later where appropriate.

whom the names customary along the Amur would actually be more appropriate, I am unable to say because I had too little contact with them. But it is not impossible, since the Tymy Gilyak speak the same dialect as they do and generally have a /528/close and, to a certain extent, decisive relationship with them, similar to the one that the Amur Gilyak have with those of the Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and [251] children participate in this work, and within a short time one [252] boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken. [462] While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as [462] the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces, 227 drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size [192] of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

/528 cont./

227 192 quadrangular net is called tschessk and, depending on the size of its meshes, is a lyghi-tschessk or a tengi-tschessk; another one was named for me as kyrn-kä and likewise distinguished as lyghi-kyrn-kä and a tengi-kyrn-kä (1), etc.

1. Kä in Gilyak means "net" in general.

226 In order to catch greater quantities of the ascending fish without much trouble, weirs are erected from the bank into the river for the purpose of deflecting the fish from the direction of their migration and directing them into a bag net set up alongside. For this, places are chosen on higher banks in the vicinity of a projecting tongue of land, where there is a stronger current and, as is known from experience, the fish usually ascend in great multitudes. /529/ The nature of such a salmon [192] weir, called myr among the Gilyak, is the following. From the bank a series of piles one fathom apart is driven out into the river, and from the end of it, at a right angle, a second, shorter stretch running downstream is driven into the river bottom. The spaces between the piles are then so closely interwoven with osier switches from the surface of the water as far down [192] as possible that the fish can find no exit. Between the lower end of the row of piles running downstream and a single post standing some distance from it and closer to the bank, the bag net, the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is fastened. This has the shape of a long funnel very gradually becoming narrower toward the bottom: a specimen from the village of Tschcharbach that I measured, spread out on the ground, had a length of six and a half meters and a width of three meters at the upper end and one and a half meters at the lower one. From the upper edge of this funnel-shaped net, equipped with two parallel willow-bast cords, a slit in the net about 12 decimeters long runs down along one side, and on each of the two tips thus formed along the edge of the funnel are put two cords, which, like the similar cord found diametrically opposite them, serve for fastening the net to the appropriate piles. Furthermore, from one of the above- [192] mentioned tips there extends the signal cord (Gilyak umyssj), a

edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

Goldi RKS

/600 cont./

1/2 ja, a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these worthless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like the furs, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon, for example, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand because the fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in this respect as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of it, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to the above table /see p. 935/.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable, fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

/669/

423 224 226 619 Finally, they also embrace the communistic that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishi ing, except for the places on the river where they h salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where the self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wh limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the T for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and t Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Al [648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samag trate into their territory without molesting them.

685 [421] [123] Like the communism, the inviolability of pro based upon the national principle. I have seen eve dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small t ample, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart fr people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage tra etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the [186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilya inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the e 685 648 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russian the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed muc Even the small burial houses were not safe for their though they did not contain anything but a few artic bolic significance. Thus it came about that I becam [192] with the principal international relationship betwee peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to ste Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) di known to me until much later. But it hardly ever h one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indee 685 123 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssaba whom I could fully trust even from an international The former, for instance, after a few days, returned cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there wa

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Economy and Everyday Life

226 [433] The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this [433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the [496] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. 227 [283] They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from [177] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (iykh). This consisted

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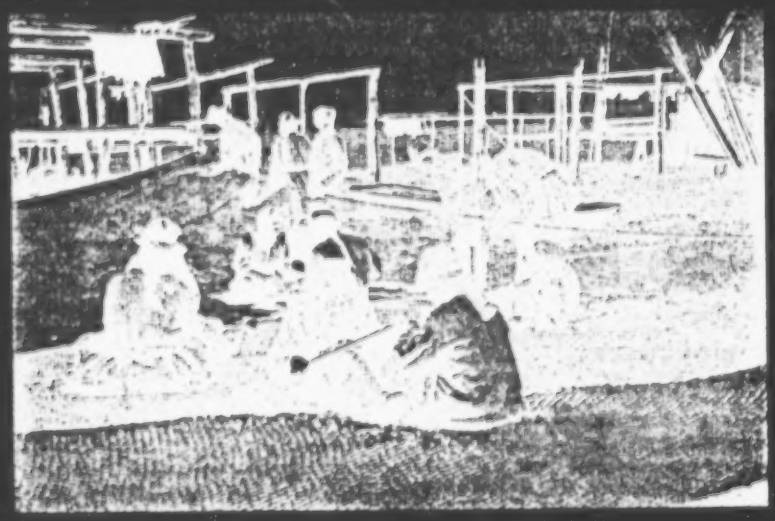
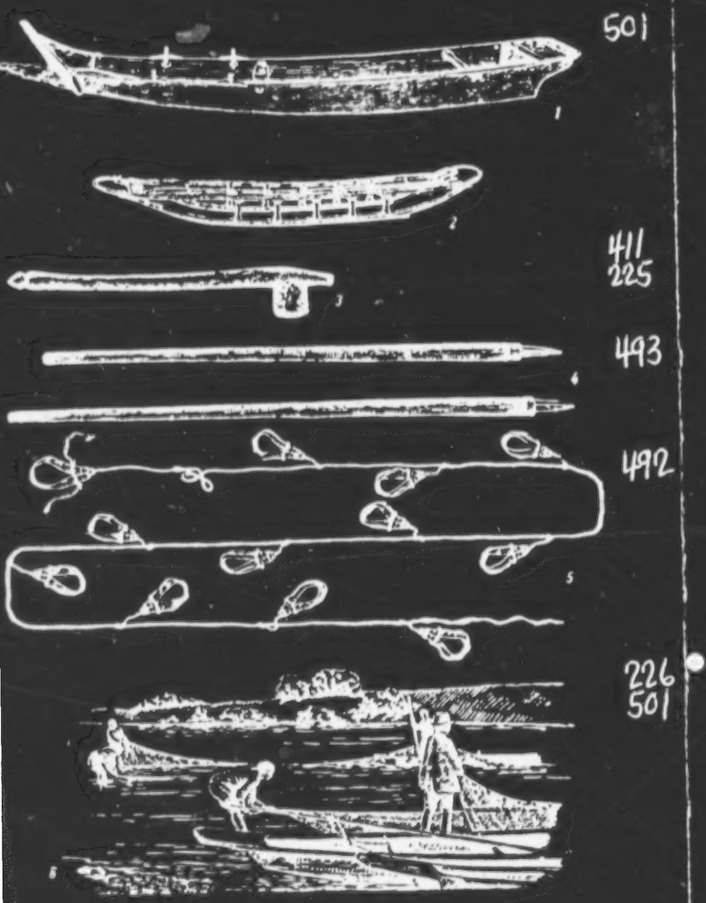


Sewing together a seine.



Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

d was prepared with
-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins,
-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite
was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi
ame acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resistance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northernmost Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

7: Kreinovich--21 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
127 1 N. V. Slîunin, Sovremennoîe polozhenîe nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak argun (?) now living in the village
471 Cəarva (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Təlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

116, 226, 411

"Vanka, . . . got out his long fish-spear (marikh), and, balancing himself on the prow of the boat, skilfully lunged at passing salmon. His weapon, which is one of a kind used by many of the tribes of North-Eastern Siberia, was of a peculiar character. To the shaft, which was about fourteen feet long, a large iron hook was loosely fastened by a thong. Close to the end was also another thong, bound round three or four times, but just loosely enough to allow of the hook being temporarily slid into it, the 'business' end free and pointing with the shaft. Ready now for action, the weapon was like a magnified letter h. On sighting the gleam in the limpid depths beneath, the skilful harpooner gives a rapid thrust, and the belly of the salmon is pierced. The action of piercing looses the hook from the threefold thong, and the struggles of the fish now only serve the hook, which is dangling from the first thong, to gain a firmer grip.

The first lunge by Vanka proved unsuccessful, as a cry of 'Kaukray' announced; again a silvery gleam, and [172] a second attempt had happier results, for a kita of fifteen to twenty pounds was hauled in, splashing and somersaulting. A blow on its head, and the fish lay dead; whereupon our Gilyaks whipped out their knives, and, like the Red Queen in 'Alice in Wonderland,' 'offed with its head,' and with teeth and knife devoured their tasty morsel raw, leaving nothing but the jaws. The natives regard the head of a salmon as a great delicacy, especially the cartilaginous parts, and in this they can claim kinship with the bear, for during the spawning-season Master Petz will come down to the river's edge, and in one night spoil a score of kita, devouring the heads, and throwing away the bodies."

, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of food,
necessarily of great importance to the
nerally consumed by December, and t
rival of the seals in April there is onl
glefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gilya
ore and gazes seaward, he will see bl
figures of men wrapped from head to
their [257] hands are sticks with big h
ming to the hole made in the ice, and
nan has been known to catch as many

the 'bread' of the Gilyaks, the summer supply
em. The winter stores of sun-dried kita are
hen comes the hard time for them. Until the
y one other visitant. This is the haddock (Gadu
k tongue, kan-hi. If one is sledging along the
ack specks among the gleaming ice. They are
foot in skins, and they are hooking haddock.
ooks attached, and the hungry and stupid fish
grabbing at the hook, is caught. By this means
as 300 in a day."

16, 136, 226

"After the seals arrive the herrings (Clupea hare
Pleuronectes hippoglossus), in Gilyak pilencho, wi
arge hook baited. The natives allow this powerful
00 lbs., to drag the boat until, its strength exhaus
Trout (Salmo fario) appear now in the rivers, bu
ig catch is of the ide (1) (Idus melanotus). A weir

1. The common ide (Leuciscus idus) is a specie

tream. Two lines of wattle are constructed so as
oint of meeting is a large, long basket. The fish
nd a Gilyak sitting near the entrance all night beat
hem in and preventing them from returning. In the m
akes his catch ashore. The smelt (Osmerus eperla
t is caught with a hand-net, and simply ladled out
orbusha (Salmo proteus) and kita (S. lagocephalus
he natives, has already been described."

engus), and then the halibut
hich is caught from a boat with a
fish, which sometimes weighs over
ted, they haul it in and spear it.
t not in large numbers, and the next
is formed in the river pointing up

s of roach (Leuciscus rutilus).

to form an acute angle, and at the
coming up stream find their way in,
s with a mallet or oar, frightening
horning he fastens up the basket, and
anus) appears in such quantities that
of the water. The spearing of the
s), the most important fish of all to

"There are many other [LSS: other than
bitants of the sea and rivers which have
nds; and though to the cold current issuin
nter, yet he owes to it the large schools
khalin. They come in such rapid sequenc
'posts.' "

the list in category 225, pp. 255-256.] in-
interest for the Gilyak, especially the smaller
ng from the Okhotsk Sea is due his severe
of fish which arrive off the coast of
e that the Russian fishermen say they come

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.

492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.

481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

226 VII. Trades and Occupations

286 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.

226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

"The river [LSS: the Amur] at this point is n
extensive plains of meadow-land burdened with
on either hand, in the distance, faint blue hills
the plains, and, in many places, extend to the
clusters of foliage, the tasty though filthy Gilak
near the sandy beach. One of these we came u
front of each house, upon the beach, were draw
elevated, fancifully-carved prows, and all alon
natives toiling at their long seines, and strewin
that glittered in the sunlight like heaps of silve
suspended on light poles under bark or straw-c
main until required for use, they being here, a
nance of both men and dogs during the long win
bark and roots of various trees, constitute alm
though many of the more hardy vegetables coul
they content themselves with the food that natu

The river at certain seasons of the year is l
effort is required to capture them [90] that they
that would adorn banquets in many places are h

early a mile in width, and flows through
a rank growth of tall grass, beyond which
limit the vision. Patches of woodland dot
river-bank, where, beneath the thick
ts erect their picturesque habitations
pon shortly after leaving Marinsk. In
vn up their odd-shaped canoes, with
g the shores we could see the bare-legged
ng the banks with hundreds of fine salmon,
r. These fish are afterward split, and
overed shelters to dry, where they re-
as in Kamtchatka, intended for the suste-
ter months. Fish and berries, with the
ost the only food of the inhabitants, and,
d be had at the expense of a little toil,
re showers upon them.
iterally alive with salmon, and so little
y are considered almost valueless. Fish
ere thrown to the dogs by hundreds."

226 without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1): near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

226 The women also take part in this catch. There is no partic-
423 ular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

225 Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult
411 hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter come very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rope about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the animal reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, no even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

vidently on a trading expedition. He had a boat about wenty-five feet long by eight wide, with a single mast carrying a square sail. His boat was full of boxes and bales and ad a crew of four men. A small skiff was towed astern nd another alongside. These Manjour merchants are quite nterprising, and engage in traffic for small profits and large isks when better terms are not attainable. Before the Rusian occupation all the trade of the lower Amoor was in Manour hands. Boats annually descended from San-Sin and goon bringing supplies for native use. Sometimes a merhant would spend five or six months making his round ourney.

The merchants visited the villages on the route and barained their goods for furs. There was an annual fair at the Gilyak village of Pul, below Mariensk. and this was made he center of commerce. The fair lasted ten days, and durng that time Pul was a miniature Nijne Novgorod. Manjour nd Chinese merchants met Japanese from the island of Sakalin, Tunguse from the coast of the Ohotsk Sea, and others rom the head waters of the Zeya and Amgoon. There were Gilyaks from the lower Amoor and various tribes of natives rom the coast of Manjouria.

A dozen languages were spoken, and traffic was conducted n a patois of all the dialects. Cloth, powder, lead, knives, nd brandy were exchanged for skins and furs. A gentleman ho attended one of these fairs told me that the scene was ull of interest and abounded in amusing incidents. Of late ears the navigation of the Amoor has discontinued the fair f Pul. The Manjour traders still descend the river, but they re not as numerous as of yore.

With a good glass from the deck of the steamer I watched he native process of catching salmon. The fishing stations re generally, though not always, near the villages. The natives use gill nets and seines in some localities, and scoop nets in others. Sometimes they build a fence at right angles o the shore, and extend it twenty or thirty yards into the

226 stream. This fence is fish-proof, except in a few places where holes are purposely left.

The natives lie in wait with skiffs and hand-nets and catch the salmon as they attempt to pass these holes. I watched a Gilyak taking fish in this way, and think he dipped them up at the rate of two a minute; when the fish are running well a skiff can be filled in a short time. Sometimes pens of wicker work are fixed to enclose the fish after they pass the holes in the fence. The salmon in this case has a practical illustration of life in general: easy to get into trouble but difficult to get out of it.

GILYAK MAN.

For catching sturgeon they use a circular net five feet across at the opening, and shaped like a shallow bag. One side of the mouth is fitted with corks and the other with weights of lead or iron. Two canoes in mid stream hold this net between them at right angles to the current. The sturgeon descending the river enters the trap, and the net proceeds of the enterprise are divided between the fishermen.

251 It requires vision or a guide to find a fishing station, but the sense of smell is quite sufficient to discover where salmon are dressed and cured. The offal from the fish creates an unpleasant stench and no effort is made to clear it away. The natives and their dogs do not consider the scent disagree-

227

227 FISHING GEAR--description of fishing implements and equipment; miscellaneous gear used in fishing (e.g., rods, baskets, lures); etc. See also:
Manufacture of lines . . . . . 283 Manufacture of tackle 391
Manufacture of nets 286

/519 cont./

226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance /520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed as far apart as the diameter of the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal strings in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

• [227] 1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

[227] illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
[532] ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long, flat, wooden staff curved slightly upward toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and
[251] children participate in this work, and within a short time one
[252] boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken.
[462] While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as
[462] the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces,
• 227 drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species
[192] of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

/528 cont./

227 192 quadrangular net is called tschessk and, depending on the size of its meshes, is a lyghi-tschessk or a tengi-tschessk; another one was named for me as kyrn-kä and likewise distinguished as lyghi-kyrn-kä and a tengi-kyrn-kä (1), etc.

1. Kä in Gilyak means "net" in general.

226 In order to catch greater quantities of the ascending fish without much trouble, weirs are erected from the bank into the river for the purpose of deflecting the fish from the direction of their migration and directing them into a bag net set up alongside. For this, places are chosen on higher banks in the vicinity of a projecting tongue of land, where there is a stronger current and, as is known from experience, the fish usually ascend in great multitudes. /529/ The nature of such a salmon [192] weir, called myr among the Gilyak, is the following. From the bank a series of piles one fathom apart is driven out into the river, and from the end of it, at a right angle, a second, shorter stretch running downstream is driven into the river bottom. The spaces between the piles are then so closely interwoven with osier switches from the surface of the water as far down [192] as possible that the fish can find no exit. Between the lower end of the row of piles running downstream and a single post standing some distance from it and closer to the bank, the bag net, the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is fastened. This has the shape of a long funnel very gradually becoming narrower toward the bottom: a specimen from the village of Tschcharbach that I measured, spread out on the ground, had a length of six and a half meters and a width of three meters at the upper end and one and a half meters at the lower one. From the upper edge of this funnel-shaped net, equipped with two parallel willow-bast cords, a slit in the net about 12 decimeters long runs down along one side, and on each of the two tips thus formed along the edge of the funnel are put two cords, which, like the similar cord found diametrically opposite them, serve for fastening the net to the appropriate piles. Furthermore, from one of the above- [192] mentioned tips there extends the signal cord (Gilyak umyssj), a

286 283 /532 cont./ this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended for

[113] [114] 1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 In view of the considerable variation in size of just the [227] principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

/534 cont./

226 286 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the myrch-kä, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

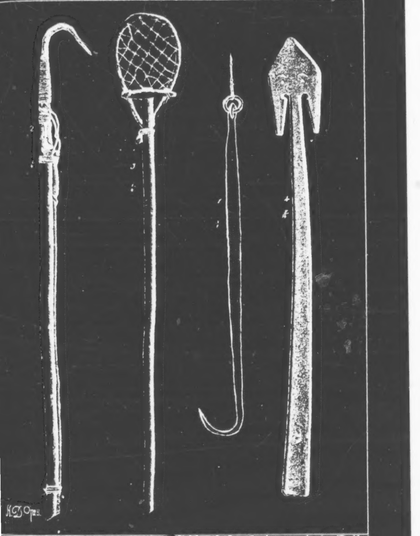
[192] 1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it chalang.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While 227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The [286] nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

G /534 cont./

227 [286] [184] consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

G. /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak 226 433 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught. G. First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing, [262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among G. all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life, [224] hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish- G. ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in 226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the 221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various



lyak fishing equipment: 1 -- fishhook for Gadus wachnja (Pall.), -- hook for pulling out fish; 3 -- net for cleaning out the holes the ice; 4 -- odn-tschongr of the Gilyak.

Economy and Everyday Life

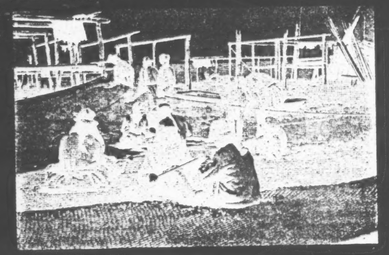
226 [433] The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

[423] [406] 227 228 [199] The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

286 516



Sewing together a seine.

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

228

228 MARINE INDUSTRIES--commercial elaboration of the fishing industry; cultivation of fish and shellfish; nonfood marine industries (e.g., sponge collection, pearl diving, shell gathering); specialized equipment and apparatus; organization of labor and production; regulation; fish packing industry; scientific fisheries research; etc. See also:

Canning industry . . . . . 256 Work in shell 321

THE ABORIGINES OF THE SOVIET FAR EAST

Go 177 166 The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[28] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Gi 131 166 101 Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, [187] and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established [228] a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

186 198 The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[29]

634 111 In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

231

231 DOMESTICATED ANIMALS--captive and tamed animals; domesticated insects (e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals; special treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; grooming; slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social importance of animal husbandry; diseases, etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins	281	Names of animals	552
Work in bone and horn	321	Animals as wealth	556
Animal shelters	343	Ethnozoology	925
Use of animals in transportation	492		

/25 cont./

889 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
225 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
231 the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
251 thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/60/

796 This festival has already been described many times,
231 and therefore I shall consider for the most part those features that have not been noted before. First of all, it is remarkable
[769] that ordinarily the festival is generally celebrated in memory of a dead clansman, being a kind of funeral feast for the deceased. A very close kinsman of the deceased buys for money or catches for himself in the taiga a bear cub, which is brought solemnly and amidst cries of joy and music into the native village. Here a separate framework is built for it out of thick poles and spars and decorated in the corners
[614] with sacred trees. The feeding of the cub is done, not by its specific master, but by the entire clan: One or another family in turn, feeds the honored guest for the duration of the appointed time, cleans the framework, and in general takes care of it in every way. On appointed days the bear is taken from its cage for a walk. This is a great event in the life of the settlement, taking many hours and giving extraordinary pleasure to young and old. The procedure of getting the bear out of the cage is quite complicated. First of all, while the bear is still in the case, they hobble its legs, sticking through the spaces between the poles thongs which end in quickly tightened nooses and are put on sticks. After this they take away a few links of the top part of the cage, providing the bear with the opportunity to stick its head out; then they put a stick into its mouth, which it violently clenches with its teeth, and at this time they very tightly bind its mouth. After this, it is calmly pulled out of the cage, and an iron ring is put on it, clasping it at the belly. Long thongs are attached to this ring on both sides, and several men hold fast to them, pulling them hard in opposite directions; they do not give the bear any opportunity to attack the surrounding people. Only then do they free it of its hobble and take it for a walk.

/60 cont./

796 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction
231 and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is
[614] displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so
[182] impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

796 There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to
621 compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to
476 participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival
796 come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of
[778] ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/85 cont./

[723] respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.
[724] Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of
[725] the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an ele-
[726] ment of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some
[727] occasions may catch young animals, and, whenever he finds
[728] it profitable, he feeds them thus. he feeds the fox for its fur,
[729] and he fattens pigs for their feathers. Similarly, it is disad-
[730] vantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers
[731] to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and
[732] an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more
[733] natural it would seem than to use the killing of the bear for
[734] a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast
[735] of other persons. By the way, the feeding and the killing
[736] of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth
[737] who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible
[738] animal of their land: learn not to fear it. and shall be indis-
[739] pution. its strength. and its weaknesses. The procedure for
[740] getting the best out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting
[741] it out of the woods.

Nonetheless. it is not these crude. utilitarian motives that
[742] play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive. wearisome
[743] and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by
other motives. perhaps also utilitarian. but of a quite different order. As we have already seen. in the eyes of the Gilyak
[744] the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is
concealed under the hairy covering of the bear. a divine
[745] clansman of the master of the mountains. a mountain man. or
a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master. in
any case he is a creature of a higher order. more powerful.
and superhumanly strong. The presence of such a being for a
long stretch of time in his native settlement. according to
the view of the Gilyak. who is convinced of the constant
conspiracies of crowds /86/ of evil spirits eternally threatening his life and health. must be extremely beneficial. The
presence of this mighty creature. like a very strong disinfectant.
must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

1: Shternberg--443 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/207 cont./

[765] next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the
[766] ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the
[767] dead person and a Yenisei fox. The body of the deceased is dressed
in stocking, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased
is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached,
on one side, a curved knife (ng-dexin) and, on the other, ke'ser
-- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mij -- a
purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a
little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister,
[768] mother) -- mu n'kvekh kiur, which will serve the deceased as
an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the
grave; then, alongside, a little stake with three hairs (be-kiur) from
on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk ngi); further-
more, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'kvekh pyk,
i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little
stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but
the dressed dead body -- kak (?) must be made without fail.

1. K'ak -- wooden image of the deceased,
a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, kak-raf, is erected over
him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast
is held.

[769] In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive,
drink, eat, and commemorate. They do this for a year; in
some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this,
then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the
term of "observation" (tigr ar'ado) -- "observation of the tree,"
the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased),
they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws,"
and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate;
this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyr'do, tigr pykyr'do).
[770] They walk to the tut, the place of the cremation of the
deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

1: Shternberg--447 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/207 cont./

[771] and bring over the favorite dog and feed it. This dog is called
[772] pyrsik -- gum (from the Gilyak "gum," i.e., "to carry
person, carry a child, but without fail his own pyrsik). From
childhood everyone has his favorite dog,and when a man dies,
they sacrifice -- if the man favorite dog or the best of those
[773] mentioned to the sled and make a pyrsik of it. If it dies, they
[774] bury it and cover it with chocks. Each says the following to the
deceased: "Ning yu: hdemnyr; hyr'kzam; tog-ngdo yugar ejin
[775] ning-d'vunk gedzih mlyvrosah (gimlyh-tado). Yingle, /208/
[776] eriktomydz, hdin pyk yunakhand, pyk tydd, chi ertinashana
hongan ga ochgan, chamngar, dzhakhan dzhakhan dzhangr
[777] hankhand ofanu khah'a ngr, kiur kezal, h'dhagyind ngzyd
kakgdr, tut kher; tor'a, pyhr'do; pyk chakh tanydz; pyk tekd;
[778] nemakhind." Urga vis; namugur hmnyd pyrsik dzhakhan
gumakhe dzgu; pi ngzgdo-ka, vis'.

"To live near us, there is no happiness (not fate), in such a
case, fine, go to the deceased, to the settlement of the dead
(to your settlement of the dead). When you go, you will cross
the river; a cuckoo will cuckoo there; after the cuckoo bird
cuckoos for a long time, you will wake up. When you get up,
[779] you will shake off ashes and coal with eagle feather, then you
will dress yourself, make an insole out of the hair (1), put on

1. Out of the hair of the wife,
or mother.

this clothing, and, having made something like a little bridge
from the figure, cross; a cuckoo bird, becoming tired (?) after it

[780] 2. All during the trip to the stream the
cuckoo will cry; before the stream there
will be no water and no food. It will
become tired and will have no drink
from the cup. There are cuckoos which
squeal, which means that they are tired
from accompanying the deceased.

1: Shternberg--447 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/208 cont./

[781] The favorite dog, "pyrsik" (every man has his own pyrsik)
[782] is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and before it is
taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept,
and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four
years -- if it is a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but
they cannot keep it.

[783] Even where cremation is practiced, Intsne persons after
death are buried directly into the ground.

[784] In Ady-Tymt, if they suspect that a person died from magic,
[785] two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place
[786] of cremation. Both appear dressed, their hats and foxes and then
[787] the cerni-mlih, rubbed with clay and other arrows, are sent to
[788] the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in
[789] the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come
[790] and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

[791] After this, the mu n'kyvyn is fed no longer, though
[792] they continue to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka.
Talk continues for from two days to one three months. The
[793] n'kyvyn is then returned to its original place. It may not be
[794] sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin,
[795] clothes for kinsmen or for someone from abroad.

[796] After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
[797] up a chikich (see below, pp.475-476), and then they make a raf
[798] [illegible]

[799] The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
[800] killed by a mlih (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[801] is made and taken with Pal-n'ngyvyn or Tol-n'ngyvyn, depending
on which mlih killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo
[802] in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there
[803] old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes
[804] to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo,
[805] and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar
to the man.

1: Shternberg--449 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/231 cont./

The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
[806] her several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father
[807] took me to Ogdyn," and he did not appear.

The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[808] large soul live small souls -- tum. After the death of a person,
[809] a small soul lives in his pyrsik (dog), which is tied to his grave
[810] [illegible]. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During
[811] sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.
[812] [illegible] Ady-Tymt means "until has one tiny little soul." If a person dies
[813] away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a
dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body.
Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire
a corresponding soul, and therefore if a thorat is sore, they make
[814] the tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue, and he can speak
[815] which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will
carry away the soul.

[816] The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person
who has been eaten by a bear lives in a ripe old age with
[817] Pal-n'ngyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who
[818] allowed -- with Tol-n'ngyvyn, and then goes directly to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is
[819] caused by the bloodshed dropped years ago by the Japanese, the
Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle)
[820] lives, like a bear, in the forest. The souls of such unfortunates
[821] [illegible]

5. Until a tibuind (ransom) is received, one who was
killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is
taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

[822] The night bird tabich is of the size of a crow and just as
black, but its beak is red. If it cry is heard at night, one must
not call it by name, but must say ets.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly
together into the village.

1: Shternberg--449 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

[The Western Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/385 cont./

[823] many of his children had died between
the beginning of his marriage and the
date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of children
in a given family, living and dead.
Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate
of mortality.

[824] fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one,
[825] for in the number of marriage records were found only the one
[826] hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives,
and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives.
[827] In an average of 111 people living in each year, although
[828] there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants;
[829] for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of
[830] these are the following: Yamgyn and Lirkyvo (144 persons each),
[831] Vishno (116), Nyur (103), Arkyvo (87), Kimidvo and Tengi
(64 each), Kimidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the
smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaat (8), Nokoy (8).
In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

[832] Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season,
[833] 1,926; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk
[834] post, 238 (%) /386/ There are 183 yurts and 201 huts (one boat
[835] [illegible]

5. The number of fur animals and so forth
killed during the last season was obtained
from reports of the Gilyak themselves.
These figures are most probably somewhat
below the actual ones. The tarosta in the
village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade me not to tell
the truth to the Russians, who, according to
him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

[836] /386/There are 183 yurts, 201 boats (one boat
[837] to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

/387 cont./

[838] settlements the settlement of Mos'vvo
on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
versts from the settlement of Sykoshnyo.
In connection with this settlement of
Mos'vvo, the author makes the following comment. "It is inhabited only in
autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the west-
[839] ern coast, mainly to the vicinity of
Arkyvo, where in the early spring they
hunt seals and during the summer catch
fish which set out to the bank in the
Tym' at this time of the year. At the
beginning of August, before the Siberian
salmon run, the population moves
their winter dwellings." Editor of the
journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

[840] with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
[841] on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416
are male and 287, female; there are 109 yurts and 109 [illegible]
[842] households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 143
[843] died. Gum -- 64 (of which 23 were on the Okhotsk coast and
[844] the remainder on the Tym'), 121 men, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
[845] During the last season 688 seals killed, 386 sables, 134 foxes,
[846] 43 otters, and 63 bears.

From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
[847] there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average
[848] family has /388/ four to five members. There are 13 married
males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[849] 1. The word bachelor is applied only
to oldster, so speaks, inveterate
bachelors.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Rustia there
are 1,923 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 969
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
192 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
611 guns, on the whole.
182

The Tymovskie and the Okhonk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (9,
126)

2. The property of each person has been
registered to this or that clan, the figures
on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement
of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons),
Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandah in Chayvo (55 persons).
The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
361 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
103 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
162 and the neighboring Khomrvo and Flyvvo (106 persons), not count-
ing the immigrant population from the western coast. Most two
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
(184) difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long
stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is
communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of
Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible
along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
484 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer
makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear
how difficult and slow such a journey is.

/327 cont./ they are fed through openings (f) on their front side and on top have /329/ a round
(415) hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dogs
and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are
342 prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearths are the sleeping and
(415) sleeping benches or plank beds (h, Gilyak: ukkv) which bend in
354 very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high
and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief
characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of
wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both
hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the
house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the single
pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet
for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not
far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (k,
Gilyak: ilin) usually higher than the house. The benches are
342 covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves out
355 of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered,
(288) and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in
places. In the center of the house, between the two pipes
342 supporting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (l), about two
355 fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
(223) which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: krtl).
The top of it, which along its longitudinal usually projects
out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continua-
tions, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground
and, if necessary, when there is space in the house, serves during the heat festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
Above the two ends of the dogs' table two cross-sticks hang down from the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during the feeding. Our Plate XII,[1] which shows the feeding of the dogs, to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of the interior of a Gilyak winter-house. I must mention, however, that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide. Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate

1. See Category 116, P. 992 -- Analyst

/328 cont./

342 proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pre-
(415) viously discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In passing, I should also description I
(353) must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right
and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards
for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one
or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for
drinking and cooking the food. An open-air cabinet with various
cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
342 the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
354 wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which
can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for
ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of
(394) the smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse
(288) wall is very slight, it is regarded as the best place in the house
and usually lacks the straw mats, whereas the bench along the
front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a
342 guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is some-
(223) times also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is
(107) over their earth yurt, insofar as it is more roomy, good, lighter,
(288) and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also
warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature,
nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some
that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same
degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer
sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms.
There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered
snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even
stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly
to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the
earth yurt. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/383 cont./

342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the
(171) dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

The above description applies, apart from the
342 specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwell-
231 ings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on
Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar
nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is
on level ground, the flat sill, space j, projecting along its front
side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this
space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to
the yurt, even though only a crude one! For this purpose, on
both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a
few poles and boards are set up vertically and, -with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and
the spaces between them /388/ are filled with grass and brush-
wood, so that a sort of anteroom is produced. This is assigned
to the dogs for their abode, and, in general, it is regarded as the
entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
342 summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter,
(126) one always seen beside the summer dwellings several contrivances
(417) for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and
342 over their earth yurt, insofar as it is more roomy, good, lighter,
(184) and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also
warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature,
nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some
that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same
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stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly
to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the
earth yurt. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

1. A more detailed description of the
treatment of the fish before they are dried,
as well as of the use of the individual parts
and the like, will be given later at the
appropriate place.

/384 cont./

342 dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need
(171) only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and
resting on piles, with the daura of the adjacent Tungusic peoples.
Moreover, if the daura of the Olcha, Nanaia, and Samagir, even
though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles,
some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark,
etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the
outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow
twitches and birch bark and easily transported from place to
place, and the daura of the Orochi do not even go beyond the
roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur
region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, the forms
of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly
adapted for a nomadic life, and, for a temporary stay at
a place, are furnished to merely a few poles and a bark mat
wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed
on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to
the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the
Amur region, though it has penetrated the area lying between
and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on
the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a side covering,
in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

In these housing conditions of the indigenous peoples
it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different be-
tween the ancients sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the
Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later,
Indeed, it does not seem probable that the Gilyak ever could
inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences
in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way
of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are
predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal
hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyo-
phagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in
order to support themselves and their dogs, they need both
the fishing for fish and winter trips and trade journeys and for pro-
curing the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish
are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

/385 cont./

231 are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more
192 abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of
611 grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an addi-
182 tional motive for the nomadic life.

/386/

Section 5

External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style,
Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the
dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and
means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by
them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized
people, they secure them from the same source as their food,
whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic ani-
mals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable
to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our dis-
cussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and seal-
hunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only
(223) second place among them. Furthermore they keep only one
(109) domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft
animals, and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had
about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203. above.

Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, be-
sides cotton, which since ancient times they have obtained from
the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak,
pon; Russian-Siberian, dabk), are the skins of dogs and seals and
fish skins, while the chief furs animals, fox, otter, sable,
squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles
of clothing. such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/389 cont./

342 preference for dog fur for their own use may, in part, be the
(171) same ones that, according to Steller (1), made the ancient

1. Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande
Kamtschatka [Description of the Country
of Kamchatka], Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774,
p. 137.

Italimen on Kamchatka prefer to use dog fur for their clothing,
even preferring it to fox and sable. Of course, in view of the
conservative tendencies of every primitive people, the usage one
customary, the custom handed down for generations, may also
play an important role. In addition, however, the advantages
of this fur, learned from experience, come into consideration,
its "warmth," durability, and the firmness of its hair, even if it
has been exposed to weather--characteristics which must rank
it especially prized by the common man almost always exposed
to bad weather. And finally, in addition to all that, there is
still another circumstance -- and in this may lie the chief reas
(223) why the Gilyak -- in spite of dog fur among the Gilyak -- in
the ease and cheapness of obtaining it, since the Gilyak keep
dogs in great numbers as indispensable draft animals, and the
fur cannot be used profitably in trade with either the Chinese,
Japanese, or Russians.

Nevertheless fur coats made out of the fur of other anima
are found among some Gilyak. They do not serve for use, bu
are carefully stored as valued and rare objects. A lynx coa
(Gilyak tschlyul-utschi) in particular plays such a role among
them. A person who owns a lynx coat is regarded among the
Gilyak as a rich and distinguished man, and at the time of my
stay in the Amur region they could name for me only three of
countrymen and one Olcha who enjoyed such a possession. The
Gilyak were. Nenjdan in the village of Allof on the Amur,
Mengun in Patt, each having one coat of this type, and Pavgun
in Tamlin -- the Gilyak in Tymovskiy, and the Olcha in Tudo
Todo in Tschlivi, who likewise had one such fur coat in his
possession.

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

/61 cont./

796 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku,
778 the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the
796 arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
574 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together
614 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry.
[606] Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

796 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called
●231 Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/62 cont./

796 ●231 semifreedom. Around noon it is untied and, held by thongs on both sides, is taken for a walk. This walk, however, gives the bear little pleasure, for from every side they tease it in every way and try to drive it beyond patience. The bear at first lets out some grumbling, but gradually becomes enraged, attempts to attack the people, and gets up on its hind legs, but it is held by dozens of hands, and all its rage is lost in fruitless thrashing. But now, seizing the moment, the master of the bear cautiously steals up, seizes it by the head, kisses it good-by, and, without waiting for a return kiss, speedily jumps away. Most often, however, the bear freely returns the good-by kiss to its protector, who considers himself quite lucky if the clumsy one limits itself to tearing off a good chunk of meat and does not get its teeth into, say, an eye or the throat arteries. A wound inflicted by a bear on such occasions, however, is considered an expression of good will on the part of the good-natured beast. The walk ends in leading the bear three times around the yurt of its master. Beforehand everything living, even suckling babies and animals, is removed from the yurt; only the clan elder stands in the passageway, and every time the bear comes around even with the entrance he teases it with a long pole with an uncut crown of coniferous needles at the end and speaks gentle words. /63/ At the end of this procedure the bear is led to the plot of ground and tied between the two trees which have been ritually decorated. The pole with which the bear was teased is fixed to the hearth, so that its spreading crown of coniferous needles rises high above the smoke opening. After that there is an intermission. The 796 bear is again left to itself, while the people assemble in a 574 dense throng in the yurt of the master of the bear, where lavish entertainment begins. They literally sit on one another's heads; nonetheless the gaiety is extraordinary; the loud talk, the laughter, and the jokes never cease. Only the narkh'i are serious: they bend their bows, sharpen their arrows, and prepare themselves for the crucial moment. Meanwhile all kinds of cold viands are carried in huge troughs on dog sleds to the sacred plot of ground; there are frozen fish of all kinds, rice,

/63 cont./

796 buda, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish, 574 "the mos'," whose method of preparation I have already described in the second chapter.

796 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder ●231 or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to your master, and may your master greatly love you." Other clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even 796 small children participate in this kindly affair. After the short [562] break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and arrange themselves in fighting formation. The master of the bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festival follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign 796 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the 526 next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary competitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the character of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced almost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

Gi 23 /457 cont./

222 various places on the Amur and especially on the Ussuri and have
[177] small gardens and farms. Apart from the dog and the house cat
[241] occasionally present among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak /458/
[439] and treated merely as a luxury item (1), the first domestic animal

Gi 171 231

1. Concerning the distribution of the house cat in the Amur region and its position among the Amur peoples, see what is said in the first volume of this work, pp. 98-100.

met among the Amur peoples, going upstream, is the pig. As was discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (p. 155), individual specimens are found even among the Olcha (2), but

G [231] 439 [262]

2. There was none among the Gilyak in my time. Later, when there were pigs raised by the Russians in Nikolayevsk, the Gilyak occasionally bought some in order to consume them in festive fashion (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59).

a regular breeding of pigs is found first among the Goldi, up the Amur from about Ssargu and Naiche on and along the Ussuri.
Gi 23 The animals, fed on fish, are sold by the Goldi to their country-
439 men or to Chinese traders, through whose mediation they reach
[438] the Olcha farther downstream. The Goldi get the breeding ani-
[262] mals, however, in part from the Man-dse (Chinese) along the upper Ussuri (3), but for the most part from the Sungari region

Gi [113]

3. F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 122).

where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

Gi 48 /478 cont./
basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea
171 in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one
175 binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

G Gi 484 171 Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this respect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

G 492 231 Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as draft animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river rich in fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them.
G 226 These requisites, as discussed above (3), are best met among the
484
492

3. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

/479/

231 The dogs of the Gilyak are of the same breed as the draft
136 dogs distributed throughout Siberia and over to North America with the Eskimo: wolf-like, long-haired, with short, erect ears, and of all possible colors, black, white, brown, fox-red, mottled, and especially often of a striking wolf-like yellowish-gray color. The Gilyak dogs are small in comparison with the dogs of the polar regions of eastern Siberia, of the Jana /Yana/ and Indigirka regions, or even with those of Kamchatka as they were formerly
231 and still occur in isolated specimens (1). Nothing is done among
232

1. In the summer of 1854, in Peter-Paul Harbor, I saw two extremely large dogs which had been brought to the governor from the interior of the peninsula. I measured a still young, not quite fully grown animal likewise belonging to the large, old-Kamchatka stock, which was 11 decimeters long from the point of the snout to the root of the tail, four of which was the head and neck to the withers, and at the latter seven and a half to eight decimeters high.

the Gilyak to improve the breed: they neither convert especially large and strong individuals into breeding animals nor sort out and care for the whelps afterwards. A circumstance greatly contributing to the deterioration of their breed of dog is the bad treatment that they give the bitches. They do not use them for harnessing, and so they shortsightedly do not give them the same amount of food as the male dogs. Whereas the latter, insofar as circumstances permit, are fed with great regularity, daily in winter, every other day in summer, the former are excluded from these meals and in winter receive only a little food from time to time, just enough so they will not starve, but in summer no one concerns himself about them and they are left to find all of their food themselves. One therefore sees them, wretched and emaciated, slinking around the yurts and in them and greedily snapping at any scrap.

/479 cont./

231 The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters,
136 sists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provi in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in rivers in shoals at certain seasons on which the existence of t Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of s especially lyghi-tscho and tengi-tscho (Salmo lagocephalus a Salmo proteus), and in winter along the seacoast the kangi f (Gadus wachnja), which, however, on account of its smallne stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especial and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentione

2. See p. 646.

so-called chark in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head a backbone with a little flesh attached to it (3). Only if there

3. The Russians in the Amur region and throughout Siberia very aptly call it kosstj, that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it available is the jukola intended for the people use dog food. Next to this, seal and white-whale meat, and alo the seacoast not infrequently the meat and blubber of strande whales, serves the same purpose. With the exception of the which, as was mentioned above, may not be brought into the according to Gilyak superstition, /480/ food is never given to dogs in the raw state, as the Russians do, but rather cooked to soup. Also, the feeding does not take place outside, but alw
462 the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In th
352 tschadryf, the table found in the center or in a corner (Gilyak kyll) (1) is used for this purpose; in the toryf, the platform o

1. See pp. 458, 462, 546 above.

462 hearth. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned m
512 terials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is a ways one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a cou

/404 cont./

made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the extent that the natural conditions of the region, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, more or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, there may a new one appear, etc.

The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, correspondence with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neighbors on the lower Amur, the Olcha, who live under the same physical conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the Gilyak, keep hunting dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilyak, the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the latter completely, and every one of the garments described above, not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designation. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothing that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gilyak, such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk-deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of the Negda and the Ulguni (Ulgun), where Maldendorff, coming from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the impression, despite their language, differing only dialectically from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new people". The shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

/405 cont./ (1) In all they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment, and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples of the Amur region will accordingly differ from one another as far as food is concerned only in that fish among some or least among others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relations with the Chinese or Japanese.

/406 cont./ (2) Fish is chosen by their nearest neighbors as the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their life without fish; it is the condiris sine qua non of their own existence as well as of their only domestic animal, the dog, which provides them with food as well as transportation and clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak would eat, if necessary, use as food. But starting in the first rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the large supply of food needed for the long winter when there are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers flow the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall. Gilyak nam, Ulch. Ussuri Sakhalin lagi-tschop and Salmo pneus Pall. Gilyak /426/ tengi-tschop play the principal role (1).

(1) In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka and northwestern America, the Russian terms for these two species of salmon are keta and gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall refer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and its tributaries, which falls in June for S. pneus, in August for S. lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/427 cont./ campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not /428/ eaten as natural, but is also an important ingredient of many dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for the dogs, a fact of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. This, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers of the Amur Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tchomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, come to the Tymy River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tschir (Gadus wachnia Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast and live in exile for a while in order to hunt and fish. In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of various places, for example, between the Tchomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duf, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however, they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if they were not over at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides their salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality is the Gilyak region, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/429 cont./

(2. cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the east coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

Salmon Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infrequently bring some pieces of chok-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habitation sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas for only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is in general unfavorable for the above-mentioned fish and lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is the sea, which abounds in fish in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnia Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and in Duf, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is always the same, in that first a thin slice with the tender skin is cut off and eaten with salt, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the kangi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of it than with the use of more other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniment, and on the last day of the kettle of yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

/430 cont./ with regard to these and similar views, there are many local differences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not be subject to the kangi fish prohibition, and they eat the gill in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as sacrilege and permitted without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the continental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulu, Tagi, Hinka (Pendolin, Simonyo, etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the island and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tshki-tschir which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /431/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular, for since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it highly, they could, in exchange for it, obtain from the Russians all they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities of sturgeon are consumed especially during the winter at the festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival. Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/431 cont./

(1. cont.)
Bergsal. Sbom., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, superstitious I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the fine aroma of the fat that it left in the pan, the owner /432/ shouted, almost furiously could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

(2. Steller (op. cit., p. 303) also points out with regard to the Itelmen and Koryak that they do not like to fry, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and numerous jars or bottles, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff in almost the same way: it is the dolphin whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tschop), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

/433 cont./

3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. 1, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche (The Chinese, Their Manners and Customs)" (Germanism Georg. Mithell), 1858, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois etc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Georg. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Prosper Montagne (La Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal experiments, that the meat of the bear and other mammals there are only two that are of special significance in food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the greater part of the year, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of certain ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, the bear is considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared and served in the course of a few days. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievements was observed by me on such occasions.

/434/

*262 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of
23 a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained
(B31) inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great satisfaction in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

(123) (B34)

1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fish taste. From my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Usuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed hukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

(113)

23 /434 cont./
(B31) from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, (B34) without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of (B32) a few traveling Tschonsi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being added to the hukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duf, I was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disembowelled, the meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

(B34) (B32) (B31) (B34)

1. The details concerning this will be found in the present section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

23 /435 cont./
● 262 shavings, the so-called zach, whose significance will be discussed
*262 in the following. The bundles containing the meat and bones of
the dogs were now brought into the yurt and arranged on the rear sleeping bench, whereupon the women went to the hearth and, under the kettles on the hearth in order to cook the meat and to make a broth out of the bones. These preparations, however, took so much time that the meal could not take place until late in the evening. Meanwhile the flames leaping on the hearth, the steam and smoke rising from the kettles, and the crowd of people, who not only occupied all the sleeping benches, but had also settled down on the floor of the small earth-yurt, soon made any further stay in it so unbearable that I found it necessary to leave before the actual meal and to seek another shelter for the night.

(B31) (B34) (B32)

If one wished as a conjecture to grast for the northern peoples the discovery made in the south among various Negro tribes, namely, that the enjoyment of dog meat is generally the first step toward anthropophagy and accompanies it (2), he would look quite

(B14) (B31) (B34) (B32)

2. Schweinfurth, "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika /The Monbuttu People in Central-Africa/" (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Vol. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 168.

in vain for evidence of it among them. I have never come across anything among the so generally and markedly cynophagous Gilyak that would even distantly support such a conjecture. On the other hand, I believe it can be said as a general rule for these peoples with respect to the custom of eating dogs that it is common only in the case of those among them who keep the dog as the only domestic and draft animal, for only in this case can it be considered quantitatively as a food and morally nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the draft dog does not at all stand in the close, individual, and to a certain degree personal

(B31) (B34) (B32)

23 /435 cont./
● 262 relationship to his master as does the hunting or house dog,
*262 who, through loyalty, personal attachment, and other character-
(B31) istics lacking in the draft dog, makes himself the constant companion and friend of man. Accordingly, just as among the Gilyak, one also finds cynophagy among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for example, among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3) and of

(B34)

3. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' (Supplement to Izvest. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37). Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

Jesso /Yesso/, the latter of which supposedly even fatten dogs for eating them later (4). The Eskimo, too, eat dogs (5), but at

(B13)

4. According to Adam Laxmann; see Polomkiii, "Kurily /The Kurilles/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 501).

5. Alois v. Becker, "Arkt. Reise der engl. Yacht 'Pandora' im J. 1876, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young /Arctic Voyage of the English Yacht 'Pandora' in 1876, under the Command of Captain Sir Allen Young/" (Ausland, 1879, p. 435).

present in most /436/ places, especially in the north and east of their area of distribution, they may be scarcely better off than in Greenland, where, according to Rob. Brown (1), the highly prized

(B13)

1. "Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländ. Meere /The Mammals of Greenland and the Greenland Seas/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthell., 1869, p. 464).

23 /436 cont./
● 262 dog meat is still a rare delicacy because of its naturally very
*262 high price. The ancient Haimen on Kamchatka seem to be a
(B17) striking and completely unique exception to the rule, for though they had dogs to pull the sleds and had no other domestic animal besides them, they nevertheless ate them, and the animals of their country "only dogs, mice, and hares were excluded from their menu" (2),

(B13)

2. Steller, op. cit., p. 323. Kraschenninikof does not mention this.

as Steller expressly states. Or had they perhaps already given up eating dogs in Steller's time, as a result of their well-known, exceedingly eager imitation of the Russians (3), for whom it was a

(B13)

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 285 and elsewhere.

particular abomination? And all the more since it could not have been difficult for them in material respects in view of Kamchatka's great wealth of fish (4). On the other hand, those peo-

(B13)

4. According to the observations made by the Voga Expedition, the Chukchee of Pitlesai and Jinretlen referred to as the Reindeer Chukchee slain dog (Nordenskiöld, Die Umseegelung Asiens und Europas /A Voyage around Asia and Europe/, Vol. I, p. 96). Whether this is general among the Chukchee has not yet been ascertained.

ples -- as I should like to formulate the above rule further -- who keep the dog only for hunting or to guard house and grounds, but use another domestic animal, the reindeer or the horse, for traveling, sledding, or burden-carrying, such as the Orok, the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, etc., not only eat no dog meat, but even have a more or less marked aversion to it. (B20) From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at

Goldi RX3
Olcha

G1 /436 cont./ From this
23 point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha also
● 262 present have with the same way of life as the Gilyak and likewise
*262 have only one domestic animal, the dog, and, to be sure, as a
(B17) draft animal, nevertheless do not eat dog meat. When
(B16) Pragatschekii asked them about this in the village of Pul, they "expressed their aversion to such fare and even designated this as
(B20) the particular feature of the Gilyak (5). One might, then,

G1
(1)(3)

5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimnim putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur River/" (Vestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 162).

G1 (4) One might
23 at first infer see in this a contradiction of the first part of the
● 262 rule set forth by me above; considered more carefully, however,
*262 it is a splendid confirmation of the second part. For, as discussed
above, the Olcha were formerly reindeer nomads and were forced into settling along the Amur and into the life of fishermen like the Gilyak only through the loss of their reindeer (6). And since

6. See pp. 284, 308, and elsewhere above.

the memory of that change in their way of life is said to live on in their legends, it should not surprise us that their aversion to eating dog meat, which dates from that nomadic period, has also been preserved among them. Conversely, one can also see in this aversion of theirs more proof for their former reindeer nomadism. The situation may be similar for the Negda, Samagir, and Kile (7).

7. See pp. 322-329 above.

In fact, neither from my own experience nor through other travelers (Wenjukof, Przewalski, Nadarof) /437/ is it known that G. the Goldi and Orochi eat dog meat. Thus cynophagy in the Amur
23 region, Sakhalin included, remains limited to the two Paleo-
● 262 Asiatic peoples (1).
*262 (1) A [See category 16, P 465-- Analysis?]
(17)

23 /437 cont./
● 262 Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a
*262 custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the cir-
(B17) cumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the
(B16) Amur region further upward, towards the Usuri and Sungari, makes it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

23
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(17)
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1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, in generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den vereinigten Niederland. an den Tart. Chans /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 278. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by Lesage, Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakimf, Kitai i ego. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 362, 369, 377. Hier, fourn.

(B13)

traced back to Chinese influence.

23 Rich furnish the Gilyak hukola less food than do mammals,
● 262 merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on ac-
*262 count of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much
more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however,
is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At
(B36) several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus alba Gm.,
(B36) Gilyak gerzi, on Sakhalin tschiskol-ngi) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast
(B36) of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Duf, I saw them consuming with great relish the fjhalerja cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochka-ngi), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and freeze
*262 to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its
23 nest and use to spell the fall of the leaves, is likewise
(B17) consumed by them when its hour of death tolls.

/562 cont./

prey in their region and at the same time the animal that most pleases their palates and that, because of the festivities connected with eating it, also plays an especially important role in their social life. Striving, above all, to capture the animal alive, they eagerly search in the fallen snow for where a bear might have its winter quarters. When this has been discovered, a number of courageous and strong men band together, in order, equipped with the required paraphernalia of ropes, chains, pikes, etc., to surprise the sleeper in its lair, disturb its rest, fetter it, and lead it into captivity. Needless to say, this cannot be done without a fight, and however skilled the usually experienced bear-catchers may be, more or less serious wounds not infrequently result, which, however, are borne more easily than others by the Gilyak, because they are regarded as especially honorable and lend the one concerned an aura of manly fortitude. Nevertheless, the frequency of the bears kept in captivity among the Gilyak indicates that the outcome of the battle is usually or often successful; there is scarcely a village of any size in which on a trip through the region, one would not see one or several such animals. If the place where the bear was lifted from its lair and fettered is not far from the village to which its captors belong, it is simply taken to it in its fetters by ropes and put in the prison kept ready for it. For greater distances, however, the sleds on which the hunters came also serve to take their booty home. The fettered bear is put on one or, if the route permits, even on two sleds put side by side and tied together, and is brought to its new domicile in a triumphal procession amid the loud cheers of the sled drivers and the barking of the many, passionately excited dogs. The nature of the bear's prison and the treatment of the captured animal will be discussed later in speaking of the bear festivals of the Gilyak, but at the moment it is primarily only a question of its capture. The battle with a bear disturbed from its rest does not always end in its being fettered. It often defends itself so tenaciously and vigorously and is so dangerous for its adversaries that they find it necessary to put an end to it with their pikes and lances. In fact, the latter happens

G 223 [439] G [239] 411 [964] G 223 231 439 Gi 231 439 114 136 A 231 439

/565 cont./

article of trade with the Japanese, amo
told me, they are used to decorate the
of prominent persons, thereby distingui
ings of ordinary people. Moreover, th
to feather their arrows and to make cer
significance for their little burial house
rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as
the young birds out of the nest, in conn
fell tall trees that are hard to climb an
before the young can fly. The capture
chained to the fish-drying racks and fe
they are in full feather, whereupon the
feathers are carefully spread out betwe
in this fashion stored for trading. The
caught and raised by the Gilyak must b
one can scarcely enter a Gilyak villag
several of them on fish-drying racks.
the southern coast of the Sea of Okhots
region proper, because there not only
tured, but also the tscharngai-tscham,
especially prized by the Japanese. Th
for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go
Okhotsk for a stay of several years in c
there. Like the Gilyak, their closer a
on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, al
raising young fishing eagles of the sam
Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to
thinks (1), in order to show them relig

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp.

other birds away from the fish hanging
likewise only in order to sell their tai
is done either directly or through the
is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the K

ng whom, as the former
windows in the dwellings
shing them from the dwell-
Gilyak use eagle feathers
tain articles of symbolic
s. In order to obtain the
possible, the Gilyak take
ection with which they
d have nests in their tops
d young eagles are kept
d with fish scraps until
y are killed, but their tail
en sheets of birch bark and
number of eagles annually
e very considerable, since
in which he does not see
In particular, however,
k is regarded as the eagle
the myghr-tscham is cap-
whose tail feathers are
us, it is not at all unusual
o the coast of the Sea of
rder to obtain eagles' tails
nd more distant neighbors
so occupy themselves with
e species (Hal. albicilla,
be sure, not, as Maack
ious veneration or to keep

143, 170, 206.

on the drying racks, but
s to the Japanese, which
ilyak. Finally, the same
riles, as has been

/612 cont./

439 [435] prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm, at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

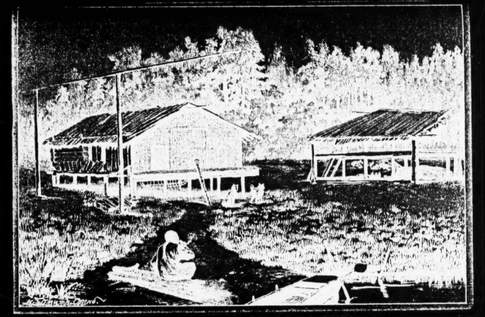
supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 484 487 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often extends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they [231] still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

648 439 484 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the [823] southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from



Gilyak summer yurt.

/696 cont./

825 like them it stands upright in combat, etc. In spite of all this,
[262] however, the Gilyak is not willing to forgo the great enjoyment which bear meat and fat provides for his palate, and he longs for it especially if the bear first lived in captivity for a time and was fed on fish, for this food adds a fishy flavor to its meat and fat, which is especially agreeable to the Gilyak. Moreover, a person may /697/ then indulge in the enjoyment of these savory morsels quite without danger and without punishment, for, in order to achieve this, according to Gilyak belief, a long series of preliminary act is necessary, all of them aimed at outwitting the bear during its lifetime by attestations of esteem and to deceive it, as it were, about everything that is done with it, but, after its death, to pacify the angered spirits of revenge of the mighty beast by paying homage even to the manes of the slain animal.

•231 The attestations of esteem begin immediately with the leading of the bear into captivity. If the bear has been discovered in its lair and safely shackled following a successful battle, it is taken, as has been said (1), on two sleds put side by side and tied

1. See p. 878-880 above.

together, in a triumphal procession to the place from which the hunters set out, and it is received there with loud shouts of jubilation from young and old. The same thing happens when a Gilyak returns from a trading trip to Sakhalin and in the central space of his boat brings with him one or a couple of young bears bought on the island (2). In the Gilyak villages there is usually

2. See p. 960 above.

never a lack of lodging for putting up the bear, but if need be a new one is erected for it. This consists of a square box made of beams, open at the top, with a small, heavily barricaded door and an even smaller, always open window. The bear is forced to climb into it and, after it has been unfettered, is prevented from escaping its prison by a layer of boards spread over it, fastened with poles, and weighted with stones. From now on

• 23 /697 cont./ From now on
75 it belongs,so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members
[421] have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor, ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The
[182] bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course, within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host,
[574] he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or crowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.125?/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling its

/698 cont./

• 231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in cap-
231 tivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating
175 them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story

[113] 2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

/698 cont./

114 of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the
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3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" diya raboty mirno."

beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found

[192] 1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people, called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur

[113] 3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yaku Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses" (4).

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 686) was also told

/699 cont./

114 ●231 195 4. (cont.)
this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

231 *796 The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the [956] summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears [609] kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration [123] of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

/700 cont./

*796 526 to some of our French rounds: the players joined hands, forming a circle; the circle moved around rapidly until it broke at one point, and a single row was made out of the circle. As soon as this happened, the first man passed under the raised arms of the last two members at the other end of the row, pulling the whole row after him, and making it necessary for the last man to turn himself around himself. If he succeeded in doing this and thus became the first man, he did what the first one had done, and so it alternated on and on, until the clumsiness of one of the leaders or a slip and fall by a member of the chain caused the whole row to break up, which happened not infrequently in the slippery, unevenly packed snow in front of the house and was always accompanied by the resounding laughter of all the bystanders. Close by another circle made up of young boys romped about and imitated exactly everything relating to the adults (see Plate XI /p. 991/). Many women, girls, and small children of the village had gathered around both circles and at every opportunity expressed their approval by wildly shouting in unison and by stamping and loudly beating on their furs and robes.

*796 ●231 After the game had come to an end, Judin approached us and urged us to enter the house, /701/ into which the whole crowd from outside followed us. The dogs' table had been removed and in its place were three bears who were tied to the two central posts of the yurt and to the supports on either side of the absent dogs'-table top, for the latter alone would not have offered enough resistance. The bear wears a stout leather band around its neck and a second on its back connected with the first around its body directly behind the front legs, which serves to keep the neck-band from slipping over the head of the animal. The space otherwise taken up by the dogs' table is rather small for three bears, especially since the animals cannot be put too close together, so the chains running from the neck-band, which are extended by a long rope on either side, are drawn quite taut, but always so that the animals can lie down, get up again, and move somewhat to the side. This greatly restricts the free

/701 cont./

*796 ●231 traffic within the yurt, for now with every step one has to stay close to the edge of the sleeping benches in order not to be unexpectedly seized by the paw of a bear.

Only two of the bears, a very large animal of the female sex and a considerably smaller, yet fully grown, seven-year-old male bear, belonged to Judin, who had bought them in the villages of Tschilwi and Aure, inhabited entirely and half by Olcha, respectively; the third and likewise male bear of medium size came from Kalm and was the property of another Tebach Gilyak. As in size, the animals also differed in coloring: the small bear was light brown, the large one dark brown, and the medium-sized one almost black. Moreover, the large bear differed from the other two in that it had a whitish-gray band on the lower part of its neck, but not enough to be called a collared bear (Gilyak molk) by the Gilyak, which happens only if the white is quite pure and extends over a large part of the throat. Finally, the three bears also differed in their behavior, especially in the way they defended themselves, as we shall presently see.

Immediately after we, followed by the throng, had taken *796 526 seats on one of the sleeping benches, another game was begun [191] here, despite the limited space, the one that I described above in discussing the Goldi games and which consists of jumping over a rope swung by two persons. The Gilyak called it tyk-tyk (1).

[192] 1. Tyk means cord.

and the activity that goes with it, tykyrtsch. But it did not last long and was not performed nearly as skillfully as by the Goldi. Nevertheless it is part of the entertainment program during a bear festival and, judging by the noise, shouting, and laughter of the onlookers, found hearty approval. I did not see it performed by the Gilyak at other times, and the fact that it took place in the limited space of the house and not outside, where, in the moonlit night, it would have been much better and more comfortable for the fur-clad players as well as for the spectators, and the brief duration of the game, /702/ almost permit one to conclude that

/702 cont./

*796 it took place only in honor of the bears present. The latter, moreover, were immediately afterwards treated with mossj, which they *796 ●231 licked from long nichyr.

Next came the chief entertainment of the festival, the procession with the bears from house to house. For this, as for all subsequent events, the same order was always observed with the animals, in that first came the small one, then the large one, and finally the medium-sized bear -- an order evidently determined by the unequal share of their owners in the festival, since two of them belonged to Judin and he was at the same time the chief host of the entire festival. Accordingly, the procession began with the small bear. The ropes with which it was tied to the posts were loosened, and at each of them a long row of Gilyak posted themselves in alternating order. The two men standing next to the bear on either side had reversed their fur coats, wearing the back in front, and their sealskin apron-skirts (kossjkha) were around the body as tightly and smoothly as possible, so that if a bear claw grazed them, it would not catch anywhere, but would slide off the smooth skin. Each of them also held a short stick in his hand in order to tease the bear. The first man standing in the direction in which the procession is supposed to go now jumps in front of the bear with his legs apart and his chest pushed far out and goads it with his stick. The animal roars loudly, throws itself forward, partly lifts itself up, and flies out at its opponent with its paw. But the latter instantly jumps back a step, and all those standing at the same rope move one step forward toward the house door, dragging the bear after them. The same thing is repeated a second time, a third time; the bear tries in vain to seize its opponent, but its claws always slide off the smooth skirt. Meanwhile others are busy with sticks and poles pushing the bear in the direction it is to go. If it presses the man in front too much, if it has not only grazed him with its paw, but clawed his fur coat, making his plight dangerous, the first man in the row behind the bear goads the animal from the rear and forces it to turn around and to direct its attacks at him, while those standing at the rear rope at the same time drag the animal backward.

/702 cont./

*796 Thus the procession sways along, sometimes forward, som
354 times backward, but always closer and closer to the house doo
●231 amid the loud roars of rage of the bear being tugged back and forth, in which the other two animals join, and amid the wild intermittent shouts of jubilation of the bear leaders as well as bystanders. The few oil-lamps do not sufficiently illuminate the large space of the yurt with its dark sooty beams so that al those who are busy with the bear can clearly see its movemen and yet this is absolutely essential for the prompt intervention one or the other man in front. Hence a number of boys leap onto the sleeping benches and from there illuminate the turbu proceedings, following the procession back and forth with im-provised torches, which consist of rolled-up birch-bark and so times flare up brightly and then again spread only dark smoke Truly a strange picture (see Plate XLVII /p.1247/).

*796 The two other bears were then /703/ led out of the house
231 the same manner as the small bear. The first one was decide the most enraged and intractable of all, which the Gilyak asc to the fact that it had broken a leg while being captured and c sequently was still limping. It was remarkable how differentl the three bears expressed their rage and defended themselves: whereas the small bear and the large one straightened themsel up and tried to claw the man goading them, the third bear be haved quite differently; it did not try to get up at all, but at tempted to ward off the thrusts of the stick by holding its paw front of its face and reaching out for the legs of the one goadi it, or it would lie down on its back and defend itself with its p It was also the only one of the three which in its fury, tried to scratch up the stamped-earth floor of the yurt, which, howeve the Gilyak stopped it from doing each time.

The purpose of the procession with the bears was to lead t
[825] through all the houses in the village, of which there were seve Tebach; the procession with the three bears turned into each c them, and everywhere they were arranged in the same order, large bear in the middle, the two others at the sides, and trea with mossj from nichyr spoons as a sign that they are held in e and are welcome guests in each house.

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

/480 cont./
long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs lying outside and held by straps or chains are untied. As soon as this is done, the dogs, already impatient, dash straight into the yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the kyll or on the ground in front of the troughs. Meanwhile, the women, with the help of large ladles (2), have filled several

2. See p. 683 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, bubbling and steaming in the kettle, and now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo the other and to snatch everything for himself, furious struggles and fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are stilled by blows on the heads of the animals delivered with sticks by the women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leashes or chains. Plate XII /see p. 992/ illustrates the feeding of the dogs in one of the large, Chinese winter-yurts of the Gilyak. In the earth yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are separated from the hearth platform by only a narrow passage, this takes place so close to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold streaming in over the floor through the open door and the steam rising from the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly contribute to the comfort of a stay in the earth yurt. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager; for instance, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little jukola, reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, only every other day. On long journeys, however, the Gilyak, if about noontime they do not reach a village in which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some chark or ma twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

/480 cont./
23 [484] [171] feed their dogs only once, only at the overnight campsite and always only dry jukola. The Russian dogs, therefore, are perhaps even more exclusively ichthyophagous than the Gilyak dogs. Lacking jukola, I once had them given elk meat, and they left it untouched. Only severe hunger makes the dogs omnivorous, and in summer along the Amur one cannot adequately protect his belongings /481/ against the starving dogs of the natives, seizing everything that is of animal nature, such as fish-skin and fur covers, boots, etc.

Like the grown animals, the whelps, too, are fed in the yurt. To be sure, on Sakhalin they are often kept inside the house the rest of the time, too, and on the sleeping benches at the very rear where they come up against the roof. The greater care of the whelps on Sakhalin may be the reason why the dogs there, and especially those of the Tymy Gilyak, are said to be the largest and finest in the whole region.

Since the actual master and owner of the dogs, as soon as he has returned from a trip, no longer pays any attention to them and their entire care and feeding are managed by the female occupants of the yurt, with the assistance of the children, they are actually as good as masterless and they do not have the usual characteristics of the dog which is kept more or less singly as the follower and companion of man, such as personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance, or they are not developed in them. The situation is the same, incidentally, with respect to the Russo-Siberian draft-dogs so that one may probably say in general that dogs kept in large numbers for harnessing and treated more or less as a pack, in comparison with hunting or watchdogs, have remained on a lower level of culture, so to speak, or have again sunk to one. But a certain attachment to the place and house where they get their food may be found among them, too, so that, even unleashed, they do not readily leave it, and if, in harness, they get free from their driver as the result of an overturned sled, they go home as a rule, or to the nearest village (1). The dogs

[113] [171]

1. According to Sujef (see Pallas, Reise

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

231 171 439 The dogs of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions [123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 [192] times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect [192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside.

Northeast Siberia RY1
Koryak RY4
Goldi RX3
Eskimo ND2

NS 492 484 /488 cont./
development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K 231 [361] [492] To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that

K 174 231 361

7. See pp. 481 ff.

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G. G1 NS K 231 171 /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subsequently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E 231 171 174 Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic animal and used it in harness when they were still on their original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

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1. (cont.)
the same thing was repeated several times later with other Gilyak from the various villages along the Amur and Liman, so that I never once succeeded in producing my stick in front of them, and from then on gave it up completely, trying in vain to think of a reason for this strange, highly excited, and fearful behavior toward an object as harmless as a fishing rod. How great, therefore, was my surprise when, already in St. Petersburg after my return, I once happened to hear Mr. v. Middendorff, who had visited the Gilyak ten years before I had, and, to be sure, in their most remote dwelling sites along Ulban Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, relate how he had once played the following joke on them. As he stood in their company [231] in front of a white-tailed eagle which, chained, was perched on one of the fish-drying racks -- a very common sight in their villages, which will be discussed further in the following -- in front of their eyes he cut off a thin willow switch, stuck its point, unnoticed, into a little bottle of prussic acid which he carried with him, and held it in front of the beak of the eagle. The animal immediately collapsed and died, but the Gilyak were seized with horror and fear and from then on regarded our traveler as a powerful sorcerer. To me there now remained no doubt: obviously the news

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Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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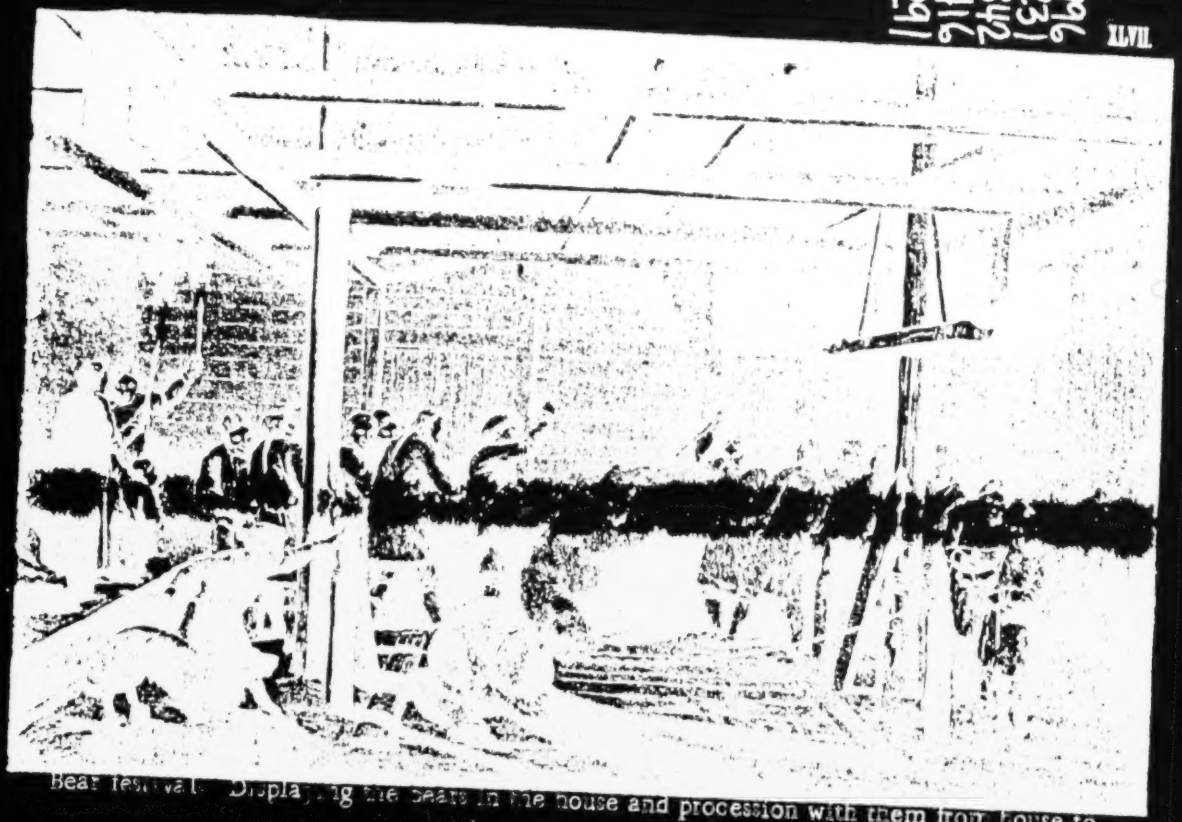
P91



Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/703 cont./

and are welcome guests in each house. Thus the procession lasted a long time, and the bears were not returned to Judin's house for the night, but remained in one of the other houses. It was not until the morning of the following day (January 11) that the two animals belonging to our host, the small and the large bear, were brought back to his house and were displayed there in the customary manner.

Meanwhile it was time to feed the dogs which always takes place in the morning. There were many of them on account of the many guests who had traveled to the place. Since the dogs' table had been removed, another arrangement had to be made in order to feed the dogs in the house. For this, a long pole was put through an opening in one of the central posts between which the large bear stood, and it was fastened at the ends to the supporting posts at either side of the top of the dogs' table. The dogs, very excited by the presence of the bears in the house, were now tied to this pole; and in front of them lay a board upon which their troughs with the steaming fish-broth were placed. The feeding of the dogs seemed to be done with special care this time, because dog races were to take place on the following day. Judin was very busy and concerned that everything should be done properly for his guests.

After the arrangement for feeding the dogs had been removed, the leading of the bears in and out began again, without my being able to discern any apparent purpose for it: the small bear was taken into another yurt, while the large bear was led out of the door of the house and immediately back in again four times, with intervals of only a few minutes. Perhaps through the frequent repetition of this experiment the neck-band on this bear may have become somewhat loose or damaged in some other way; it soon appeared necessary to the Gilyak to provide it with some auxiliary ropes -- an undertaking that was most interesting for me, for it showed me the great intrepidity /704/ of the Gilyak in confronting the bears and their enormous skill and adroitness in dealing with them. This task was even more difficult than putting on the neck and body bands at the beginning, which was

/704 cont./

described above, for the latter was done after the hind legs of the bear had already been fettered in the cage, but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house, all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feat were held in readiness. Seizing the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect, one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one muzzled the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear, pulled its hind legs from under it by means of nooses, and held them against the ground. The bear fell on its front paws, but here, too, someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. Thus through quick and concerted steps the animal was completely disarmed and fettered in an instant, and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done, all the Gilyak jumped off the bear, all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk, and the bear again stood there on its chain entirely free and unfettered, except for the neck and body band, roaring loudly, repeatedly shaking itself. Now, together with the small bear, it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and cowberries /Strichbeeren/, whereupon, after a short pause, the same procedure was again repeated several times; that is, the small bear was taken immediately from Judin's house to another one, but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times, or sometimes only twice.

Immediately after the bears had been removed, the male youth of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood, until there was a large pile of them. Everybody who had a knife, except for the women and girls, began to cut the sticks at one end, or, more properly, to whittle them, that is, to make the so-called nauws (1) of the Gilyak out of them.

1. The ŋ here is to be pronounced soft, like the French g.

/704 cont./

Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side, but others on two opposite sides. And some all around; indeed, from some of them very fine and gracefully curled wood-shavings (the repeatedly mentioned so-called zach of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol, which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits, such as the giving of offerings to the river (2) conjuring away storms (3), etc.,

2. See pp. 802-804 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

may not, of course, be absent from the bear festival. Thus we already see it exhibited over the roof of the house in which a bear festival is to be celebrated and at the same time a part of the bear cult is to be enacted. We were to /705/ encounter it in more complete form as the bear festival progressed. For the moment, however, the whole heap of whittled sticks was again carried out, in order to be used on the following day. While the men, youths, and boys carved on the sticks, the women prepared a fresh supply of gonej, into which this time they also mixed pulverized fir-needles (from Picea ajanensis). Finally, Gilyak twink -- an activity which lasted until evening.

Meanwhile the leading of the bears in and out of the other houses of the village went on without interruption. The Gilyak can never have enough of this entertainment, and they take a lively an interest in all the individual incidents that occur in connection with it as is shown among other peoples at, say, contests, festive games, or dances with the merry music, which in this case is provided by the roaring of the bears. Everyone has an opportunity as the head of the one or the other row of bear-leaders to display his prowess, intrepidity, skill, and presence of mind; the closer he allows the infuriated animal to approach him, the greater the danger to which he exposes himself, the louder is his share of the applause and the greater his fame and distinction among the people. Every detail is followed attentively and afterward

/705 cont./

discussed about in an animated discussion in short, on such an occasion one hardly recognizes the otherwise serious, sedate, cautious, and somewhat taciturn Gilyak. Late at night the procession with the medium-sized bear paid a brief visit to Judin's house. But only the two bears that belonged to him returned to it for the night. Men and animals had tugged themselves weary and seemed to need a rest. The night also passed more quietly than one would expect with two bears quartered in the house.

Toward the morning, January 12, however, I was awakened by a loud roar from the bears: the leading of the animals back and forth, out of the house and back again, had begun anew. First our two sleeping companions were taken out, and then all three bears were brought back in again, in the order established at the beginning of the festival, and fed out of three pitchys, the mosej that had been prepared the day before, some of which the people ate, and then the foreign bear was removed again, while the other two remained in the house. Then began the preparation of the place where on the following day the bears were to meet their deaths and then be skinned and cut up. For this, a rectangular area not far from the house was marked off with the sticks (nauws) carved the day before, and at each of four places about a fathom apart on its longitudinal sides, two posts were set up and lies with beam-shaped tops were rammed into the ground beside each other. These stakes were old and may already have served the same purpose several times. They were likewise surrounded by whittled sticks. At one end, in line with the two posts, a small square was also marked out by the nauws (the so-called kabdra of the Gilyak) was left open at the other, opposite end a small structure made out of boards (called lâŋug (1) among the Gilyak stood somewhat elevated above

1. The ŋ is to be voiced like the French g.

the ground on four posts driven into the earth and was closed in the back, but in front, in the direction of the row of stakes, was marite /706/ open. and here, besides a croupole near the roof, had a second, lower croupole, from which the opening was

/705 cont./

divided into approximately even halves. The path leading from Judin's house to this place of death for the bears was also marked out with a line of whittled sticks.

Meanwhile the dog-feeding was going on in the house in the same way as on the day before, except that those animals that were to participate in the races an hour hence did not get anything for the time being; they were also brought into the house, to be sure, but could only watch while the other dogs ate, their feeding being postponed until after the races in order to stimulate them to run faster. Everyone now set out for one end of the racecourse, which was laid within the bare cover of the river and consisted of a strip about two fathoms wide, on which the snow had been shoveled to the sides and the ice smoothed somewhat for a distance of about one and a half to two versts. Here stood two sleds, one harnessed to 14 dogs, the other to ten, of which the latter was front men on the first sled were adorned with elegant Manchurian collars, the above-mentioned rŋak (1). In front of the sleds two other dogs were held

1. See p. 750 ff. above with the woodcut, and Plate XXXVI /p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5.

on long straps. Many spectators had stationed themselves on the elevated embankments at both sides of the racecourse. First the two dogs not harnessed to the sleds were released, they glided behind them at the end of their long straps only a fox tail and the tail of a black dog, respectively. With this light burden they disappeared from the racecourse in an instant and ran up the hill to the house where they were caught by the women and children. They were particularly twift-footed animals, one of which was a so-called kyll or kyll-kan among the Gilyak, over the possession of which Judin was very proud, saying that in the whole Amur region there were only two or three animals of the same quality, and he could name their owners. It was not clear to me, however, what the special characteristics of the kyll-kan are, aside from twift-footedness. The animals harnessed to the sleds did not get off so easily, for although the bucks which they had to pull was

/705 cont./

hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain control of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and requires some special knowledge. For there are various types and modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248/). As soon as all the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal it sat before them in the house by the women. The men bypower, indulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connection with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

After this interlude, the leading of the bears which had been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything was repeated as on the preceding days. for example, the large

/707 cont./

bear did not leave or enter Judin's house until after it had been led back and forth through the door four times. Again the bears had to be led through all the houses in the village and treated everywhere with mosej and crushed ice. Twice they came into Judin's house and received the same treatment. The Gilyak especially like to see their boys, even if they are very small, participate in the feeding of the bears: they bravely step up to the animal and offer it the spoon filled with mosej, which is sometimes held and supported by several small hands; many a little fellow who can hardly stand on his legs, not to speak of holding a nichyr, must be helped by the father or older brother, who lifts up the little one. Perhaps this is done for pedagogical reasons, but more probably for superstitious reasons, namely, in the belief that through this the children will continue to have the good will of the mighty animal even after they are grown. As soon as the bears have again been taken out of the house, however, the children use the free space to romp about in and to perform an exact duplicate of what they have seen during the leading of the bears, during the changing of the bands on them, etc., most faithfully imitating all the movements, positions, and demeanors of the adults, as has been described above (pp. 1136 ff.). Thus they learn how to deal with the bears long before they can lend a helping hand.

In the evening, in bright moonlight, the bears were led beyond the village and all the way around Cape Tebach on the river ice. It was a long procession that started moving down toward the river, for, in addition to the three bears, who were led in the same order as /708/ always, a great number of idle boys followed them. Since the bank is high and slopes rather steeply down to the river, it was interesting to see how the procession moved down the slippery hill without falling into disorder even for a moment: while those standing at the front rope ran down at top speed, the ones busy on the rear rope had to hold back with all their might in order to prevent the bear from running down just as quickly and causing damage below, by their combined efforts, however, they succeeded in letting all three bears slide down the hill slowly and evenly. It was much easier going back, for those

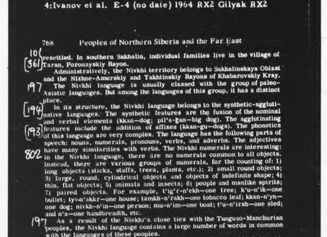
/708 cont./

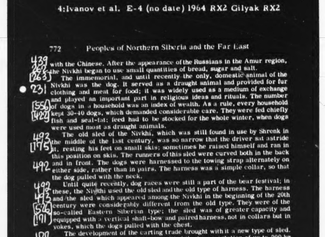
in the rear let themselves be taken in tow by the bears and dragged up the hill. During the whole procession the women again drummed incessantly on their beams. A short pause followed, during which a few games were played in front of the house, such as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two. which I had previously seen among the Goldi, and then the popular leading of the bears, never tiring the Gilyak began again and continued far into the night. For during this night immediately preceding the killing of the bears no one among the Gilyak may sleep; the men spend it alternately leading and feeding the bears, while the women prepare the foods for the feast that is to take place on the following day. Let us therefore now turn to these for a moment.

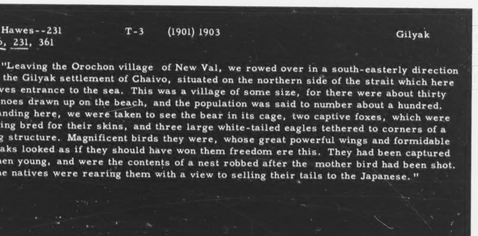
In a previous section (1), it has already been pointed out

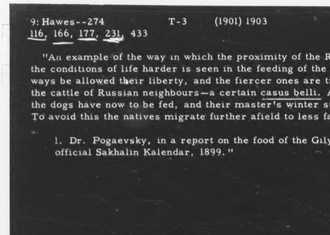
1. See pp. 676 ff. above.

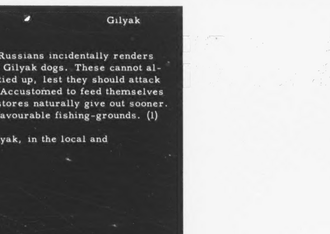
that the foodstuffs used in connection with the bear festival are primarily of a vegetable nature and in particular consist of the cereals and legumes of Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin named there. This is especially true of the great feast held shortly before the killing of the bears and, as we shall see in the following, of the one during which, sometimes at a much later date, the bear itself is eaten. Aside from these two, I might almost say official feasts, which are held in a more or less opulent manner in all or at least most of the houses of the village where a bear festival takes place, and which sometimes are even repeated for a certain length of time, the Gilyak also eat their regular fish diet even during the bear festival, but in an irregular fashion, during the intervals between the individual festive events and generally in accordance with the requirements of the individuals. Considering the large number of people invited to the festival or taking part in it generally, however, the consumption of fish on such an occasion is always very considerable, and I was amazed at the colossal quantities of hausen and sturgeon which were used, in addition to the regular jukola diet of the Gilyak, in Judin's house alone.

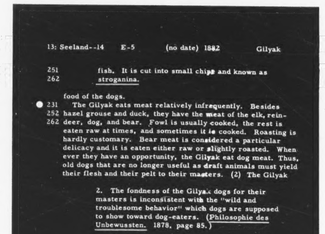


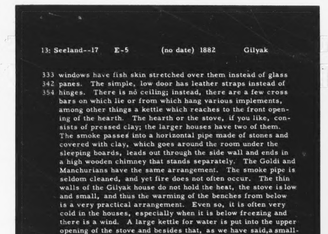


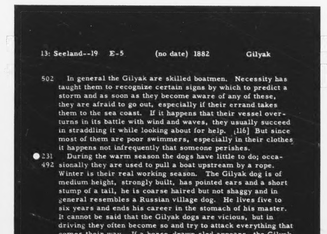


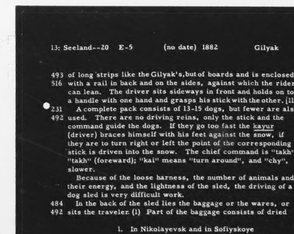












/708 cont./

000 house-house. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
252 principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been men-
[354] tioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall
of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area
and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore
*796 call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quanti-
[824] ties of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twink)
are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this
last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festi-
val, which may be one of the attestations of homage which are given
to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them.
Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of
burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

*796 On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
•231 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their
last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place
of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak,
and arranged and carefully bound there between the stakes stand-
ing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again
the same so that the female bear was closest to the building in the
back of the kadhra, the läsgn, the large one in the middle, and
*796 the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody
went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had
set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round
wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the
central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood
The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench
[509] along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such
an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule,
it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/710 cont./

*796 amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the
[541] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a
fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river
[244] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast
on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon
the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated
*796 around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three
824 Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They
consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which
all the branches had been removed except the crown and the
uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around
the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of
[241] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks,
[239] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice
in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these
peculiar banners were of the first type; the third was of the latter
type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who,
as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but
he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody
now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with
their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the
bears several times, always refiring to the same place, and
there running around again, and, finally, planted one of their
insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the
signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes
and led out of the kadhra.

Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the
*796 bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear
• 231 this had been done the day before, and the animal had been pro-
vided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order
on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and
stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have
his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi-
[156] ment. Chuisiin, Judin's oldest son, a young and strong man who
evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

/710 cont.

*796 bears, volunteered to do this. The day before he had already per-
• 231 formed this task in the large bear. /711/ brilliantly proved his
156 bold and resolute courage. When this bear was led out of the
house, it seized so firmly with its claws the front Gilyak goading
it that the latter could not free himself any more and was pulled
close to the furious animal. At this moment, Chuisiin, who
stood immediately behind the bear, jumped over the animal's
back and landed directly in front of its snout. The startled bear,
infuriated anew, dropped its first prey and bit at the second, but
fortunately without success. Now, for the small bear, Chuisiin
took the precaution of wearing his dog-fur coat reversed, with the
fur on the inside, and over it he put on a reindeer-fur coat with the
fur on the outside and the back part turned to the front, at the
same time tying his belt around himself in such a manner that the
fur coat projected out in front of him hump-like and stuck out far
from his body. So equipped, he waited for the moment when the
bear, goaded with sticks, showed its teeth in a roar, now he
stepped up to it with chest thrust forward and let it bite into the
puffed-out fur-coat over it. Then he threw himself around the
animal's neck, seized its head at the ears, and bent it down.
The men standing around were ready at this moment to muzzle
it, to press its paws down, etc., as I have already described above.

After this was taken care of, the bears set out on their
*796 last walk: in the same order as before, the procession, accom-
23 panied by the loud drumming of the women, went down the high
bank to the river. Having reached there, it circled at a distance
of several times in the hole in the ice where the women scoop water
(see Plate XLVIII, p.1248 /), and returned up the hill. The bears
passed close to Judin's house and the one where the owner of the
third animal lived: the doors were open, and the procession in-
voluntarily came to a halt because the bears made the greatest
effort to get back in. But they were no longer permitted to do
[857] this. The procession halted at the entrance to the kadhra. Boys
came running from all sides in order to shoot their small, but
not always harmless arrows at the animals, which the leaders,
visibly amused, permitted them to do.

/711 cont./

*796 visibly amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer
• 231 who is to dispatch the bear and move toward the bear, however, is
[854] made by the owner himself and is regarded as an honorary token
of his favor. For the two animals belonging to him Judin had
chosen two young people, one of them, an Olcha from Tschihvi
whose father was a friend of his and from whom he had bought
one of the bears. Both animals, hit in the right lung at a dis-
tance of about five paces, fell dead after the first shot; the third
animal died slowly after it had been hit by two arrows. The blood
[784] which they lost in dying was immediately covered with snow, for
[826] otherwise someone might step in it, which would definitely be
ultcin.

As soon as the bears were dead, they were dragged into
the kadhra by their chain and an auxiliary strap tied around the
snout, and put down at the places where they had stood in life,
on a bed prepared for them out of peeled sticks. Here all three
carcasses lay in the same order and the same position: the snout
and the front legs to the front pointing toward the entrance into
the kadhra, the hind legs to the rear, pointing toward the läsgn.
The neck /712/ and body bands were taken off of them and the
snow beaten off their fur with sticks. Next the carcasses were
skinned and cut up. For this purpose I illustration appears here;
strap was next slung around the neck of the animal and attached
[784] to the stake in front. Again it is ultcin to step over this strap --
one may only walk around it, either in front or in back. The
bear was now rolled over on its back, and a cut was made down
the middle of the entire belly side, beginning at the throat, and
from this middle cut four others went out to the legs. Then the
fur was stripped off and cut around the paws in such a manner
that a ring of fur remained above the claws on each one. After
the belly side had been skinned, the animal was turned over and
the fur stripped off the back side up to the head. Then the man
standing at the tail end once more waved the fur up and down
over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his
companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

/712 cont./

*796 experiment was repeated several times, whereupon the carcass
• 231 was once more rolled over on its back to be cut up. First of all
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over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his
companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

/713 cont./

*796 from the head and cut into halves on one side along the spine.
• 231 Then the dismemberment was completed, and only the head
remained in the skin. All three bears were treated in exactly
the same way. After the pieces of meat and bone of the
bears, and finally also the strips of fat hung on the sticks
and meanwhile frozen, were put away in the storage chamber,
the three bear-heads with the rest of the skin were carried
to the läsgn and there, by means of a strap slung around the

Place of death for the bears.

of the entire belly side, provided at one end with an eye-shaped
cut, and hung by it on one of the surrounding peeled sticks. A
similar strip of fat reaching from the head to the tail was also
taken from the back side of the /713/ carcass, again rolled over,
and was treated similarly. Then, between these two longitudinal
strips, two narrow transverse strips were cut out on either side, one
directly behind the front legs, and the other directly in front of the
hind legs, and the same was done with them. Obviously this was
intended as an offering, which perhaps was to serve to appease the
spirits of revenge of the slain bears. The whole layer of fat was
divided by the longitudinal and transverse grooves cut in the fat
into six areas, which were now individually removed and each one
immediately placed between two fresh fir-branches and carried
into the storage chamber. While this work was going on, the Gilyak
could not resist nibbling at the fat now and then. Cutting up the
rest of the carcass now followed: first the legs were amputated,
then the breast and belly pieces carved out, the intestines removed
and squeezed out, and, finally, the rest of the body was severed

The arrangement of the heads with the skins in the läsgn.

skin directly behind the head and knotted to the upper crosspole,
arranged so that the heads rested on the lower crosspole,
but the skins inside the house. It thus appeared as though
the bears had entered this abode and were looking out of it
through the window opening, the large one in the middle, to
the left of it the small one, and to the right the medium-
sized bear, that is, in the order in which they had stood in the
house. In front of this structure, however, a fir branch was
planted in the snow, the tip of which reached to the heads of
the bears and partly shaded them.

*796 With this the first big act of the bear festival came
to an end. The head and the skin of the bear are kept in the

/718 cont./

*796 just as it would be extremely ultsch if one wanted to fry, not only
859 bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other bowl, for the
[784] bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
[263] shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the
broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but
the meat was placed upon fir branches under the ätugbre and
covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the
trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward
[782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was
about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in
front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and
were intended for the forthcoming feast.

In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old
*796 men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young
[889] people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in addi-
[851] tional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in
order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women
had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.
*796 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals
• 231 which Judin had selected for a heavier ride on the river. They
54 were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars
and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven
by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the
women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the
river and then on a leisurely course along the latter, and ended
without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng.
Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while
the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat
[889] into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and
fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads,
and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them
down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same
way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the mean-
time, more life and commotion had entered into these prepara-
tions for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

The Nivkhi 783

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material 177
culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a some- 643
what different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and hunting 474
enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized
among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize
the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went
on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural coopera-
tive. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situ-
ated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities [241]
and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi [231]
began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; till-
age, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary
Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages
lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character.
The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and
fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter,
they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the coopera-
tives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up
of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed,
such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the econ-
omies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River
(Kirovsky Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was
played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were
openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resist- [367]
ance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement
of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the
need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three
houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good
fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the
collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright
homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. 177
The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with 643
seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked 474
scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur railboats [22]
(bunksy) and cutters; and Moscr-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive [241]
aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions.
To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing [122]
usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where
the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the
fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they
hunt for animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin 177
Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was 643
organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. 474
In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its [241]
acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of 474
its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The
collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers
and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered
agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants
will die."

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

784 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of
[241] potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949
[122] to 1951, the collective harvested twice as much.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal
husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle
[231] and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also
progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and develop-
177 ment of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly
643 scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often
474 consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages,
the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and
36 the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the
collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are com-
fortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages,
particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites.
Before the Revolution, most of the Nakhi lived in dugouts, and most
of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-
Chinese fanza.

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log
643 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds,
474 etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings, a
school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings
36 devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable
[342] storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a
bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many indivi-
dual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are
643 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages
644 have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti-
475 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered
with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and
31-2 flowers in the window. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the
33 walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They
177 also use unskrwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the
643 continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and
[244] also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made
[239] of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok
collective-farm members. The fur clothing and homeiress remain of the
[244] traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing
[239] of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages.
Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays,
[242] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented.
Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued,
as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater
643 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products.
[242] The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been
755 widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically im-
proved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions.
[243] Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical
and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational
work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical
aid. Soviet medicine rightly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

9: Hawes--172 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 231, 492

"Another village, Auk-vun-wauk by name, hove in sight, and, paddling in, we stepped gingerly from our unstable craft. Vanka insisted on accompanying me because of the crowd of yelping dogs, although the most savage were tied up to a pole underneath a hut built on piles. These animals are fierce towards strangers, and especially white men, although I believe it is on the whole true the world over, that, if you show no sign of fear, dogs may yelp and growl, but will stop short of actual attack. My present position reminded me of an incident in Southern China—a sahib obliged to appeal to a piccaninny for protection from a buffalo, whose discrimination between the white man and the yellow is well known.

These dogs are used by natives in hunting bears and in tracking brodyagi. In winter, harnessed to the sledges, they are not fed until the end of the journey, and are then much more dangerous to encounter."

9: Hawes--195-196 T-3 (1901) 1903

116, 231, 527, 796

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd of yelping d
cage. In front hung a birch-bark basket, as seen in
[LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh water for B
dried fish, and holding it before a hole in the cage,
his great paw out to grasp the fish, the while I snap
mal, having already attained his majority, was due
in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably originated as a pur
a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar, the great b
winter. The proceedings are unique and interesting
tured young, and fed up until he attains the age of fo
following January. Invitations are then sent round t
habitants, however, need no such announcement, fo
coming event. On the morning before the fête the vi
guests arrive in great numbers, their sledges, dra
from all parts of the snow-mantled forest. [LSS: Se
description of the bear fête.]"

13: Seeland--45 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their songs.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally (if his neighbors are sober). There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is neither or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a leather collar, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
• 231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various

13: Seeland--59 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a
contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a
skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points
to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians
of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the soft-
ness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was
that of a woman living in the Russian Amur.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary.
They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans,
since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural
healing agencies over which the shamans commands are very
few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks,
splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and
washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of
agaric, [Lärchespilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases
of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs,
especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of
violent attacks of colic, which occur with this illness the
Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatic
bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mihiki, and
these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36
degrees Reaumur and belong to the in-
different thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate
into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment.
They suffer patiently all the sharp pains only in extreme
cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but
they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the

19:Gennet--2 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

101 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Venukov's
142 observation that the language of the
Gilyak is radically different from that
of the Tungusic completely confirmed
by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the
wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to
language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly
different from them. According to ethnographs that the
traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, she
heard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier
than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness
101 of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they
probably occupied the basin of the Amur as far as the Gorin,
while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies
about 100 versts above Nikolaievsk and their former terri-
tory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we
mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume (see
Goldi source 16: Genest--Analysi). They occupy the northern
part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them
among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they
probably came as labourers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

1. We will have more to say below about
the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island.
Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on
Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
163 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
228 have disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
• 231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts de-
ported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established
new settlements near their former residences, for the
traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants
of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs
which were set on land to pull the boats
along whenever the wind was against the
fishermen as well as whenever they were
struggling against the strong north-south

19:Gennet--4 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, and, moreover, they are so
bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wear-
ing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the
fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
117 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloth. The festooni
customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173)
[see Goldi source 16: Genest--Analysi] do not exist among Gilyak
women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in grace-
fulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn
not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned
repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appearance as there. It might be mentioned that tobacco,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The dress of the Gilyak
441 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use
492 of smaroschka; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
• 231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will
not a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in
the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion
even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief sojourn in the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
101 experience was sufficient to make the following assertion: The
Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The
amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear
rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however
high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our
traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old
Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter had been informed, a
offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but
met him on the river to conclude the bargain there.
The traveller believed in this case that it would be
permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon

19:Gennet--5 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
622 to be killed by the same means as those discussed earlier
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants lack
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
fooi, but at the end of it they are hundred fat. They pay 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
141 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were assembled by
322 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
succeeded very well in this attempt, others, on the other hand,
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and
sometimes suffered a tumble. Nevertheless, they kept hanging
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of
their luckier companions.

796 The festival ended with the whole crowd, closely followed
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from his prison. Then
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill, some of the fence was erected, to the vil-
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts
described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow of its own willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During
this, the crowd of people made a terrible racket. Now both parties
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his
companions, and the bear would then have fallen into would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, being able to free himself in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [181] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam about
three metres long had been placed in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
530 eight girls and women who were provided with clubs like sticks

19:Gennet--6 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed. Some of the bears are those discussed earlier
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants lack
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
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141 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were assembled by
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796 ever, being able to free himself in any way. Then again, the
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three metres long had been placed in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
530 eight girls and women who were provided with clubs like sticks

19:Gennet--7 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
• 231 dogs show outstanding spee.. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled starts along the track at a time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such sledges, which
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding an following exactly the calls of the leaders,
are very highly appreciated and can also be paid from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
141 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were assembled by
322 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
succeeded very well in this attempt, others, on the other hand,
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by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from his prison. Then
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill, some of the fence was erected, to the vil-
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts
described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow of its own willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During
this, the crowd of people made a terrible racket. Now both parties
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his
companions, and the bear would then have fallen into would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, being able to free himself in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [181] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam about
three metres long had been placed in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
530 eight girls and women who were provided with clubs like sticks

Implements used at the bear festival c
size); 2--long spoon for feeding the b
for split

: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

f the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in
ears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax
ting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

9: Hawes--196-197 T-3
116, 231, 527

"The day before the feast a r
owner to the cage and proceed t
in the form of a loop at the end
bear, and then over a paw and s
tightened. To this loop are atta
unroof further and haul him out.
unnecessary, for he emerges to
desirable now is to pull all the
captors. Methods differ slightly
reader will see by the illustrati
were looped over his paws; and
a pole placed between his fore-
which several men stood. Held
now the Gilyaks could proceed t
they teased him until he took it
tightly bound to this 'bit.' To co
neck and shoulder, a seal-skin
his neck. To the ends of the cha
led about by.

The animal was then taken fo

ehearsal is held. Several men of the village go with the
o lift off one or two of the roofing logs. Inserting a tho
of a stick, they skilfully slip this over the head of the
houlder to prevent strangling him when the strap is
ched other thongs, [197] and the men can now proceed t
. In the case of the bigger bears the hauling is generall
o readily with a snarl and a growl; and the one thing
thongs taut, to prevent him attacking one or other of hi
in different parts of the island; but in this case the
on [LSS: See Visual File] that native-made ropes of gra
to prevent his doing harm these ropes were carried u
and hing-legs, and projecting on each side of him, on
thus it was impossible for him to move his paws, and
o muzzle him. Taking a piece of stick with a rope atta
in his mouth, whereupon his muzzle was quickly and
omplete his toilet, in place of the leather band round hi
collar with two short lengths of chain was slipped over
ins were attached thongs, which served for him to be

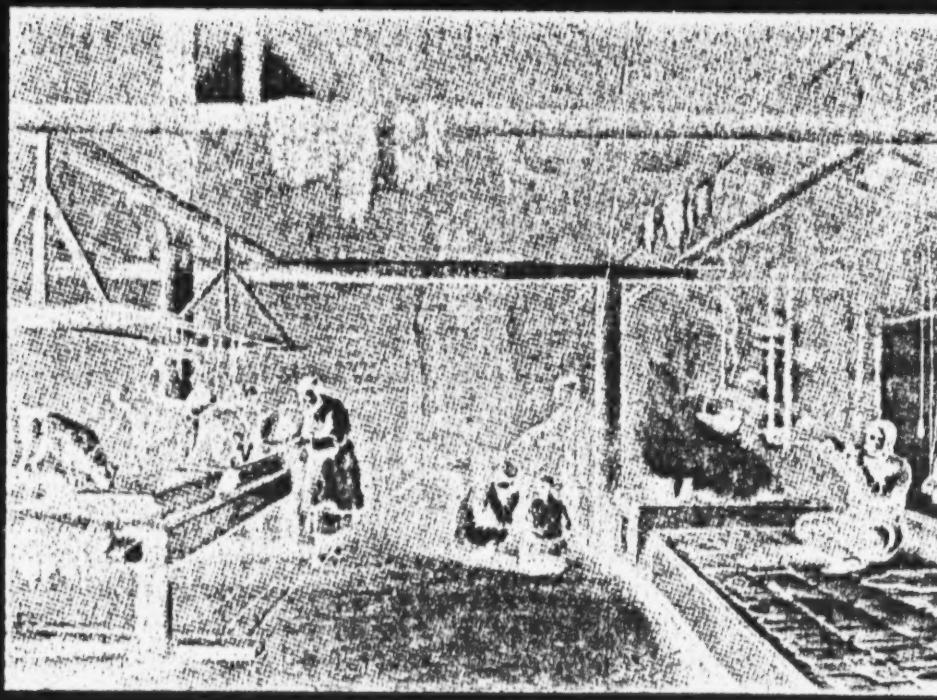
r a short walk to test his new 'dress,' and afterwards

9: Hawes--196-197 T-3

116, 231, 527

tied up and eventually put back agai
quickly described, but the actual pr
ready for evacuating the cage occup

n in the cage. Thus ended the rehearsal. It
rocess takes a long time, the getting of the
oying half an hour."



Interior of an old winter dwelling.

512
23

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[P. 776]

342
35
291

"Another village, Auk-vun-wauk by n
gingerly from our unstable craft. Va
crowd of yelping dogs, although the n
built on piles. These animals are fie
although I believe it is on the whole t
fear, dogs may yelp and growl, but w
reminded me of an incident in Southe
for protection from a buffalo, whose
is well known.

These dogs are used by natives in
harnessed to the sledges, they are no
more dangerous to encounter."

ame, hove in sight, and, paddling in, we stepped
nka insisted on accompanying me because of the
nost savage were tied up to a pole underneath a hu
rce towards strangers, and especially white men,
rue the world over, that, if you show no sign of
vill stop short of actual attack. My present positio
rn China—a sahib obliged to appeal to a piccaninny
discrimination between the white man and the yell

hunting bears and in tracking brodyagi. In winter,
ot fed until the end of the journey, and are then mu

Gilyak funeral.

10 [361] resettled. In southern Sakha
Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Niv
and the Nizhne-Amurskiy a

197 The Nivkhi language i
Asiatic languages. But amon
place.

[194] In its structure, the Niv
native languages. The synt
and verbal elements (kkan
[193] features include the additi
of this language are very co
speech: nouns, numerals, p
802 have many similarities wit
in the Nivkhi language, th
instead, there are various
long objects (sticks, staffs
3) large, round, cylindric
thin, flat objects; 5) anima
7) paired objects. For e
bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house
one dog; nivkh-n'in—one pe
and n'a—one handbreadth, e

197 As a result of the Niv
peoples, the Nivkhi languag
with the languages of these

In the Lower Amur Basi

174 There are enough grounds t
the neolithic population of t
ous pits—marks of old dugo
plements, and a special ty
ornament. Such pits have
There are different points
habitation—the Amur or
peoples, Academician L. Sh
the Nivkhi, whence they sp
expressed by L. Ya. Shternb
Nivkhi and their considera
indicate a larger northward
Sea of Okhotsk in the past
lived farther up the Amur t
tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi live
century; there is every
Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data
to these data, the Nivkhi d
travel down to the mout
Poyarkov (1643-1646). He
the boyar's son Pushchin,
reports of the 17th centur
[361] as "Gilyak peasants." Ac
[342] lages in wooden winter ho
[343] log structures for bears.
[291] belts; they kept many d
mainly of fish. They trade
[231]
[232]

alin, individual families live in the village of

ivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast
and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.
s usually classed with the group of paleo-
ng the languages of this group, it has a distinct

vkhi language belongs to the synthetic-aggluti-
thetic features are the fusion of the nominal
—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating
ion of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics
mplex. The language has the following parts of
pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives
h verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting:
ere are no numerals common to all objects.
groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1)
, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects;
al objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4)
ls and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits;
xample, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one
e; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—
rson; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled;
tc.

khi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian
e contains a large number of words in common
peoples.

n, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants.
o consider them the most direct descendants of
his territory. This population left behind numer-
ts of square or round shape, polished stone im-
pe of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral
een found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin.
of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi
Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur
renk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of
ead to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was
erg, who insisted on the continental origin of the
bly later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data
distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the
. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once
an they do today. According to Chinese sources,
on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th
eason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or

n the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According
d not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to
of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy
vas followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba,
he official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack
, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to
ording to these reports, they lived in large vil-
ses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
he Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
s, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

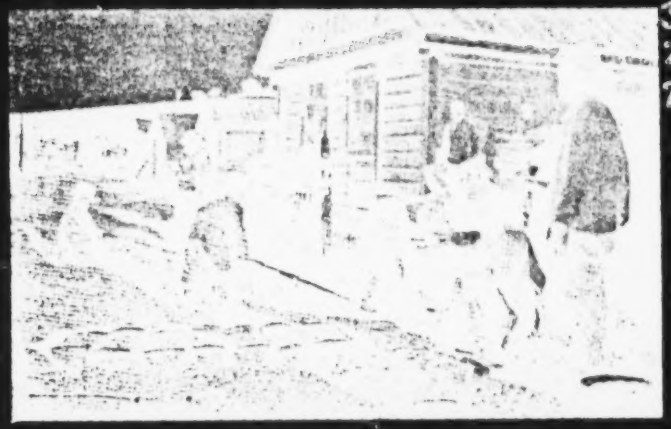
The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

342
291
231



Feeding a bear.

sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care 771
man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky 776
ple—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi
e always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish,
animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice
hem. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced
n character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
king, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 614
rno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 231
tival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was [269]
nected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of
dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and
ced in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the
en clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the
ampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival,
the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The
ster's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February).
t a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles
g with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was
between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the
kha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan
ding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and con-
ed of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow,
al feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The
rskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent
a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526]
oting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing.
er the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et
era were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi
d, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always
ught the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764
guso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material 177
culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a some- 648
what different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering
enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized 474
among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities [241]
and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi [231]
began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resist- [361]
ance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. 177
The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with 648
seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked 226
scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats 474
(kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing [22]
usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin 177
Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was 648
organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. 241
In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its 474
acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd
cage. In front hung a birch-bark baske
[LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh
dried fish, and holding it before a hole
his great paw out to grasp the fish, the
mal, having already attained his major
in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably origin
a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar
winter. The proceedings are unique an
tured young, and fed up until he attains
following January. Invitations are then
habitants, however, need no such anno
coming event. On the morning before t
guests arrive in great numbers, their
from all parts of the snow-mantled for
description of the bear fête.]"

of yelping dogs, we were attracted by the bear-
, as seen in the illustration (opposite p. 196),
water for Bruin. His owner fetched a piece of
in the cage, the bear, who was of full size, thrust
while I snapped him with my camera. This ani-
ity, was due to play the chief rôle at a festival

ated as a purely religious festival, has become
, the great break in the monotony of the long
d interesting. [196] The animal having been cap-
the age of four, a fête is decided upon for the
sent round to neighbouring villages, whose in-
uncement, for they are already well aware of the
he fête the village presents a busy scene as the
sledges, drawn by teams of dogs, dashing up
est. [LSS: See category 527, pp. 196ff. for a full

20: Bush--123-124 T-2 (1865) 187
116, 231, 515

"Near by, sitting cross-legged, Turkish-fash
haggard-looking women were sewing very industr
pausing now and then to give some directions to
what I don't know, but it sounded very harsh--up
urchins, [124] who were disputing the possession
famished, toothless dog. The latter appeared to
and obstinately refused to budge beneath the feeb
dogs were in abundance, but the crowning feature
will express it), wrinkled, withered, and toothle
skins, with long, scant locks of hair dangling wil
a pitiable object had it not been for her occupatio
head of a dirty-faced girl, and disposing of them
one's appetite."

ion, upon the skins, two frowsy-headed,
riously upon filthy skin garments, only
the cook, and to launch something--
on the heads of a couple of naked little
of a deer-skin bed with an old, half-
be conscious of his rights, however,
le blows of his tormentors. Other
e of all was an old hag (no other word
ss, and clothed in the dirtiest of dirty
dly about her face. She would have been
n--that of catching vermin from the
in a manner not very conducive to

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

9: Hawes--274 1-5 (1901) 1903
116, 166, 177, 231, 433

"An example of the way in which the proxi
the conditions of life harder is seen in the fe
ways be allowed their liberty, and the fierce
the cattle of Russian neighbours—a certain c
the dogs have now to be fed, and their maste
To avoid this the natives migrate further afi

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a report on the foo
official Sakhalin Kalendar, 1899."

nity of the Russians incidentally renders
eding of the Gilyak dogs. These cannot al-
r ones are tied up, lest they should attack
asus belli. Accustomed to feed themselves
r's winter stores naturally give out sooner.
eld to less favourable fishing-grounds. (1)

od of the Gilyak, in the local and

251 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.
231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. When ever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.
262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.
They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

333 windows have fish skin stretched over them instead of glass
342 panes. The simple, low door has leather straps instead of
354 hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.
231 The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
352 hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special
354 occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
373 tive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.
513 In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

502 In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has taught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a storm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, they are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes them to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overturns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed in straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since most of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes it happens not infrequently that someone perishes.
231 During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa-
492 sionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Winter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of medium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short stump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in general resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to six years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. It cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in driving they often become so and try to attack everything that comes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak usually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they will not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that wander around the Russian villages have particularly good reasons to be afraid of these hunters.
493 The dog equipage usually has the following appearance: the
516 sled (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

narrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a knob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak straddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; he braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the sticks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the right direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap and two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are slung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a loop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog harnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are more like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, and a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have also modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

493 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclosed
516 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]
231 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
492 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

484 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
492 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort who entertain the others with their song.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival, are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water. The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those places that had their own bear festival and had already consumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the mainland at this time, although they themselves are well supplied with bears.

527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary.
They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks,
splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases
of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal,
the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

101 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's
142 observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
563 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
226 had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their involuntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that
they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are
attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these
chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and
others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand completely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on
whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it
wants to attack its leaders.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also
fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, however, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the
track by their owners and placed next to each other, they
were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the
way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do
not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is, rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders, are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the
322 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand, were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of their luckier companions.

796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the village. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his companions, and those that came after him would kick and jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding, scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam about three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

343 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

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342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles, knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

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257 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

● 231 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

● 231 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs, white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not altogether certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka, but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he made no response to a question which Borasdine asked. Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon. The women did not look up from their work, and were not inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complexion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

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men wear it plaited into queues, and others let it grow pretty much at will. Each woman I saw had it braided in two queues, which hung over her shoulders. In their ears they wore long pendants, and their dresses were generally arranged with taste.

When recalled by the steam whistle we left the village and took a short route down a steep bank to the boat. In descending, my feet passed from under me, and I had the pleasure of sliding about ten yards before stopping. Had it not been for a Cossack who happened in my way I should have entered the Amoor after the manner of an otter, and afforded much amusement to the spectators, though comparatively little to myself. The sliding attracted no special attention as it was supposed to be the American custom, and I did not deem it prudent to make an explanation lest the story might bring discredit to my nationality.

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On f
days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of cou
796 is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day
rives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the fest
by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremo
carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbo
and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off
spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make
who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of th
ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked u
a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear w
more gentle in his manners he might become a household
among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, es
ially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats,
high price of cats confining their possession to the weal
825 Cats have a half-religious character and are treated
great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the sup
439 is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants u
to bring only male cats that could not trouble themsel
about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred rou
for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the M
jours kept the market good.

756 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern A
are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the
753 ble function of priest and doctor, ministering to the phys
and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is ta
sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and
shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a dist
spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a
ticular manner. While practicing his profession the sha
contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls w
than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fanta
manner and beats a tambourine during his performance.
accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates
voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his

[231] 14 APPLIED ANIMAL SCIENCE—practical and scientific knowledge about animal husbandry; veterinary science, specialists in diseases of domestic animals and disease control; scientific breeding of animals, artificial insemination, [232] [illegible] breeding, [illegible] breeding and breeding of meat animals; veterinary services and [illegible] — See also

[illegible]

[233] *FATM*

The dogs of the Gilyak are of the same breed as the draft dogs distributed throughout Siberia and over North America with the Eskimos: wolf-like, long haired, with short, erect ears, and of all possible colors, black, white, brown, fox-red, mottled, and especially often of a striking pale yellowish-grey color. The Gilyak dogs are small in comparison with the dogs of the polar regions of eastern Siberia, of the Iaka *Yrsaul* and Indigirka regions, or even with those of Kamchatka as they were formerly [234] and still occur in isolated specimens (1). Nothing is done among

[235] 1. In the summer of 1884, Dr Peter-Paul Herber, I saw two extremely large dogs which had been brought to the governor from the interior of the province. I measured a still young, not quite fully grown animal likewise belonging to the large, old-Kamchatka stock, which was 11 decimetres long from the nape of the neck to the root of the tail, four of which was the head and neck to the withers, and at the latter seven and a half to eight decimetres high.

the Gilyak to improve the breed; they neither convert especially large and strong individuals into stallions nor use, or care and care for the whelps afterwards. A circumstance greatly contributing to the maintenance of this breed of dogs is the bad treatment that they give the bitches. They do not use them for harnessing, and so they thoroughly do not give them the same amount of food as the male dogs. Whereas the latter, insofar as circumstances permit, are fed with great regularity, daily in winter, every other day in summer, the former are excluded from these meals and in winter receive only a little food from time to time, just enough so they will not starve, but in summer no one concerns himself about them and they are left to find all of their food themselves. One therefore sees lean, wretched and emaciated, slinking around the yurts and in them and greedily snapping at any scraps.

[236] *Ainu*

[237] *Ainu*

[238] *Ainu*

[239] *Ainu*

[240] *Ainu*

[241] *Ainu*

[242] *Ainu*

[243] *Ainu*

[244] *Ainu*

[245] *Ainu*

[246] *Ainu*

[247] *Ainu*

[248] *Ainu*

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/396 cont./

I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese concepts. In any case the lynx skin has a considerable real worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and so it is used by the Gilyak like lynx furs for coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not possess for their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions of this sort must therefore come into play here. In view of the conditions and trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the highest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne. For example, the skin of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the Chaje cuhsiers carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

2. Tobacco bag, Dzisangje Seine near China (A Tsewer-yew Trip to China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 58.

/397 cont./

(flap, through which the head may be much outside of its covering if necessary (1).

1. On the hand coverings of the Tungus and of the Russian in Siberia the flap for sticking the hand out has no protective flap; on the other hand, it is present on the dog-fur coverings of the Orochi of Hadshi Bay.

The Gilyak never have a hood hanging down the back between the shoulders on their fur coats for protection for the head, as is customary among all the tribes in the Northern peoples, Kamchatkal, Koryak, Chukchee, Eskimo, even Tungus, and so others. Instead, the neck and head have special articles of clothing. For the protection of the head there is made of the half-fur of squirrels (Gilyak tolgi, Fl. XIX[7]) an oval and a semicircular piece, which are sewed together, and also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not possess for their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions of this sort must therefore come into play here. In view of the conditions and trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the highest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne. For example, the skin of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the Chaje cuhsiers carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

and at the front corners has either two bands (as in the pertinent illustration, Fl. XXI, Fig. 1[8] for tying it under the chin, or only a single band connecting the inner corners of the two corners

See Category 16, Pp. 999, 998, 1000, 1002, 1001 respectively—Analysis

/398 cont./

band mentioned is first brought under the chin, and then the cap is pulled down over the head. The cap is sewed together at the edges, which, standing out in front and on the outside, also form the edging. The outside consists of either the same kind of sealskin throughout or various pieces of fur not infrequently put together artistically and carefully. /399/ For example, the tom-fish of a Tschoni cuipsa also valued one in Nikolaiewsk, which is illustrated on Fl. XXI, Fig. 1, was of this type. The upper middle piece of this cap, based on the pattern, is made of sealskin, the white sealsoccur in it are of short-haired dog-skin; the edging, separated from the middle piece by a blue band, is made up of three pieces, the front piece being of sealskin, the two, consisting of the fox fur emerging from the inside, but at the bottom the cap is trimmed all around with long-haired white dog-fur. This trimming, by the way, is not lacking on the less elegant, indeed even on the simplest fur-caps of the Gilyak and gives them at a special, particular value. The long-haired white or gray hair of the cap reaching down to and the neck, the more beautiful it appears in the eyes of the Gilyak, just as it is in the eyes of the Haimen on Kamchatka trimming the fur coats, which might have been coarser or fine skin, all sewed with long hair, which, was always regarded, as Steller puts it (1), as the "greatest

1. Steller, Beschr. von Land Kamtschatka, p. 138.

ornament" of them. This trimming on the caps, by the way, may offer some protection for the neck against wind and snow. The cap is made in severe cold the Gilyak wear several undergarments under the fur coat. In particular, immediately next to it, for example, in Nikolaiewsk, there is a kind of cotton material or of cloth, the so-called nikiby in Gilyak, a garment somewhat of Chinese cut, which they wear in cold weather or on walks without a fur coat, with only the tulp around

/399 cont./

and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2). The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata) adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is by any authority in shape, silent in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Fl. XIX[9]). Usually a second knife is also worn at

5. On Fl. XVIII[10] one never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the ul-jibakho (Fl. XVII, Fig. 4)[11] quite indispensable to the Gilyak, which usually, just like the tinder-box, wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring at the lower end. It is always inserted in a form sheath made of Angelica root or of wood or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The ul-jibakho is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as elaborate articles of all of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinsô reports about them. It is, on the contrary, in the

/396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Ô-tsin ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's work, p. 205.

the above-mentioned kettle is the fire apparatus: a container for the tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak nchunjak, Fl. XXVIII, Fig. 1), or is elegantly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (5), or a box (Gilyak mlo, ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of Chinese cut, which they wear in cold weather or on walks without a fur coat, with only the tulp around

p. 189, of the present work).

See Category 16, Pp. 999, 998, 1011 and 1008 respectively—Analysis

/396 cont./

Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a fish, which is sewed together beforehand for the purpose and later hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tshilbatsche of the Gilyak (Salmo lycaodon Pallas), Sakhalin out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the northern part of the island of Sakhalin and called ojiro by the Gilyak. The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be inverted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that, after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper piece can be lifted off the lower one. On the inside there, the steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain (Gilyak, yaxi, Fl. XXVIII, Fig. 2) or is sometimes replaced by a bone tip (ibid., Fl. XXIX, Fig. 3) sometimes there is also found on this a bent, little iron ring pointed at the bottom (Fl. XXVIII, Fig. 1 and 2), which, as it can be easily separated and used for all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap, at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc. [The instrument (Gil. tsekki) is not infrequently also made of bone or horn, and as insignificant and unessential as it is, it is not also of Chinese title, on which gay-colored dragon figures (Fl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, and there is which the steel is represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fur

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragon on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, are only allowed to have four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des ven l'Empr. de la Chine

/397 cont./

(1. (comp. Ch. Gaubil, Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, Paris, 1781, p. 237 (Lettre à M. Bréy, Paris, year VI, Vol. II

/482 cont./

493 all along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rather,
192 if one thinks of the considerable length of the latter, with a
second pair of soles, the protective soles (Gilyak motass), b
in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden pegs
and, at their sharply reduced ends, also by means of leather straps
to the main soles. The sole-mountings are usually likewise of
wood and can easily be replaced when worn out. In the spring,
237 however, when the snow melting in the sun sticks to the wooden
sole and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mount-
ings, some made of whalebone are fastened to the sled, or the
wooden protective soles are covered with a whalebone plate, as
I have seen on several occasions, especially on Sakhalin, where this
material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic feature of the

237 1. As was discussed in the first volume of
493 this work (p. 193), these quite long whale-
192 bone plates come from a kind of whale which
171 the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably
136 is Balaena australis Desmoul, but as a rule
the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw
or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud.
(Gilyak keng), the one most frequently stranded
along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even
among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone
mountings are often used on the sleds, espe-
cially for travel over sea ice which is covered
with salt crystals that have separated out
(Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i po
Levod. moriu /Journey along the Northern
Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/,
Vol. II, p. 238). According to information
given by A. Schroot in the Leipziger Tageblatt,
237 bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as
bone skates, were formerly used in many
regions of Germany, for instance, in
the province of Brandenburg, in several
Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut,

/482 cont./

237 1. (cont.)
171 etc., and such bones have been found a
number of times in excavations in
Scandinavia, on Iceland, on the Zealand
Islands, in Friesland, Pomerania, in the
March, in Moravia, and even in the pile
dwellings of the Swiss lakes (St. Petersb.
Zeit., 1880, No. 58).

493 Gilyak sled is that when it is equipped with the protective soles
and is placed on firm level ground, the latter is touched by only
a small part of the sole, equivalent to about one-quarter of the
total length of the sled, while the two ends rise to a considerable
height above it. For example, in the case of the specimen meas-
ured by me, their distance from the ground amounted to one foot,
493 ten inches. Between the two ends of the thus shallowly arched
192 soles run, as sinews, the two longitudinal side-bars (Gilyak kigi,
c in the illustration) of the sled, which form the frame of the very
shallow sled-basket serving as a seat and for holding effects. They
rest on several thin little supports (Gilyak ich, d in the illustration)
set into the soles from above, and their ends, moreover, are con-
nected with the soles by means of a perforating wooden crosspiece
493 (Gilyak kemghi, h in the illustration). The ich, of which a/483/
Gilyak sled of regular size, like the one illustrated, has five on
either side, a smaller one only four, are rather wide and solid at
their ends, somewhat reduced toward the middle, and their posi-
tion and distance from one another and from the ends of the sled
likewise seem to be standardized by quite definite proportions. If
there are five of them, the middle one is exactly in the center of
the entire length of the sled, all the others are at a distance of
1' 10" from one another, that is, at precisely one-eighth of the
sled's length, and the distance of the two outermost ones (the
front and the back ich) on either side from the sled-ends is double
that, therefore 3' 8" or two-eighths of the length of the sled each.
The sled touches level and firm ground only with the part of the
soles which is found between the two supports standing next to the

493 /483 cont./
exception of the curved pieces of wood at both ends of the sled,
192 which are made out of the particularly flexible wood of the black-
824 alder tree, and the bottom of the sled used for sitting, which is
either likewise made of black-alder or of willow switches.

/484/ As is to be seen from the above description, lightness
is the basic characteristic of the Gilyak sled: it has no iron at all
and throughout is made only out of thin, carefully selected and
fitted pieces of wood also fastened together in part by means of
straps. It owes to the resulting flexibility its ability to withstand
even rough trails such as the forest or the river and sea ice all too
often present to it. It is not suitable, however, for carrying much
baggage and heavy loads. In this respect it falls far behind the
Russo-Siberian narte. This, generally provided with larger di-
mensions and wide soles, rests on the same principle as the ski,
the distribution of the load over the largest possible surface and
the greatest possible elimination of friction-resistance in move-
ment, for which purpose, before a trip, the soles are provided with a
thin layer of ice with a damp cloth, which to a certain extent sub-
stitutes for the fur covering of the ski (1). The narrow soles of the

1. The above-mentioned covering of the sled
soles with bone or whalebone plates serves
the same purpose.

Gilyak sled encounter only a little friction-resistance and therefore
do not need the ice coating; on the other hand, it does not allow
for a distribution of the load over a large surface and hence, even
with a small load, cuts too deeply into the snow to be able to glide
along easily. In accordance with its lightness and small size, the
Gilyak sled has little space for baggage, for the basket designed
for it is, as was pointed out, very shallow, only as deep as the
wooden longitudinal side-pieces rise above the switches forming
the bottom of the sled, and this is very little. To prevent the
237 baggage from falling off, a cover made out of fish skin (Gilyak
mytsch) is first spread over the bottom of the sled, the baggage
is placed on it, wrapped in it, tied crisscross to the sled with a
long strap.

493 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most
necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the
strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
192 shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
237 with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled,

104 2. The s here is soft, pronounced like
the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an
elk's head (Gilyak kotr-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongr-tyws, re-
spectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who,
with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see
p.1017/).

192 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive: to
192 the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nygtsch, Pl. XXXVI
237 /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at
regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-
leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in
Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without
the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap
(Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter
/485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the others
over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of
the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
192 Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking
trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the
like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with
high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-
dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called rüssk of the Gilyak, like those
illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The ac-
companying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar
is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief dis-
advantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with
their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement,
they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

/544 cont./
880 bartering with them. Tschomi plays the same role in the south-
225 ern part of the Amur-Liman that Langr does in the north. In
184 particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the
361 localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the
mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals,
however, the enterprising Tschomi Gilyak also go south of the
Amur-Liman into the Mamia-Rinsô Strait and to the northern
end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of
Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Poghobi,
for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-
Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth
of the Amur River, at Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, and Pronge,
where in particular the small island of Ulsut is an especially
favorable spot for it.

225 According to the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the
136 Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception
of the "alch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the old animals are
said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the
younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis
Schleg., which in the adult state is called phghi-langr by the
Gilyak, gjäuchssa by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is
therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak.
225 One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among
237 them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, as was dis-
136 cussed in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely
less important for them, however, is the kighitsch, the Ph.
barbata Müll., which is less common in the river and whose
thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the
foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the
225 straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to go about 60
versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy
and Plyi or Poron-ai (1), but as yet nothing is known about

113 1. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch
of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873,
p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

/558 cont./

123 152 203 1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

411 191 In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin [192] punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees [824] or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley [192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113] 2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

411 239 53 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104] 3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

411 239 [53] [192] [439] which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak 411 kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white 192 239 whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) [283] is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) [415] have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the 411 musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended 192 for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

G 223 [439] /565 cont./
article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers G [239] 411 [164] to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the 283 rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take 231 the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they 439 fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails G 231 there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors 439 on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with 114 raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, 136 Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which A 231 is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same 439 is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

G 325 191 /574 cont./
to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

G 714 [192] [239] The net armor (Gilyak kä-petsch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used G [239] for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it, otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account G [126] of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Mradamu in Ssabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 1/2 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the G [628] Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found G 714 in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me 126 shows the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the 556 opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

G 714 191 1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- women's
cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the sam

2: Schrenck--1001 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

237
292

291

XXI

everyday cap; 3 -- women's elegant
e made of lynx fur with sable trimming.

/469 cont./

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1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

276 415 (171) Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[z] and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily [237] [531] made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

276 574 The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. [439] I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

z [See category 116, P. 1014 — Analyst]

Ainu ABL

G 481 /474 cont./

As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). G [824] Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

A 481 824 113

3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 824 G 237

with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

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415
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412
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321

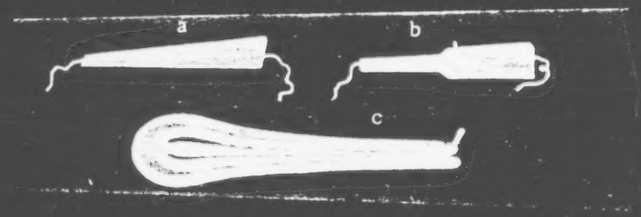
Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

534



Gilyak jew's-harps.

517
533 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
534 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[824] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means
[237] of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

/710 cont./

*796 amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the
[541] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the rive
[264] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

*796 From all the houses of the village the people congregated
824 around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of
[291] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and neck
[237] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the
231 bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi-
[156] ment. Chusisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

Goldi RX3

/731 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites, of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

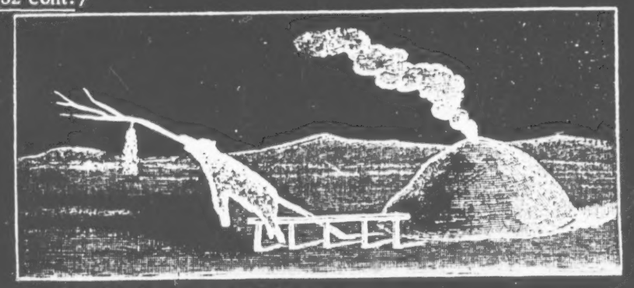
ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (zach) hanging down from their crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Duĭ, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/732 cont./



Bearskin hung up near the yurt.

If the head and leg pieces of the skin have already been cut off to be used as bowls at the bear-festival feasts, they are sewed back on the rump section on such an occasion, in order to make the skin look whole.

The narrow, low, and dark passageway leading into the earth yurt and the small entrance often closed only with a board that can be pushed in a horizontal direction instead of a door make it impossible to lead the bear in and out here, and in the interior of the yurt, taken up almost entirely by the hearth and the three sleeping-benches, there is no room for temporarily displaying even one bear, much less two or three (1). Thus this principal pleasure of the Amur

1. See the plan and the arrangement of a Gilyak earth-yurt, p. 452 of this work.

Gilyak during a bear festival must be renounced by their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin, in so far as there are only earth yurts there. The opportunity for this was first offered to the Gilyak when the earth yurts (toryf) originally customary among them even on the mainland, were replaced by houses built in the Chinese fashion (tschadryf), which in my day had already taken place throughout on the mainland, except for one earth yurt in Pättach, and to a large extent along the Liman coast of Sakhalin (2). At first, the conservative spirit which

2. See p. 469 above.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--229-230 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 241, 433

"If there were more friends of the Gilyaks like Mr. Pilsudski, who was a political exile on the island, they indeed might yet be saved from extinction. He recognized that their means of livelihood, hunting and fishing, were beginning to fail them, and therefore endeavoured to induce those who dwelt near the Russian settlements to cultivate potatoes and to salt fish. To the natives utterly unused to it, the work was extraordinarily exhausting; and one gave it up after two hours because 'his back ached,' while others eagerly sought permission to eat the seed potatoes! I fear, unaided and not followed up, [230] his efforts have failed, though after a great amount of persuasion he got several puds sown."

244

244 VEGETABLE PRODUCTION--gardening where differentiated from field agriculture; truck gardening; specialized production of particular root crops, leaf plants, or vegetable fruits (e.g., peanuts, potatoes, cabbage, beans, tomatoes, melons); special techniques and apparatus; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Preservation and storage . . . . . 251 Canning industry 255

Sakhalin

/350 cont./

Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent, have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently, iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single nail, though the Gilyak

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./ To make some money,

115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

246

246 FORAGE CROPS--specialized production of crops for animal fodder (e.g., hay, alfalfa, vetch); techniques of planting and harvesting; use of specialized tools, equipment, and machinery; organization of labor and production; processing (e.g., bailing); storage of product (e.g., in stacks, silos, barns) etc. See also:

Animal husbandry . . . . . 23 Barns and silos 343

1: Shternberg--501 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/350 cont./

177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
[372] and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 t
30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himsel
nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, th
hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal

324 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played
22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, afte
[184] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to trea
themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows o
guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bear
with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season
Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an im
portant part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autum
in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, return
ing from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sabl
on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen tree
which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th centur
[177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bo
[178] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel an
foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and larg
animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle
the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivk
had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths
some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russia
metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curve
adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and
forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces
massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the o
smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. T
887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harnes

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in the
462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparati
and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed t
skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed a
ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, d
the housework and took care of the dogs.

177 By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were qui
433 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collecti
production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impa
of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters w
lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks a
other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the incor
from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an i
significant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale a
sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fis
ing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 person
Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked duri
the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but
22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yuk
262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared w

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages. 177 648 474

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol. [241] [231]

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resistance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes. [361]

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen. 177 648 226 474

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals. [22]

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die." 177 648 241 474

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%. [241] [433]

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed. [231]

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza. 177 648 474 361

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses. 177 648 474 36 [342]

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs. 177 648 474 342 353

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats. 177 291 [294] [292]

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi. 177 262 758 [143]

9: Hawes--158 [2] T-3 (1901) 19
116, 181, 241, 433

"The Gilyaks are veritable children of t
therein. Cultivation of the soil is unknown
the flesh of beasts that fall to their snares
obtain tobacco, brick-tea, etc."

he forest, finding their home, food, and gods
to them, and they live mainly on fish and
s. By bartering the skins of such animals they

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/766 cont./

764 bystanders to step somewhat farther back, and there a group of men, women, and children sat under a tree, watching the greedy flames which consumed their dead.

Nearby was the cremation site of an old woman from the same village, who had died not long before /767/ and beside it the raff belonging to it, still quite new (*). This was now to

* The little hut to the right on Plate LXV /p. 1265 /; between it and the pyre, the cremation site.

serve as the raff for the old man, and its door was opened so that the soul of the deceased, during the cremation of his body, would move into this domicile intended for it.

At the moment only the customary raff symbols, discussed below (53-55 /pp. 1233-1234 /), and a few bowls and vessels made of birch bark and wood stood in it. After the corpse is burned, however, and his soul has moved into the raff (for traveling on to Mlygh-wo), then the provisions of berries, fish, tobacco, and the like needed for it are also brought into the raff. -- When the fire had died down somewhat, the widow and a few men took long poles and pushed the burning wood closer together; they also threw on new wood in order to speed up the cremation. Soon nothing could be seen of the corpse except the charred stomach, which burned the slowest. The quantity of material burned and the fresh air of the forest prevented any unpleasant odor from being detected during the cremation of the body. The fire was maintained for a long time so that the body would burn completely to ashes, which are then scraped together and buried (on the spot). In the meantime the women, and among them the wife of the deceased, take up the slain dogs (**) and begin to skin

[237] [294]

** On Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, and on Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, three dogs are erroneously shown instead of two.

G 764 /767 cont./

[237] [294] [262] them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the sk The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eat but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally become booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the vill (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

Gi 764 152 49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right b of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that w some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I vestigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched togethe wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in rep buike, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me her husband had died in the next village and she was lamen She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamen tion, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. I

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

G 764

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following c cerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corps are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the g /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). T

G [114]

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustra Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r p nounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the cente and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried the ground.

G [211]

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of 291
specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal 237
and elk skin, dog-fur, etc.

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; 302
they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly 114
interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there 614
were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship [60]
with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

7: Kreinovich--13 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 3. Pila-laŋr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825

Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qrγər is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-γəski is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-γəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' γəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-γəsχəl last year's γəsχəl.
4. [illegible]at next in age to tje-γəsχəl.
5. Siusui-γa next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta[illegible]a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Ar-fk - next in age to taγarγa, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored alχ and dalr - grey Alχ.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (maχt) and two upper ribs.

225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋoχt."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzγi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

1 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
2 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

1 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

7 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
5 They cut the suet (ŋɔ̃ʔ) into pieces. They put the pieces into
1 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tóm) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (ta) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

3 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
2 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

[93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur dialect the word jəjmd). In the direct object, which according to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate, the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the verb jajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem - hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb jajmnd 'to know') meaning 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first consonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin from the same stem and this is understandable for in the case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in the word hajm ar: hajm is derived from the intransitive form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.' ŋ is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmŋar means 'the knowing male' or 'old male.' The Amur hem is, of course, the same as hajm-ŋ in the Sakhalin dialect which change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance of ŋ in it is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its final ŋ's as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For instance, 'horse' is murŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in the Amur dialect, 'dog' is qanŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and qan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, contrary to the rules which would lead us to expect həjm as the counterpart of hajm; thus, həjmr instead of hemar. At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmŋar have the same meaning and, accordingly, hemanχ means a 'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use two words for man: azmət in the Sakhalin dialect and utku in the Amur dialect.

252 Hemanχ sat in squatting position at the trough containing
237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the snouts was untouched. First the old woman cut out the throat together with the tongue. Then she took out of the heqr kuti (?) the plant piskər placed there by the hunters. Then she pulled out the whiskers and put them in a separate cup. After

52 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
37 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋək and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

62 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
84 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
12 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
52 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-ŋək.

11 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
77 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
52 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

2 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

241

241 TILLAGE--plants cultivated and their relative importance; special treatment accorded each crop; intensity of cultivation (e.g., brand tillage); clearing of land; soil preparation (e.g., hoeing, plowing); use of fertilizers and irrigation; planting; care and protection of growing crops (e.g., weeding, fencing, scarecrows); tools and implements used; economic importance, and adequacy for needs, of agriculture; organization of labor and production; distribution of products; agricultural beliefs, taboos, and rituals; etc. See also:

Agricultural tools and appliances 41
Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Landuse 311
Irrigation systems 312
Granaries and barns 343
Fertilizer manufacture 387
Manufacture of agricultural machines 392
Agricultural machines 407
Fences 417
Ceremonial calendar 796
Ethnobotany 824

Gi 262 33 226 [224] [439] Gi 226 184

/538 cont./

extensive trade relations, keep a smaller number of dogs than the Gilyak, their requirements for winter supplies of fish are not as large as among the latter. And naturally they spend less time and effort on obtaining and preparing them. Linked with these more or less purely quantitative differences in the salmon fishing of the Olcha and Goldi in contrast to that of the Gilyak, there are also qualitative ones inasmuch as the individual species of salmon go up the Amur and its tributaries in varying numbers and frequency and therefore vary in their importance for some of the dwellers on it. Salmo proteus, for instance, highly regarded among the Orochi, the Gilyak on the coast and on the Amur, and the Negda on the Amgunj on account of its mass migrations, very soon loses its importance farther upstream. To be sure, it occurs throughout the Olcha area and is said to go up the small river emptying near the village of Kada as far as the lake in its upper course; indeed, a fine-meshed net used among them, as well as among the lower Goldi, for catching smaller fish bears the designation oko-magda after it, but it was not named for me among the Gorin fish by the Samagir in Ngagha, and it is likewise not mentioned by Maack, Przewalski, and others for the Ussuri. On the other hand, another species of salmon, S. lycaodon, which is less important to the Gilyak, receives greater consideration among the Olcha and Goldi. Whereas it plays only a very subordinate role in the mouth part of the Amur River, in comparison to the great masses of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, between whose migrations it appears in incomparably smaller numbers, its appearance farther upstream comes at a time when there are relatively few fish, in that the former gradually declines and the latter appears later, and therefore meets a definite need of the river dwellers. On July 3/15, 1855, I saw the Olcha of Adi and in the days following also the Goldi of Köurmi and the adjacent villages upstream busily catching chelke or sselke, as they call S. lycaodon; not only did they feast on the freshly caught fish, but they also took advantage of the great schools in which they traveled for the preparation of supplies, which the Gilyak, as a rule, disdain to do with this species of salmon (their well).

G [226] Gi [227] G [226] Gi [114] Gi [251]

/638 cont./

586 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

462 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In general, the man only has to attend to providing the most important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods inso[illegible] as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

462 462 22 [251] 462 [313]

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
● [251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting
[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/718 cont./

*796 just as it would be extremely uïtsch if one wanted to fry, not
252 bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for t
[784] bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
[263] shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, towar
[782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice a were intended for the forthcoming feast.

*796 In the morning of the following day (January 29) the o
[887] men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The you people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in ad
● [251] tional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the wom had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the fest

*796 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 anim
231 which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. The
541 were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled colla and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was d by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by th women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ende without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled th Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, whi the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear f
252 into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) a fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take t down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the sa way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the mea time, more life and commotion had entered into these prepa tions for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/25 cont./

man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact, these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals, the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish, pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds constitute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/382 cont./

In the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' balagan, they make chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-n'ngyvyn, the master of the mountains; the master says, "Az'nyr sikrd, urgur n'un'ujd, munkjd" -- "there are no more presents, make it so that I am not afraid, look after us well!" They make chukh-chugynd before a particular tree (uig-chkhar -- a taboored and forbidden tree); then they only feed the fire, saying: "Urgur in'ja, hiulan tugur mujd, pal'akh pong arguid -- eat well, make the mountain people take pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien kikhal. Only the master -- yz'ing -- may clean the fire, tugurmynd; /383/ the cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the summer quarters in spring; the rubbish is put in one place. Mos' for the fire is prepared also only by the yz'ing and his kikhal, but the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first evening they make the sacrifice to the hearth: "Urgur in'ja pal'akh ponargja nula n'ivukh mungja" -- eat well, make the mountain take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old takhej (trees with bifurcations) are stacked together, and new ones are made. Near the balagan there is an uig-takhej on which are hung sables, nooses, and so forth. The word to it: "Pal ponargja n'akh hiulan -- n'igyvyn mungja!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and make me successful in hunting the bear!"

Near the balagan is an uig-chkhar to which sacrifices are thrown merely with spoons -- no chkhnaj are made. They also feed kelnung an'kh (a bitch looking into a behind) and Lymyz'n mam.

Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the common takhej, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. Anyone from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled head of a sable is decorated with inau, placed on sticks on the front part of the hearth, nearer the ponang (the middle plank-bed), and rice, puchka, sarana, and mos' are stuffed through the opening in the back of its head and through its nostrils; then the head is eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have been put together in chumashki, sacrificial dishes are prepared, and the bones

/355 cont./

the low threshold and soaks the floor when the snow melts quickly or when there are heavy rains. Even these dwellings, however, become impossible in summer because of the warm sleeping benches, which inevitably are heated each time food is cooked, and because of the above-mentioned vermin, and, finally, the catching of fish carried on in this season of the year requires the move into the summer dwellings, which are more favorably and conveniently located for it.

The summer dwelling of the Gilyak is of the same type everywhere, on the continent as well as on Sakhalin, and bears the same designation in both places: kkryf. The most striking exterior feature is that it rests on piles which rise four to five feet above the ground. Only at isolated points on the west coast of Sakhalin, south of the Amur-Liman, especially in Tangi, Choji, Arkai, and Dui, did I see summer houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, as those resting on piles (1). The aim that the Gilyak have in

1. The large village on Nadeshda Bay at the northern tip of Sakhalin (Ngyvr-wo, see p. 467 above), which was visited by Krusenstern, had summer houses resting on piles. See his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 182.

in mind with this construction on piles is a twofold one: first, to protect their dwellings against inundations, since the Amur, as a result of prolonged rainfall, often rises considerably and floods the lower stretches of its banks; and then also to make the houses airier and drier by setting them not directly upon the damp ground but somewhat above it, with a constant flow of air under them and penetrating even into the house itself through the crevices in the floor; this is all the more necessary since part of the fish supply is stored in them. Both may also have been decisive for the Gilyak living along the seacoast, for there, too, depending on the locality, a sudden rise of the waters as a result of stormy winds must be reckoned with, and

/357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

/357 cont./

yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

The above description also applies, apart from the specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter, one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crossposles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

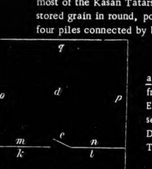
1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

/358 cont./ For the storing of the supplies prepared in Sum

there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njõ, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, inde

2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered



Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njõ, njo).

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, e -- rear section. c -- Door between them. f to q -- The eleven wall surfaces.

with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

/426 cont./

SS 262 (in that they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment,
171 and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the
25 country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables
obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese,
SS Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples
[184] of the Amur region primarily differ from one another as far as
food is concerned only in that fish among some or meat among
others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal
food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relation with the Chinese or Japanese.

Among all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are
G *262 the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their
G life without fish; it is the condition sine qua non of their own
[231] existence as well as that of their only domestic animal, the dog,
which provides them with food as well as transportation and
G clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak
G *262 would not, if necessary, use as food. But standing in the first
222 rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal
25 appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the
large supply needed to last through the long winter when fish
are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers
from the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall.
(Gilyak hyghl-tscho, or on Sakhalin lagu-tscho) and Salmo
proteus Pall. (Gilyak /426/ tengi-tscho) play the principal role (1).

G [104]

1. In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka
and northwestern America, the Russian terms
for these two species of salmon are keta and
gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall re-
fer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha
salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and
its tributaries, which falls in June for S. proteus, in August for S.
lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for
everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the later species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[142] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
[142] side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1 3/4),
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[190] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term,
probably originally stemming from Kam-
chatka, customary among the Russians
throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried
fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and
Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it,
which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying
it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for
the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalongi of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which
provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders
and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror
by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe
is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
262 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
252 (Gilyak weli), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[226] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longi-schi), Salmo
leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out
2/3 (See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively—Anakes)

/431 cont./

*262 1. (cont.)
[113] topograf. Sbom., St. Petersburg, 1870,
p. 13).

[114] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen
[231] them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like
*262 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw,
252 whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even
preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a
general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat,
a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for
whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first
sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "ultsch, ultsch" (un-
lucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to
●[251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they
[171]

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points
out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak
that they do not like frying, in contrast to
the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut
in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from
it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their
supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from
its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of
many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as
fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this
ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the
closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the
food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the
other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important
*262 and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white
136 whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak gomi-tscho), which,
with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

/438 cont./

*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the
Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are
generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local,
wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits,
tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods
[252] are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with
[137] it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccinium
vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-ah (?), or also /439/ simply called
[104] 7. The j is soft in pronunciation in this
word, like the French z.

ah, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them with

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east
coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or
paghla(n)-ah, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and
the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the
222 fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this
[221] purpose whole families, but in particular the women and chil-
dren, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying
into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or
merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected,
in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to
the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayevk post,
on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such
families picking berries. The berries are poured into large,
●[251] birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house,
where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a
frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around
Nikolayevk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of
their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the
262 Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil
*262 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment
for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

/440 cont./

*262 (Gilyak tym-ah), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[137] does not replace the former two in the moss). Other berries, too,
such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L.
(Gilyak edeni-ah), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not
important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] hitrynch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin
pilj-ah, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the
Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn
called pilja-iatsch by the Gilyak there;
see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande
und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the
Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/"
(Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb.,
seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp.
213, 215).

●[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[258] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the
kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to
a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrr),
[142] the primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[137]

2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding
[192] trees are called tassi (Prunus padus) and
chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[198] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and,
with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/441 cont./

252 prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe,
*262 finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The
[137] Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially
reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chitwyrk) (3), and
[192]

3. Among the Olcha: chity.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwlch, and, to be sure, distin-
guished as kana (white) and piula (blue) tschwlch), for food by
making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vege-
[137] table food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they
call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak putsch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the
same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants,
in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, where-
upon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white
[192] color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in
[101] small stocks for the winter, which they may have learned from
●[251] the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu busy at it and
annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up
Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

*262 While the natural vegetable products discussed above are
443 of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are avail-
[171] able to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though
not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the
greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of
scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies
of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation.

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular
the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its
tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy
matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the
Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves
onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply
with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or
pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and
●[251] children participate in this work, and within a short time one
[258] boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the
previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting
up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken.
[142] While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more
new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn
across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the
whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as
[142] the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where
fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending
fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets
suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen,
in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream
toward the ascending fish and draw up the fish that they may have
one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two
men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some
distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with
the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in
the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently
filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about
and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in
order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces,
226 drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are
given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight
differences in shape and the manner in which they are used
and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species
of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size
[192] of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

equent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England landscape. Hills and low ountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beauful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to ummit, sloped gently to the water's edge or retreated here nd there behind bits of green meadow. In the distance was background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark n shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly along. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or he motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier descended the Saint Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Quebec. saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the cenery of my first day's voyage on the Amoor.

Soon after leaving Nicolayevsk we met several loads of hay loating with the current to a market at the town. On the neadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and hay reuires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day ve passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the hort scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it vas dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like arts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished wice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, nd is delivered at Nicolayevsk for six or eight dollars a ton. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the conlition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flatbottomed boats are employed, and held about twelve feet part by timbers. A floor on these timbers and over the oats serves to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both nds of the boats, and when once in the stream there is little o do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one f these barges appears like a haystack which an accident as set adrift.

We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the urrent or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the

249

249 SPECIAL CROPS--specialized cultivation of plants not classifiable under the foregoing headings (e.g., cinchona, indigo, oil palm, opium poppy, rubber, sugarcane, tobacco); techniques of planting and harvesting; use of specialized tools and equipment; organization of labor and production; processing prior to shipment or industrial use (e.g., curing, refining, grading); etc.

See also:

Manufacture and use of narcotics 27
Confectionery industries 257
Condiments 263
Rubber industry 383
Dyes 386

Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

HM /467 cont./
276 Moreover, one may safely assume that, like the Daur and Manchu
17 in the Sungari region, the tribal relatives of the Manchu who were formerly distributed from the Sungari along the southern Amur River to far below the mouth of the Ussuri, approximately to the present Goldi village of Dondon, the Djutscheren, who lived in large farming and livestock-raising villages (4), also cultivated

4. See pp. 316 ff. above.

SS tobacco among other things. Finally, it must have also spread
Gi from the Sungari and from Korea to the upper Ussuri and down this
276 river to the Amur. There can be no doubt but that even before
17 the Russian military expeditions in the seventeenth century the Goldi had become acquainted with tobacco and its cultivation from the Manchu (Djutscheren) neighboring them, indeed, in part
SS even living mixed in with them. Even today, tobacco is culti-
Gi vated not only by individual Chinese living in the area, but also
[249] by them themselves, on the Ussuri as well as on the Amur, and on the latter, strangely enough, exactly as far as the dwelling sites of the Djutscheren formerly extended. For, going upstream, we found the first Goldi cultivation of tobacco in the village of Da, which lies on the right bank of the Amur, opposite the above-mentioned Dondon located on an island. Like the Goldi, the Orochi living on the sources and tributaries of the Ussuri also obtained tobacco in this way. Furthermore, the other peoples of
G the lower Amur region, the Olcha, Samagir, Negda, and Gilyak,
[276] in contact with the Goldi as well as with the Manchu and Chinese
[249] on the Amur and Sungari, must have also become acquainted with
Gi tobacco as early as the seventeenth century even though tobacco
[249] could not be cultivated among them because of climatic and
G other reasons. Finally, through the Gilyak and Olcha of the
Gi mainland tobacco also reached their countrymen, the Gilyak
276 and Orok of Sakhalin, whereas the third people of the island, the
17 Ainu, probably received it from /468/ another source, directly
G from the Japanese (1). Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had
SS
[192]

1. The designation for tobacco, as among

251

251 PRESERVATION AND STORAGE OF FOOD--techniques of food preservati
(e.g., drying, smoking, pickling, refrigeration, home canning); use of preservatives and special equipment; accumulation and storage of supplie and reserves; etc. Data on culturally elaborated or commercialized techniques of preservation and storage should be filed under the more specialized categories below. See also:

Granaries . . . . . 343 Warehousing 48

Hawes--207 T-3 (1901) 1903

, 171, 251, 262

"However unpleasant to the stranger . . . smoke-curing of
lasts may be, it is one of the few advantages that they ca
e latter is entirely dependent on a sunny season for the d
ould be rainy, then he will be in danger of starvation befo
sufficient accumulation of stores; for dried fish is bread
ring the long winter. The Orochon, on the other hand, af
. . . . . slices and cuts them up and cures them in the shelt

fish by the Orochons while
n claim over the Gilyaks.
rying of his catch, and if it
ore winter is over, from an
and meat to these tribes
ter hanging his fish to drain,
er of his hut over his fire."

9: Hawes--256-257 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of food, the 'bread' of the G
is necessarily of great importance to them. The winter stor
generally consumed by December, and then comes the hard
arrival of the seals in April there is only one other visitant.
aeglefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gilyak tongue, kan-hi. If
shore and gazes seaward, he will see black specks among th
the figures of men wrapped from head to foot in skins, and t
In their [257] hands are sticks with big hooks attached, and
coming to the hole made in the ice, and grabbing at the hook
a man has been known to catch as many as 300 in a day."

ilyaks, the summer supply
es of sun-dried kita are
time for them. Until the
This is the haddock (Gadus
one is sledging along the
e gleaming ice. They are
hey are hooking haddock.
the hungry and stupid fish
, is caught. By this means

0: Bush--103 T-2 (1865) 1871
16, 251, 354

Many of their houses are heated by a fire in the centre of the ro
leeping ranged around the sides, and a square hole in the roof f
hrough, while others have the fire in a kind of oven in one corne
being conducted entirely around the room, under the bunks, befo
chimney. This is in order to heat their beds during the winter.
afters overhead they frequently have hundreds of salmon curing
This is called 'ukale' by the Russians, and, when carefully prep
he woman as made 'em,' as Sam Weller said of veal pies--are

om, the bunks for
for the smoke to escape
er, the smoke and heat
ore escaping from the
Suspended to the
in the dense smoke.
ared--'and you know
quite palatable."

116, 251, 343, 412

"We came upon an old Gilyak and his wife, who sa
rakish knife, which is the men's hunting and 'gene
fish was split open, a nd with a short-bladed and
woman's fish and domestic knife (ungu dzhakho)—
cut from each side, leaving for remainder the hea
flesh adhering. All these were then hung up to dr
the 'village green,' or 'market-place,' of the Gily
sumption, and woe betide the Gilyaks if August (O
13 days earlier than the Gregorian calendar.] whi
prove a rainy month, for then only a small quanti
against the winter, and stores will give out early,
tunately, sunny weather [174] had this year attend
of sun-dried fish were hanging in rows upon rows,
strange-looking coffin erections, consisting of a s
forked stakes. These stakes were, in 'well-regula
pieces of bark, umbrella-shaped, to prevent the r

t slicing and cleaning kita. With a long
ral-purposes' knife (dzhakho), the
curved edition of the former—the
he kita was cleaned. Two slices were
d and tail and backbone, with some
in the sun, this drying-ground being
aks. The slices were for human con-
.S.) [LSS: The old style calendar is
ch is the chief season of fish-drying,
y of their staple food will be prepared
and many will die of starvation. For-
ed their efforts, and goodly quantities
to be eventually consigned to those
hort log hollowed out and perched on
ated establishments,' encircled with
avages of rats and other vermin."

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

251 able and have no occasion to consult the tastes or smell of others. The first time I visited one of their fish-curing places I thought of the western city that had, after a freshet, 'forty-five distinct and different odors beside several wards to hear from.'

133 Above Mariensk the Amoor valley is often ten or twenty miles mide, enclosing whole labyrinths of islands, some of great extent. These islands are generally well out of water and not liable to overflow. Very few have the temporary appearance of the islands of the lower Mississippi. Here and there were small islands of slight elevation and covered with cottonwoods, precisely like those growing between Memphis and Cairo.

GILYAK WOMAN.

The banks of this part of the Amoor do not wash like the alluvial lands along the Mississippi and Missouri, but are more like the shores of the Ohio. They are generally covered with grass or bushes down to the edge of the water. There are no shifting sand-bars to perplex the pilot, but the channel remains with little change from year to year. I saw very little drift wood and heard no mention of snags. The general features of the scenery were much like those below Mihalofski.

The numerous islands and the labyrinth of channels often permit boats to pass each other without their captains knowing it. One day we saw a faint line of smoke across an island three or four miles wide; watching it closely I found it

252

252 FOOD PREPARATION--processing of edible materials (e.g., grinding, cutting, mixing); cooking methods and techniques (e.g., broiling, roasting, baking, boiling, frying); use of special apparatus (e.g., mills, motors, earth ovens, stoves); use of cooking implements and utensils; recipes; associated beliefs and practices; etc. Data on culturally elaborated or commercialized techniques of food preparation should be filed under the more specialized categories below. See also:

Household implements and utensils	41	Meals	264
Slaughtering	231	Cookhouses	343
Manufacture of butter and cheese	234	Ovens and stoves	354
Condiments	263	Fire and fuel	372

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/382 cont./

224 782 In the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' bal hey make chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-n'igyvyn, the of the mountains; the master says, "Az'myr sikrá, urgur n'i munkjá" -- "there are no more presents, make it so that I a afraid, look after us well!" They make chukh-chugynd bef particular tree (uig-chkhar -- a tabooed and forbidden tree) hey only feed the fire, saying: "Urgur in'ja, hiulan tugur m pal'akh pong argujá -- eat well, make the mountain people pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien k:khal. the master -- yz'ing -- may clean the fire, tugurmynd; /3 the cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the ner quarters in spring; the rubbish is put in one place. Mos the fire is prepared also only by the yz'ing and his k:khal, b the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first eveni they make the sacrifice to the hearth: "Urgur in'jà pal'akh ponargjà mula n'ivukh mungjà" -- eat well, make the moun take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old takhej (tree with bifurcations) are stacked together, and new ones are m Near the balagan there is an uig-takhej on which are hung s nooses, and so forth. The word to it: "Pal ponargjà n'akh n'igyvyn mungjà!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and ma successful in hunting the bear!"

Near the balagan is an uig-chkhar to which sacrifices thrown merely with spoons -- no chkhnaj are made. They feed kelnung an'kh (a bitch looking into a behind) and Lym mam.

[251] Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the mon takhej, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. one from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled h [252] of a sable is decorated with inau, placed on sticks on the fr part of the hearth, nearer the ponang (the middle plank-bed rice, puchka, sarana, and mos' are stuffed through the ope in the back of its head and through its nostrils; then the hea eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have bee together in chumashki, sacrificial dishes are prepared, and

343 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild ani-
685 mals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping
415 goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles,
777 knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

257 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

231 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves

"The river [LSS: the Amur] at this point
extensive plains of meadow-land burdened
on either hand, in the distance, faint blue h
the plains, and, in many places, extend to
clusters of foliage, the tasty though filthy C
near the sandy beach. One of these we cam
front of each house, upon the beach, were c
elevated, fancifully-carved prows, and all
natives toiling at their long seines, and str
that glittered in the sunlight like heaps of s
suspended on light poles under bark or stra
main until required for use, they being her
nance of both men and dogs during the long
bark and roots of various trees, constitute
though many of the more hardy vegetables c
they content themselves with the food that n

The river at certain seasons of the year
effort is required to capture them [90] that
that would adorn banquets in many places a

is nearly a mile in width, and flows through
with a rank growth of tall grass, beyond which
ills limit the vision. Patches of woodland dot
the river-bank, where, beneath the thick
Gilaks erect their picturesque habitations
ne upon shortly after leaving Marinsk. In
drawn up their odd-shaped canoes, with
along the shores we could see the bare-legged
ewing the banks with hundreds of fine salmon,
ilver. These fish are afterward split, and
w-covered shelters to dry, where they re-
e, as in Kamtchatka, intended for the suste-
winter months. Fish and berries, with the
almost the only food of the inhabitants, and,
could be had at the expense of a little toil,
ature showers upon them.
is literally alive with salmon, and so little
they are considered almost valueless. Fish
re here thrown to the dogs by hundreds."

stream. This fence is fish-proof, except in a few places where holes are purposely left.

The natives lie in wait with skiffs and hand-nets and catch the salmon as they attempt to pass these holes. I watched a Gilyak taking fish in this way, and think he dipped them up at the rate of two a minute; when the fish are running well a skiff can be filled in a short time. Sometimes pens of wicker work are fixed to enclose the fish after they pass the holes in the fence. The salmon in this case has a practical illustration of life in general: easy to get into trouble but difficult to get out of it.

GILYAK MAN.

For catching sturgeon they use a circular net five feet across at the opening, and shaped like a shallow bag. One side of the mouth is fitted with corks and the other with weights of lead or iron. Two canoes in mid stream hold this net between them at right angles to the current. The sturgeon descending the river enters the trap, and the net proceeds of the enterprise are divided between the fishermen.

It requires vision or a guide to find a fishing station, but the sense of smell is quite sufficient to discover where salmon are dressed and cured. The offal from the fish creates an unpleasant stench and no effort is made to clear it away. The natives and their dogs do not consider the scent disagree-

found Vanka and Armunka had the slices
e. Running into the forest, they had deftl
g off the leaves, and slitting them lengthw
fish, extended by two cross-pieces, the
th the green rind."

of the salmon already grilling in front of a
ly cut and prepared two willow twigs, strip
vise. In each of these was inserted a slice
slit-ends at the same time being bound up

vear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which re decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads re bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings hemselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of olored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden mulets representing human figures.

Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak ersonality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their ipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of lack horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth iece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is o larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone pike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe leaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk f walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and his is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as hey have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and obacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a ay. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or ursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, nly on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, e undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak akes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. rom an eyewitness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winer journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen turgeon in one day [110]

Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types f carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A reshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the almon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose he fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from he ground; by means of air currents they become a dried nonotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita rovides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears t the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored n a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

231 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.

231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. Whenever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.

262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animal is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.

They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner. They cut the suet (ŋɔ̃ʒ) into pieces. They put the pieces into a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (taχ) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

[93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient

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are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the bear. The remaining beasts are signed kasik (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

During the hunting with nonnes (nochakhir ĉ'ŋŋundu), a woman must not sew anything sewn or pierced with a needle in her house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not salute any other hunting nonnes. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien man may take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If any person commits an offence against ☀ dog, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

/327/ Sakhalin, where nonnes are hunted, is called ŋundu, ĉ'ŋŋundu, or ŋundu. In Ishdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is being hung on the branches of this tree, so that the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a rite to shoot a wolves.

Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a ŋgr (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

Men in made twice a year (in summer after the salmon, and in autumn before the salmon). Men must eat unfailingly; all a great number of dogs owned (a minimum of four), and plenty of meat; and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be [illegible] Ishdam). In general a great deal is done for the sake of ritualism.

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Germans give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this. As recently as a generation ago wood was a valuable thing. /329/ Canoes and sledges were made of wood, and furniture was dear. Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire — a method used in burning the deceased. The Gilyak's attitude to wood is so much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their conscientious care for rewinge have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... *But ye or nature or the* to which their civilization stopped.

Fish, the staple food of the Gilyak, the basic food of the Gilyak is the ready products of nature — fish, fowl, berries, roots; he is yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating the creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak habitations are never where water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their ancestors knew pottery made of wood, clay, and stone. Knowledge of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the-most elementary form of pottery. Yet pottery, the sign of a feature of the culture, of "savages." Along with this, we have another fact — the training of dogs for sled sweat — a trait which raises them up step to the first stage of barbarism (so use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

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5. The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to Gilyak, Orochi, Ainu, and Japanese, is celebrated by the clan, even through /333/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is always brought in nonnes in the clan, but all the expeditions in connection with the festivals are covered by the clan-mates. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and are given, in the end, a very numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The bear, which is the totem of the clan, determines its character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a human festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real victory for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the celebration of the bear festival in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival. The ceremonial, performed, as it seems in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable. All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the spirits of the forest, which place in the winter "Pal'-ninak." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor. In most cases he shows in the dogs, it cannot be eaten with meaningy, etc. "Pal'-ninak" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bear to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, do not participate in the eating of the bear. The fire in the stove is which the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan priest. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, especially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy themselves with drying the entire catch on racks. A hundred-tail cut is made from the head to the tail, the backbone is removed, the head and one half of the body are left attached to the tail, and thereby a long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 5, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1) and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head; then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them is cut into two long strips, and each of these strips has a rib in upper end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is the yukola (?), the staple food of the Gilyak, which has a special character of the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a human festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real victory for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the celebration of the bear festival in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival. The ceremonial, performed, as it seems in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable. All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the spirits of the forest, which place in the winter "Pal'-ninak." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor. In most cases he shows in the dogs, it cannot be eaten with meaningy, etc. "Pal'-ninak" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bear to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, do not participate in the eating of the bear. The fire in the stove is which the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan priest. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not keeping the meat of the bear, which is considered to be a special kind of food, which is not permitted to be eaten by the Gilyak, but is given as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lygdi-ma and tangi-ma, always giving preference to the former over the latter, for them, in the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (?) —

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 75) descriptions of the Gilyak's bear festival, which is the chief festival of the Gilyak tagoschphas, as the Gilyak call their bear festival —

2. As it will known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russian throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makant of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is prepared in a special way, is called the jukola. It is made in more readily, furthers the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs. The jukola is the chief of the dogs of the Olcha and Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milk, rejected with horns by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, among which it is especially prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall. (Gilyak yeŋ), which comes up the Amur regularly before the salmon, Salmo callarii Pall. (Gilyak longi-ŋdi), Salmo hucho (Gilyak ŋaŋgi), etc. The jukola made out

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(cont.)

Angelbis-Angel-Sachen-Sammlung für Ethnographie und Anthropologie (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersbourg, Vol. XIV, pp. 57-58) —

On March 6/18 1856 when we arrived at the village of Pechenkovsk at the mouth of the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish supplies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the natives would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But further up the Amur some are caught at particular times of the year, when the river is frozen, even in winter. In 1850 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post to ample with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tabki-nerka (?). In winter, it seems, it more common and lower river, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /329/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular, since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they [illegible] almost unknown to us. Although the Gilyak did not feed, in the winter, dogs much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which they caught in the Amur, is considered a special food, and, indeed they also make use of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the beer festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration; though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival. Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these fish; in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less tasty pieces and mixed with the fish-meal, which remains with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/329 cont./

February 1856, thought that it occurred very frequently in the taiga of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

The traditional Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infrequently bring some pieces of chot-ucha to the Amur as a special delicacy.

Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habitation since antiquity on the seacoast where there are no river deltas or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greater importance to them is a fish which is found in the sea and in the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

Next to fish, which forms the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly in all the places in their habitation, they also eat, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as the Amur and its tributaries, most people live in villages, where they also have the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins is cut from the fish, then a second one, and finally the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chabi, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the tagiŋ-chabi and tangi-chabi. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of them with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniment, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

/320 cont./ Мыхоуфкъ

with regard to these and similar views, there are many local differences among the Gilyak villages. The Gilyak of Pechenkovsk at the mouth of the Amur, for example, when they catch the kangi fish, which is the most important food for the dogs, in the Limun, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschonti Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern coast of the island, where they spend the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more inhabited part of the Limun, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

Next to fish, which forms the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly in all the places in their habitation, they also eat, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as the Amur and its tributaries, most people live in villages, where they also have the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins is cut from the fish, then a second one, and finally the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chabi, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the tagiŋ-chabi and tangi-chabi. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of them with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniment, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

/320 cont./

1. (cont.)

topograf. Shem., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 12).

the main use that they make of it, but on the Limun I have seen [illegible] the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even particularly fond of it. Nevertheless, the Gilyak, in general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition which is not shared by the Gilyak in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "ajhish, ajhish" (or [illegible]) was raised, and I was asked to stop it. It is more difficult to [illegible] the cooking (?). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 202) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like the fat, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices and with the skin attached, most popular of all foods among them is, which is in general very strong them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from the ordinary seasoning, as a medicine against all possible ailments, many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by the ingredient, which becomes more pleasant and more essential to closer study/comes to the Amur-Limun and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

1. Ed. Sperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Yomskoi. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Medito-

/A86 com./
been not be a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, without an ceremony. Such a thing would appear scarcely enough, however, if individual animals are starved or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1896, in the company of a few traveling Gilyak people and Tyrs (Orochi). In order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and commissioned, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the tundra, a pot being added to the shiela soup for the dogs, and—characteristically enough—I saw the women occupied with sharp preparations into off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and had another little piece cut off of it as a charm, which women seemed to enjoy very much. On another occasion, in the village of Dul, I was a witness to the sacrifice of a dog in the company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration belonging to a bear festival held there a short time before, taken of which were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of lovelals furnished by me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disembowled, the meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in the pelts. /A87 Inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the bench, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (b), was

1. The details concerning this ceremony will be found in the pertinent section specifically treated in this subject.

marked off by two pelts, one of which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of this, curly, crimped wood

/A88 com./
Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far inferior. In the Sea of Okhotsk, the Gilyak are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the lazed, wild, nature products, such as the roots, shoots, small sea-blade, lubet, berts, algae, and seaweed. All of these vegetable foods are eaten only as accessories to animal food. For the purpose of meal, the fish skins, from /A89 fish-skin or tanga-skin, are cut up in small pieces, well washed and stirred with fish oil to a mash of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (pour

/A90 com./
are a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, in the soup, which, in the case of the people living on the Amur, is called mamy. This is a mixture of ground fish-skins, or lacking them, of chopped fish, with water and millet. For the preparation of mamy, the fish skins, from /A91 fish-skin or tanga-skin, are cut up in small pieces, well washed and stirred with fish oil to a mash of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (pour

[104]

Ab, i.e., "berry" (1), in particular stands first among them with

1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry ther or ther-ghi, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold use and the nutrients that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the fall great stores are laid in for the winter. For the purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the Amur from swamp into the Amur or to another place, where there are to be found merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a fire burns, and the whole time is spent perfectly settled the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamt and Lunch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, bark-lined baskets and carried home. In the Gilyak yurt the baskets where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition as the supply demands. The Gilyak around Nikolayevk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs, they could sell a large number, they also supplied the Russian there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil (2) are stored, prepared, in the Gilyak winter, nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the dark dog does not at all stand in the chow, individual, and to a certain degree personal

/A92 com./
Gilyak tyn-ulch, is eaten with and in great quantities, but only in the season, in the summer, when the berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelarh, R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak ulach-ulgh, etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L. (Gilyak ghlyuvun), which is very common on Sakhalin (ghl-ulch, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the hazel tree (Ulg), according to Gilyak called ghlu-ulach by the Gilyak there; see Schrenk, "Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande" und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/ (Gotha: Perthes, 1881-1903), Vol. II, Sec. 1, p. 215, 215).

Gilyak. The hogs, gathered for storage in the fall, are, at I have seen, fed with fish, bread, potatoes, and mixed with seal-oil to a mash which is eaten with spoons.

Among the Gilyak, the most powerful chewing apparatus of the Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruit of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak ulch), primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by

2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding word is ulch-ghlu (Gilyak ghlu, potato) and chim (Prunus cembra, pumila).

/A93 com./
of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria tamuschkatschi Gmel. (Gilyak kaly) and of Allium ascalonicum Linn. (Gilyak nash), which are not so strong on cook and hanging in their vicinity, cooked, shortened the water was wrung out of the leaves in the Gilyak yurt, and, after being cooled, stored in the cellar. Nikolayevsk was so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs, they could sell a large number, they also supplied the Russian there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil (2) are stored, prepared, in the Gilyak winter, nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the dark dog does not at all stand in the chow, individual, and to a certain degree personal

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/A95 com./
bandfish, like the salmon berries, without first crushing the kernels or even cracking the shells. The nuts, which, in fact, are a lime-wine not more a kind of cake is made out of them. In this connection the hazel nut is also mentioned and also appreciated on the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/A96 com./
which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyn, on Sakhalin kyn. The kernels and shells of the nuts, the nutshells, too, are put in the bath to make them tender, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the most islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Sagi-oul (oul means island in Gilyak) (Sagi, Sagi-oul, Sagi-oul, which the Russian have extended to the entire Sakhalin group, and the peninsula Gilyak poroth).

2. The nuts given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Schrenck and Maximowicz in the "Prémière étude, Sagi-oul." St. Petersburg, Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1860 (Mélanges Biologiques, Tome III, p. 1 et seq.). Cf. also Maximowicz, "Diagnoses plantarum novarum Asiaticarum" (Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, Tome III, 1861, p. 1 et seq.). Cf. also Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Gotha: Perthes, 1881-1903), Vol. II, Sec. 1, p. 215, 216, 217.

/A97 com./
species of leeks (Gilyak hash), for the most part from Allium ascalonicum Linn. (Gilyak nash), on the mainland, and Allium ochotense L. on Sakhalin, are put in the bath to make them tender, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

1. Among the Gilyak: chim, a tree name, Cimus (Gilyak tschuch), and, to be sure, Cimus sylvestris (white) and pyrus (Mon) tschuch), for food by making soup out of them with the addition of fish oil or seal oil; a vessel, a pot, in which the nuts are boiled, which is the preparation of a kind of cake or small loaf of bread. For this purpose, it is first cut up into small pieces and then put through a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of wood, cut off a piece, and, with the aid of a knife, it is needed ran into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the beach, and, finally, stored in the cellar for the winter. Gilyak: ghlu, potato, and chim, another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing the flour with the fish oil, which, in the bilberries or cranberries (Vaccinium vitis-idaea) (cowberry) and stirring this to a mash. Only the Gilyak who live on the Amur and Sakhalin, as well as the Tymy, are acquainted with this, according to Schrenck (1), for their part

2. Gilyak, op. cit., p. 215-216.

3. Op. cit., p. 98.

Imported it from the Japanese, who keep the Aino busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artifically rolled up Lart-leaves from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

The Gilyak, who live on the mainland, in contrast where are of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are available in great quantities, for example, in the Amur, Kamt, Pogibi, and Tymi, Lunch, Kamt, Pogibi, and Tymi, Lunch, Kamt, Pogibi, and Tymi, Lunch

/639 cont./

since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dog, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
*796 punision by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparation for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing baskets and -bags, and small boxes made from out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work even for a moment, whereas the men, upon his return from hunting or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/708 cont./

house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been men-
(B54) tioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, unlike large quantities of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twink) are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festival, which may be one of the attractions of homage which are given to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them. Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of burned pine needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

*796 (B24) On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
23 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their
last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place
of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak,
and arranged and carefully bound there between the stakes standing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again the same so that the small bear was closest to the building in the
*796 middle of the kadhra, the lingr, the large one in the middle, and
the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody
went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had
set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden trought, round
wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the
central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood
The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench
(B74) along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such
an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule,
it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/716 cont./ At this unknown,
*796 after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation
(B52) of a toad (Gilyak mipitnch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from
the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see
the model, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the
adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to
represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig.
3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and
*796 (B88) (B89) (B87) (B88) (B87) (B87) (B87

/733 cont./
*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.
*796 Since the hearth platform is raised up quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadyf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir
[192]

1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin,

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
178 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
355 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four cross-beams supporting the conical roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt. In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of
[171] them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

225 morning we returned to our village. We took everything out
and put it on the dock. Then we slept. Next day we got up
225 in the morning and called the people. We took off the head,
252 cut it up, fed the head to the people raw, (1) and cooked the
782

1. The Gilyaks call all raw food taig. The Gilyaks eat certain kinds of fish such as Siberian salmon and certain parts of seals and beluga raw.

parts designed for cooking as well as the jaws. After we cooked it, we took it out. Some ate the meat; others took off the meat from the jaws and ate it. Then we went to gather Hepsas. Then we brought it, cooked it, ground it and made muvi. Then we got some rowan shavings and sieved them (in the case of the beluga). Then we took the head; we took it to throw it out. Here we cut off a young tree. We cut off a forked aldera tree. We spread muvi over the shavings and in the nose of the beluga; we spread muvi on the holy bones. We stuck the tree through the ear-ring holes of the beluga, lifted it and hang it up here. Then we lifted the holy bones (jugular vertebrae) and tied them to the tree. We put down the jaws and pressed them with a stick.

Means of transportation and hunting:
1--river boat made of boards; 2--old dugout; 3--club for killing seal; 4--broke poles used in steering sled; 5--old dog-harness; 6--fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
782 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of muura ("scoops for scooping water of the boat"), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant aya, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fand [major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major feeding of the water'] is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.
225 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
782 mos and muvi --one rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
776 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
825 (a, a). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak--the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-skin bows (mam-r) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.
782 When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
225 Women are not present at this ceremony. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keyla- -ika twig and the other is a qosa -ika ("rowan twig"). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
782 thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
225 the uj-^ir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are
766
48

2. Uj-^ir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uj-^ir "should be lost" quickly--as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
452 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be
cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.
281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned
from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet
from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of
one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides
is very hard. Most of the time the women has to work in a
bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process
of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the hide, cleased hide
with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet
with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a
large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with
her right hand.
237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ga-) into pieces. They put the pieces into
252 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep
trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet
begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to
give a more detailed account of the process which takes
place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the
suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is
either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted
fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the
melted suet (ga-) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by
the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the
Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up
to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder.
Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.
888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanr, 'old woman,' was preparing
the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it
was Hemanr, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the
heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a
certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of
which are the old people.
193 [193] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanr
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common
the sound combination hem and differ in their respective
endings ar and anr. Ar means in the Gilyak language male
and anr ~ female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo
where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they
call an old man hajmnar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmnar can be easily

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur
dialect the word hajmd). In the direct object, which according
to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate,
the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know
Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the
verb hajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem -
hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct
word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb
hajmnd 'to know') means 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to
get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are
formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first con-
sonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak
language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin
from the same stem and this is understandable for in the
case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and
so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in
the word hajmnar: hajm is derived from the intransitive
form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.'
-ja is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We
already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmnar
means 'the knowing male' or 'old man.' The Amur form is,
of course, the same as hajm-^ in the Sakhalin dialect which
change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance
of -n is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its
final -'s as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For
instance, 'horse' is mur in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in
the Amur dialect, 'dog' is ga in the Sakhalin dialect and
gan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to
explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, con-
trary to the rules which would lead us to expect hajm as
the counterpart of hajm; thus, hajmr instead of hemar.
At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmnar have
the same meaning (Ayvatel'skii, Aleutskii, Aleutskii, means a
'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that
at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male
but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use
two words for man: azmzi in the Sakhalin dialect and uku in
the Amur dialect.
Hemanr, sat in squatting position at the trough containing
252 237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of
the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the
snout was scached. The old woman cut out the brain and put it in a separate
trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant
252 piskor around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout in the same way as the door
where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After
taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their
content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned
the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil
afterwards, she cut off the nozzak and put it in a separate
cup since it is eaten in raw form.
This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the
skull was broken by the strikes, she picked the bone splinters,
sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel.
Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown
into the sea.
262 [95] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull, to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it
has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed
by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart,
the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the nozzak.
411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, also "knowing male" or "old man," the Amur form is,
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second
to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, it we disregard
the recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they
also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese
kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and
harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft
and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered
in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Ghilaiskiie chisllitel'nyie" ("Gilyak Numerals"). Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skii Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p.10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.
252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate
trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant
piskor around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

2 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

3 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
7 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
8 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
4 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha.
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
5 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
3 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

2 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
2 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
5 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of qosk-ʔəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanγ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (maʔt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

116, 252, 262, 527

"The roe [LSS: of the s
into interesting looking w
to receive the blood from
the beginning of the sable
ing two years to our one),
made into a much appreci
for the dogs and the bear,
quisites while the operati
themselves in summer."

almon] is regarded as a great delicacy, and was being scraped
ooden vessels resembling a butcher's tray, which also serve
the slain bear at the great festival. On feast-days, such as at
and seal hunts, which inaugurate a New Year (the Gilyaks hav-
the roe is mixed and pounded with whortleberries, etc., and
ated mess. The tail and head-pieces of the kita are intended
and the former came in for a few bits of fresh fish as per-
ons were going on before us, though for the most part they feed

51 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
62 stroganina.

food of the dogs.

31 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
52 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
62 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. When ever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.

62 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.

They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
2 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
2 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
5 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chi
eaten as a porridge or in soup. Th
bread, but both are more expensive t
they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their fa
berries, raspberries and black alder
for the winter. In bad years, when th
they gather and consume great numbe
cially cedar nuts, as a substitute for
ishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much
of course, only the commonest variet
which is sold in the form of compactl
has nothing added. They do not, how
because they often do not have the mo
buy it. If they also have sugar for th
utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of S
Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is
Salt is now regularly used. Some Gil
they have been eating salt, their sens
so acute, and that formerly they coul
passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant me
Liquor which is smuggled in from Ch
is very high in raw alcohol and the dr
induces [112] often has elements of ne
do not know any other intoxicating bev

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgenc
439 both sexes. It comes from neighbori
very strong. Children of six to eight
although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably
expensive. After this general accoun
of nourishment and intoxication, I sho
about the methods of preparation of t

252 During the day the food is mostly e
264 toward evening. The cold food is at t
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the
is small. They consist mostly of mil
One kind of soup is worth describing
of preparation. The assembled comp

da (millet). It is
ese merchants and
love potatoes and
n millet and therefore

orite dainties. Cran-
erries are gathered
salmon catch was poor,
s of berries and espe-
nore substantial nour-

as spirits. They use,
, that is, brick tea
pressed bricks but
ver, drink it regularly,
ney or the opportunity to
eir tea, these people are

practically only the leek
akhalin, according to
also put into the soup.
yak maintain that since
e of smell is no longer
d tell what animals had

above all; it is also the
erchants entice them.
ina (suli or chanshina)
runken state which it
ar-insanity. The Gilyak
verages.
ce of young and old of
ing Manchuria and is not
t years already smoke,

ly because it is very
nt of the various articles
ould like to add something
the food.
eaten cold; cooking is done
the same time usually raw.
number of cooked dishes
llet porridge and soup.
because of its odd manner
pany put dried fish into

264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch b
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered
put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, be
cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is the
cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk ou
wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge.
eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for d
food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sex
together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also
bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, se
12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or
hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are drie
The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neith
stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen
gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such
village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these
dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have
separate bear houses, a small square made of beams
a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm
342
354

> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower,
no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof.
consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin
beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared
with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof
birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpur
on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes
weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. T

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
[412] side and on the belly side with the uchomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1).[1]
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and
Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it,
which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying
it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for
the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
● [258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which
provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders
and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror
by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe
is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[222] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longr[sch]), Salmo
leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out
[3] [See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively—Analyst]

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.
263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
● 258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.
462 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
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He handed the shavings to his wife Hemany. The old woman
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two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (ma·t) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

261

261 GRATIFICATION AND CONTROL OF HUNGER--ideas about food and ingestion; eating sparingly or to excess; attitudes toward wasting food; special adjustments to hunger or famine; dieting; cultural elaboration of food appetites (e.g., geophagy, gum chewing, epicures); etc. See also:

Famine relief 731
Religious fasting 786
Theory of digestion 827
Conception of the hunger drive 828
Food craving during pregnancy, ... 843
Infant feeding, ... 853
Food training of children 862

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the
manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home
for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream
to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he
inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of ani-
mal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes him-
self to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult
moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the
gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a
snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule
hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of
the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each
snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and,
finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination de-
pict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demon-
ology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry
of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the
terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this
aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even
death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors
and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal re-
turn home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully
rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole,
the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to
him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,
[262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist,
and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by
frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.
221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The
supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from
the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the
[574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and
[996] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February,
[538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the
● [261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance
[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and some-
ooo times scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/69 cont./

796 825 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 782 825 [114] From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for instance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, believes it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself

796 825 261 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e., to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/70 cont./

796 825 182 775 774 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 [562] be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 825 182 775 774 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with regard to the origin of sickness and death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom

796 825 614 775 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last point, it is important to remember what we said about clan gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people," i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 614 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/91 cont./

000 504 688 392 795 very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

*614 433 476 But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet

*614 476 the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate

*614 476 261 [262] in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

/91 cont./

476 *614 261 [261] to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

*614 428 This same principle of the communality of the material goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento.[2] In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

[422] [556] 1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price; 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir", cf. translation on p. 512. - Analyst]

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

823 773 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin. Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- moth and daughter -- look after them.

825 761 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary. Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 825 [782] A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

704 782 825 261 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and they treat him like a killed one. When they set off somewhere (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

703 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

116, 252, 272, 342

"Our tent, being new and of very thin m
could keep nearly as dry, and certainly mu
fire within, but in a few moments the smok
refuge Swartz and myself fled to our Gilak
birch-bark, sewed together in long narrow
spread over a frame of light poles sloping
open in front and at each end. This was ere
bank, which served as a protection from th

As we came up, one of the women was i
a small fire in front of the camp. A small
was hanging a good-sized copper tea-kettle
as a general thing, unable to indulge in tea
exchange for fish. [123]

Beneath the shed several deer-skins we
upon which half a dozen humans and about a
every conceivable shape. The group preser
I will endeavor to portray in a few words,
the internal workings of a Gilak domicil, a

aterial, leaked badly--so much so that we
ch warmer, walking outside. We tried a small
e became unbearable, and for want of better
neighbors. Their only shelter consisted of
strips about two feet in length, and
to the ground and forming a shed-like covering,
ected upon the beach, facing the high wooded
e wind.
n the act of preparing the noonday meal over
pot contained several fine trout, near which
(a rare article among the Gilaks, who are,
). On this occasion we furnished them, in

re spread over a thick layer of green boughs,
as many dogs lay twisted and coiled into almost
nted a curious, if not interesting tableau, which
as it conveyed to us a very complete idea of
s well as some of their occupations."

2G

58

116, 261

"The Tungus told Mr. Sternberg that t
with true Pharisaical scorn added, 'We
and christened, but the Gilyaks and Oroc
Orochons eat their dogs, and even sables

hey despised the Gilyaks and Orochons; and
are subjects of the Empire, and are baptized
hons eat dogs.' It is true that the Gilyaks and
s, when driven to it in winter by starvation."

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

563 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
609 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
177 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

181 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

671 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

556 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
595 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

735 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
438 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
556 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
261 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

262

262 DIET--staple and other foods consumed; seasonal changes in diet; proportion of various foods in diet; group differences in diet (e.g., by age, sex, social class); discriminations between edible and harmful foods; food preferences and avoidances, food taboos; etc. See also:

Food processing	25	Religious taboos	784
Nutritional balance	146	Food taboos during pregnancy	843
Standard of living	511	Infant feeding	853

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
* 114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
797 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[076] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
• [262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[797] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[956] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
797 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
• 262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,
• [262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the
[574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and
796 listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February,
[538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the
[261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance
[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In
000

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the pre
574 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is c
the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The nar
seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, whi
host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes piece
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with t
own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece
the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to f
• [262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allow
eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bear
carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enorm
quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to fee
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to
it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the v
It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness.
intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing w
sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the susp
533 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast
played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which l
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's g
drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yes
the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear or
boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of
parture of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all ki
of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are pla
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead seve
dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of h
to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a s
a thong, and other such items next to the head of the ani
or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavish

Ainu AB2

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

/457 cont./

various places on the Amur and especially on the Ussuri and have small gardens and farms. Apart from the dog and the house cat occasionally present among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak /458/ and treated merely as a luxury item (1), the first domestic animal

1. Concerning the distribution of the house cat in the Amur region and its position among the Amur peoples, see what is said in the first volume of this work, pp. 98-100.

met among the Amur peoples, going upstream, is the pig. As was discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (p. 155), individual specimens are found even among the Olcha (2), but

2. There was none among the Gilyak in my time. Later, when there were pigs raised by the Russians in Nikolayevsk, the Gilyak occasionally bought some in order to consume them in festive fashion (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59).

a regular breeding of pigs is found first among the Goldi, up the Amur from about Ssargu and Naiche on and along the Ussuri. The animals, fed on fish, are sold by the Goldi to their countrymen or to Chinese traders, through whose mediation they reach the Olcha farther downstream. The Goldi get the breeding animals, however, in part from the Man-dse (Chinese) along the upper Ussuri (3), but for the most part from the Sungari region

3. F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 122).

where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

2: Schrenck--880 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

/534 cont./

consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

/535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught. First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing, all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life, hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fishing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

2: Schrenck--880 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/562 cont./

as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly associated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their observance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce

/696 cont./

like them it stands upright in combat, etc. In spite of all this, however, the Gilyak is not willing to forgo the great enjoyment which bear meat and fat provides for his palate, and he longs for it especially if the bear first lived in captivity for a time and was fed on fish, for this food adds a fishy flavor to its meat and fat, which is especially agreeable to the Gilyak. Moreover, a person may /697/ then indulge in the enjoyment of these savory morsels quite without danger and without punishment, for, in order to achieve this, according to Gilyak belief, a long series of preliminary act is necessary, all of them aimed at outwitting the bear during its lifetime by attestations of esteem and to deceive it, as it were, about everything that is done with it, but, after its death, to pacify the angered spirits of revenge of the mighty beast by paying homage even to the manes of the slain animal.

The attestations of esteem begin immediately with the leading of the bear into captivity. If the bear has been discovered in its lair and safely shackled following a successful battle, it is taken, as has been said (1), on two sleds put side by side and tied

1. See p. 878-880 above.

together, in a triumphal procession to the place from which the hunters set out, and it is received there with loud shouts of jubilation from young and old. The same thing happens when a Gilyak returns from a trading trip to Sakhalin and in the central space of his boat brings with him one or a couple of young bears bought on the island (2). In the Gilyak villages there is usually

2. See p. 960 above.

never a lack of lodging for putting up the bear, but if need be a new one is erected for it. This consists of a square box made of beams, open at the top, with a small, heavily barricaded door and an even smaller, always open window. The bear is forced to climb into it and, after it has been unfettered, is prevented from escaping its prison by a layer of boards spread over it, fastened with poles, and weighted with stones. From now on

/708 cont./

796 in the rear let themselves be taken in tow by the bears and dragged
23 up the hill. During the whole procession the women again drummed incessantly on their beam. A short pause followed, during which a few games were played in front of the house, such as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two, which I had previously seen among the Goldi, and then the popular leading of the bears, never tiring the Gilyak began again and continued far into the
513 night. For during this night immediately preceding the killing of the bears no one among the Gilyak may sleep; the men spend it alternately leading and feeding the bears, while the women prepare the foods for the feast that is to take place on the following day. Let us therefore now turn to these for a moment.

796 In a previous section (1), it has already been pointed out
262
197

1. See pp. 676 ff. above.

that the foodstuffs used in connection with the bear festival are primarily of a vegetable nature and in particular consist of the cereals and legumes of Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin named there. This is especially true of the great feast held shortly before the killing of the bears and, as we shall see in the following, of the one during which, sometimes at a much later date, the bear itself is eaten. Aside from these two, I might almost say official feasts, which are held in a more or less opulent manner in all or at least most of the houses of the village where a bear festival takes place, and which sometimes are even repeated for a certain length of time, the Gilyak also eat their regular fish diet even during the bear festival, but in an irregular fashion, during the intervals between the individual festive events and generally in accordance with the requirements of the individuals. Considering the large number of people invited to the festival or taking part in it generally, however, the consumption of fish on such an occasion is always very considerable, and I was amazed at the colossal quantities of hausen and sturgeon which were used, in addition to the regular jukola diet of the Gilyak, in Judin's house alone.

/720 cont./

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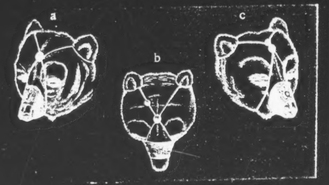

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

796 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead
197 swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in
194 superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine,
825 and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished
776 them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

*796 With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the
574 toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been
415 shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete
576 innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give themselves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench
•[262] of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it simple circular

/721 cont./

*796 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-
574 ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,
•262
415
576

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each
796 side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another
574 from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat
576 on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p.1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates which were then immediately taken back again to their places. This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured
[562] back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the feast, indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical
[742] meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the following day.

796 This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the
574 previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the
262 presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already ap-
576 peared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

576 /721 cont./
*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
•262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p.1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p.1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call mōps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[857] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,
[533] for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

/722 cont./

796 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for
574 departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- onl
•262 bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received
576 in their mōps as provisions for the trip.

Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the d
*796 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afte
53 however, for the first and only time the women actively partic
562 pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a da
171 to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, hol in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clapp and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it w drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudge and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectato jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of
796 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, bec
562 in general they are even more serious and se e than the men
157 and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work activities. And it could by no means have been the result of h
[203] spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festiv a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reas

2. See p. 719 above.

796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fac
756 much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, nam that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be t in the eyes of he Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the fes

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'-yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/71 Cont./

796 or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the
614 "zyat'ya" /sons-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was
796 never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place,
614 the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat
262 of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "narkh'i" and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday? In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "narkh'i" this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

614 The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the
262 permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat
171 its head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the rest of the meat may seem a strange and irresolvable contradiction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors, while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat. In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally prohibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

/72 cont./

G 796 171 262 Gi 796 171 262 773

An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G 776

Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and "kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G 776 761 753

Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/80 cont./

764

those around him should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the little soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last bed on earth awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face toward the west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the elder brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and then, making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay their last tribute to him by throwing pieces of firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, readjust the firewood and poke the body so that it will burn faster and better. At the same time they [774] break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which frees the souls of these objects to follow the deceased... The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remains only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

[824] /81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was burned.

[262] After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which is eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back, they drop in for only a short time at the yurt of the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then disperse.

/91 cont./

000 very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable,
574 not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as
688 we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally
372 the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole
795 clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

* 614 But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of
433 their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal
476 "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet
* 614 the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for
476 sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate
* 614 in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak,
476 is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose
26 supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without
[262] any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

Sakhalin

/350 cont./

125 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There
167 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

174 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent,
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows.
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous
292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ores, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

Goldi RX3

/383 cont./

dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas peoples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

[113]

1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
263 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
796 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the Gilyak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclusion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn resistance.

/350 cont./

177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
372 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/For information on the various items entering into the Gilyak diet, see category 116, pp. 645-679./

/728 cont./

produced in part by veneration for the mighty beast, in part by superstitious fear of it and its spirits of revenge. it is given the place of honor in the house, the people appear to act only with its permission, reluctantly and out of sheer necessity, as it were, and finally, all guilt and responsibility are shifted from them. On the other hand, scarcely anything of the sort is noted among the Olcha: the only superstitious conceptions referring to the bear and the bear festival which I found among them consisted in the fact that they did not want to sell me any bear meat and that they regarded it as ulisch (an idea which they have likewise received from the Gilyak) to go outside with fire taken from the hearth during the bear festival, which, they said, was by no means forbidden at any other time. In contrast to the fearful, superstitious, and, as it were, religiously colored conception of the Gilyak, the second and most important part of the bear festival has degenerated into mere ceremonial among the Olcha, a series of pedantically observed formalities, such as one might expect from the millennium-old Chinese, but not from a primitive people. Perhaps this degeneration of a custom originally foreign to the Olcha, which does not have its roots in the people, has indeed come about under Manchu-Chinese influence. Among them, too, all the foods served at the festival, with almost the sole exception of bear meat and fat, are of Manchu-Chinese /729/ origin, whereas among the Gilyak, in accordance with ancient tradition, sturgeon and hausen meat and mossj prepared from species of salmon play a prominent role at the festival. It can be observed, incidentally, that the eating of foreign, Manchu-Chinese foods is always done with greater formality even among the Gilyak, which can be explained by the fact that it automatically lifts primitive man out of his everyday routine and puts him in an elevated festive mood. The greater number of Manchu-Chinese foods at the bear festival of the Olcha in comparison with the Gilyak is undoubtedly due to the fact that their sources for these products are closer and more numerous as a result of both the permanent residence of Chinese traders in the habitation areas of the Olcha and Goldi and the more frequent and active intercourse between these peoples and the Chinese on the Sungari.

/729 cont./

After this insertion on the bear festival of the Olcha, which seemed to me necessary for a comparison with the same festive act among the Gilyak, let us again take up the thread of our description of the bear festival of the Gilyak. We still lack any knowledge of its final act: what happens to the skull and bones of the animal after the fat, meat, and internal organs of the bear have been eaten? Unfortunately I was not an eyewitness here, and I can only report what I heard from the Gilyak and what must follow from other facts. Ditmar left Tebach before this final act. He concludes his notes from there with the remark that his further presence there would apparently offend Judin and other Gilyak, and that the repeated assertions by the former that he could not wait for the end of the festival because it would drag out for a long time yet showed only too clearly the desire that he speed up his departure. On the day before, when the first bear-meat was eaten, the bear heads were still untouched and bore their snout and head bands. When I arrived among the Olcha in Uda, I did not see these heads; if they are used at all by the Olcha, they had already been removed; the skull and the lower jaw had been removed from the skin and were, as was said, set before the guests for the consumption of the meaty parts. The former was not split, and I saw nothing of the brain parts. It is not likely, however, that they would forgo these especially tasty morsels. But in order to get at them, they must split the skull. From this one may surely conclude that the teachers of the Olcha, the Gilyak, do likewise and, after the other parts of the bear have been eaten, finally skin the head and split the skull. But this final blow directed against the bear, the splitting of its skull, may be one of the acts that are preferably done in secret, or at least not in the presence of strangers, and therefore Ditmar's departure from Tebach was especially desired. Just like the removal of the bear head from the skin, so most probably is the splitting of the skull done in the house, where immediately or soon afterward its meat and the brain parts are eaten. Arguing in favor of this is the circumstance that the instrument with which the skull of the bear is split is brought into the house at the very beginning of the second act of the festival. /730/ It is a pickax (Gilyak

/730 cont./

mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 5, from a specimen that lay on the bear tack in Judin's house during the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is unmixakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and the sturgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest — an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but content themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Usuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

/734 cont./

I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of the animal was already being eaten, that is, toward the end of the second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portions still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one trying to snatch a piece of meat here or there with his knife. One of the members of the household was collecting contributions from the diners in a little trough in order to give them to the women and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur Gilyak, when this time comes during the feast, formalities usually cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled around informally in the narrow space. A meal of Manchu-Chinese products, cereals and legumes, such as it customarily served to guests in the Amur villages in lavish amounts, seemed not to have preceded the eating of the meat, since the host and owner of the bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur Gilyak and Olcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable that in Dui, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the latter, or which, lacking other food, dogs were eaten, as has already been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

of cynophagy among the Gilyak.

It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accompany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up, one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially, in the region with earth yurts exclusively, that is, along the

/767 cont./

them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw two women who sat there hunched together and wailing, starting at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, buiive, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (1 S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

/770 cont./

the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

There was no pittysej in Gilyak. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death, otherwise it would be uitch to set up a pittysej. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

57. Gilyak. According to Sergin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

/771 cont./

years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse of a person killed by an ati (tiger and leopard) is taken to a similar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Holk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk, and Tschlivl (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R. I, p. 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shavings (ai-ch). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

[184] presented. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of [185] Tarar, Purronaysk Raion.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Tokhtinskiy Okruga of Khabarovskiy Kray.

[187] The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-[188] Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct [189] place.

[190] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal [191] and verbal elements (kun-dog; pil'e-ŋun-dog). The agglutinating [192] features include the addition of affixes (kun-gu-dogs). The phonetics [193] of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of [194] speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives [195] have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi nouns are not differentiated [196] in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects, [197] instead, there are various groups of numerals for the counting of: 1) [198] long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; [199] 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) [200] thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; [201] 7) animal objects. For example, 1) q'e-ŋ'ak-ŋun (tree), k'ev'-k'e-ŋun (bullet); tyw'-ŋkkl'-ŋun (house; tamish-r'ciŋk-ŋun (tobacco leaf); kkan-s'yŋ-ŋun (dog; nivkhe-q'ŋ-ŋun (person; mas-'ŋun (man; tyw'-k'e-ŋun (sled; and 2) s'ŋ-ŋun (mushroom, etc.).

[202] The Nivkhi language has close ties with the Tungusu-Manchurian [203] peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common [204] with the languages of these peoples.

[205] In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are composed of two dialects. [206] There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of [207] the neolithic population of this territory. The population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic vessels, decorated with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. [208] There are different points of view as to who is the older one of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur [209] peoples, Nikolaevskiy L. Shevek, held that Sakhalin was the original home of [210] the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Sternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the [211] Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data [212] indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the [213] Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi occupied further up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, [214] tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th [215] century. There, in every respect, they could be identified with the Nivkhi.

[216] The first Russian dots on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According [217] to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to [218] travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing clerk" Vasiliy [219] Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Sugdan, [220] the boyar's son Ivashkin, the officer Stepanov and others. In the Cossack [221] reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ulchi are referred to [222] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-[223] lages in wooden winter houses, flankedby barns, raised on hanging fish net-[224] ting structures for bears. The Nivkhi are engaged in fishing and hunting [225] seals; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted [226] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Yukagir.

[227] of a small board equipped with harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to [228] 20 meters long. The jobb was invented in the nineteenth century, but has found [229] nearly its full use on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the [230] hunter carefully approached the boat and harpoonedthe seal at close range.

[231] As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a [232] smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after [233] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat [234] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or [235] guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears [236] with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. [237] Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the economy of the Nivkhi. The Amur hunters, and every adult [238] man in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This hunt was the mainstay of sable [239] on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees [240] which served the sables as crossings.

[241] The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [242] replaced the compound bow and the spring-operated crossbow. The gun was primarily used in the hunt for sea otter and in children's games. Squirrel and [243] bears were hunted with a bow. Crossbows were used for small birds and large [244] animals.

[245] Domestic already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of [246] the 19th century, when they first acquired domestic animals. Individual families had owned goats in the past and hired out for work in other families.

[247] The Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common [248] with the languages of these peoples.

[249] In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are composed of two dialects. [250] There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of [251] the neolithic population of this territory. The population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic vessels, decorated with spiral [252] ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. [253] There are different points of view as to who is the older one of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur [254] peoples, Nikolaevskiy L. Shevek, held that Sakhalin was the original home of [255] the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was [256] expressed by L. Ya. Sternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the [257] Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data [258] indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the [259] Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi occupied further up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, [260] tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th [261] century. There, in every respect, they could be identified with the Nivkhi.

The Nivkhi

[262] The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The [263] Nivkhi used spears from two and three-pronged, built dogs and dog-harness. [264] Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these [265] occupations, including boats and means of transportation, preparation and [266] transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the [267] skins of fish, and sewing, made fish-skin clothes for their various uses, sewed and [268] ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did [269] the housework, and took care of the children.

[270] By the time the Far East was Sovietized, community relations were quite [271] strong among the Nivkhi. Most aspects of the old forms of collective [272] production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact [273] of social pressure. Some elements of the old communal organization still [274] lacked the necessary grip: were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and [275] other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income [276] from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Nivkhi. The Nivkhi lived in small, white whale and sea lion wooden sheds to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. [277] Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during [278] the fishing on hired tractors, processing the fish.

[279] Fishing was also highly important among the Nivkhi. Salmon was [280] obtained in large quantities, and also sturgeon, herring, smelt, cod, etc. [281] The last couple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often perhaps, [282] took the place of bread. Bread was eaten rarely. Bread was prepared with

[283] With the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, [284] the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

[285] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the [286] Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur [287] clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a form of exchange [288] and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number [289] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household [290] had 20-30 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly [291] on fish and fish meal, but also on bones and sometimes on meat. When dogs were used most as draught animals.

[292] The dog sled, which the Nivkhi was still found in use by Shrek in [293] the middle of the 1st century, was the only means of transport in winter. [294] The sled was made of birch, and sometimes he raised himself and ran in [295] his place on the sled. The dogs were harnessed to the lowing strap alternately on [296] one side or the other. The harness was a wooden yoke, which was placed on the dog pulled with the neck.

[297] Until more recently, the Nivkhi used sled of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness [298] was the sled which people used when they first arrived in Sakhalin. The Nivkhi had retained goods in the past and hired out for work in other families.

[299] The Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common [300] with the languages of these peoples. Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; the Russians also acquired and [301] adopted by wood-carving, arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so [302] forth. The Nivkhi adopted the Russian plow, and shaft-bellows. Placed at [303] massive chunks preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old [304] smiths.

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Means of transportation and hauling:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—kayak (seals used in steering sled), 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with nimes.

Fish was prepared with flour, fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat, herrins, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talka—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi also became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the Russians who they traded with.

[327] In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unef" collected 200 tonnes of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area has increased by 30%.

[328] Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unef" collective engages in animal husbandry. In the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

[329] As scientific prerequisites for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the sufficiency of small villages, formerly scattered and fragmented into large collective farms. Before, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But now, the Nivkhi have begun to settle in large, well-organized villages. The old villages are being razed and the construction of new populated centers more rapidly. Nivkhi collective farmers are moving into new houses, which are more spacious, more comfortable, well-planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, primary attention is given to selecting suitable sites, and to the fact that before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and moved into the new houses, they were forced to learn how to construct the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

[330] There is a widespread of the new dwellings in the Nivkhi dwelling house. Next the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective farm has a club, a library, a medical station, a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic needs: a collective farm grange, a dairy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc. Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never saw in the past. Today, more individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

[331] The material furnishings of the Nivkhi dwellings have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi dwellings, usually on the contingent, one often sees photograph and chromoxylated walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, including tables and chairs. Flowers in the windows are not uncommon. There are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, postcards and photographs.

[332] Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They wear also sealskin boots, which was entirely unknown in the past. Women wear traditional Nivkhi wear silk-type cloth, felt boots, high overshoes, and some footwear of rubber. The Nivkhi prefer bought clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok [333] reindeer herders. Nowadays, they have to purchase the clothing and traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing [334] on factory-made sewing machines. In other respects, the clothing of Nivkhi, there and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, [335] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented, such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the ancient birchbark hats.

[336] Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater [337] variety, more meat, more bread, and less fish. The frequency of occurrence [338] of the occurrence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been a widespread scourge, has decreased sharply as a result of the fact that in the [339] Nivkhi dwellings, in schools and the wide network of medical institutions, [340] Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and economic centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to overcome the Nivkhi's fear of these institutions for medical aid. Not medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
765 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
418 valleys Chayon, on the Okhotsk shore of the
Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of
drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are
allowed when a man is drowned.

7: Kreinovich--15 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

782 (Men for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, man
is emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is
prepared, as is also the sivuch. When the feasting is
completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes"
are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I
have already stated, the tol-ir is prepared in
the quarry in connection, this sivuch is regarded as being not
a trough, but an animal. Therefore, the "eyes" are cut
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak, the tol-ir habitu only if the sivuch have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pile
asserting his title to an animal sivuch or to his share of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances.
The pile asserts his ownership of the sivuch only if he is a
hunt; second - This appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.

This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
number of taboos among the Gilyaks.

Thus, for example, among hunters as well as women are
supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
bear festival. At the same time women are not not observe
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
taboos parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women) are supposed to observe. I wish to point to the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the in-
junctions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
with a tongue. The young hunter must not give old men only
can eat. These instances illustrate the manner in which the
taboos are supposed to operate.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these taboos and explanations. The meaning of these taboos
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

7: Kreinovich--15 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
782 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
225 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
182 parts of the clan.
8-8 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Carvu,
183 (Charbah), the old Gilyak Kosin and G'ak (Agiska) informed
775 me of interesting taboos connected with the killing of the first
sivuch.) The pila cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sacrificial sivuch. The figurines were so made as to smear all
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After
performing the ceremony, the figurines were to be regarded as
belonging to the pila. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
a trough, but an animal. Therefore, the "eyes" are cut
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak, the tol-ir habitu only if the sivuch have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila
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and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-nak and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-nak.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskar around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

116, 252, 262, 327

"The roe [LSS: of the salmon] is regarded as a great deli
into interesting looking wooden vessels resembling a butche
to receive the blood from the slain bear at the great festival
the beginning of the sable and seal hunts, which inaugurate a
ing two years to our one), the roe is mixed and pounded with
made into a much appreciated mess. The tail and head-piec
for the dogs and the bear, and the former came in for a few
quisites while the operations were going on before us, thoug
themselves in summer."

cacy, and was being scraped
r's tray, which also serve
.. On feast-days, such as at
a New Year (the Gilyaks hav-
n whortleberries, etc., and
es of the kita are intended
bits of fresh fish as per-
gh for the most part they feed

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--291-292 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 262

"Our natives were very merry, notwithstanding that th
posed of; and dried fish and seal-oil was the one cours
breakfast on the following morning, were added the se
cembra pumila). A Gilyak youth of the party disappear
re-appeared with a lapful of the cones, from which the
with teeth and [292] fingers."

e seal had been incontinently dis-
se on their menu. To this, for
eds of the Swiss pine (Pinus
ed into the taiga, and quickly
y picked the seeds like monkeys,

91 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
01 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
31 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

77 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
76 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
31 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

61 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

51 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
62 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

251 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.

231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. Whenever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.

262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.

They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

15: Pilsudski--4 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

843 Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

20: Bush--89-90 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 226, 251, 262

"The river [LSS: the Amur] at this point is nearly a mile in width, and flows through extensive plains of meadow-land burdened with a rank growth of tall grass, beyond which on either hand, in the distance, faint blue hills limit the vision. Patches of woodland dot the plains, and, in many places, extend to the river-bank, where, beneath the thick clusters of foliage, the tasty though filthy Gilaks erect their picturesque habitations near the sandy beach. One of these we came upon shortly after leaving Marinsk. In front of each house, upon the beach, were drawn up their odd-shaped canoes, with elevated, fancifully-carved prows, and all along the shores we could see the bare-legged natives toiling at their long seines, and strewing the banks with hundreds of fine salmon, that glittered in the sunlight like heaps of silver. These fish are afterward split, and suspended on light poles under bark or straw-covered shelters to dry, where they remain until required for use, they being here, as in Kamtchatka, intended for the sustenance of both men and dogs during the long winter months. Fish and berries, with the bark and roots of various trees, constitute almost the only food of the inhabitants, and, though many of the more hardy vegetables could be had at the expense of a little toil, they content themselves with the food that nature showers upon them.

The river at certain seasons of the year is literally alive with salmon, and so little effort is required to capture them [90] that they are considered almost valueless. Fish that would adorn banquets in many places are here thrown to the dogs by hundreds."

: Hawes--256-257 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of food, the
s necessarily of great importance to them.
enerally consumed by December, and then
rrival of the seals in April there is only on
eglefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gilyak to
hore and gazes seaward, he will see black
ne figures of men wrapped from head to foo
n their [257] hands are sticks with big hook
oming to the hole made in the ice, and grab
man has been known to catch as many as

'bread' of the Gilyaks, the summer supply
The winter stores of sun-dried kita are
comes the hard time for them. Until the
e other visitant. This is the haddock (Gadus
ngue, kan-hi. If one is sledging along the
specks among the gleaming ice. They are
t in skins, and they are hooking haddock.
s attached, and the hungry and stupid fish
bing at the hook, is caught. By this means
300 in a day."

9: Hawes--289-290 T-3 (190

116, 262

"We scarcely expected to find in seal
'bacon,' but in this case scarcely any
I, decided that the brain would be the
ourselves into imagining that we were
how near we came to committing a mo
edge among the Gilyaks that to eat the

In addition to any other terrors that
on a seal's brain, roasted and eaten it
again."

lesh a great delicacy. The Gilyaks prefer the
of it remained uneaten. We, my interpreter and
east objectionable part, and hoped to deceive
eating calves' sweet-breads; but we little knew
rtal sin. For it was a matter of common knowl-
brain of a seal was indeed a deadly sin. [290]
the next world might hold for us, to have put salt
, would have resulted in our never killing a seal

9: Hawes--207 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 171, 251, 262

"However unpleasant to the stranger . . . s
it lasts may be, it is one of the few advanta
The latter is entirely dependent on a sunny
should be rainy, then he will be in danger o
insufficient accumulation of stores; for drie
during the long winter. The Orochon, on the
. . . . . slices and cuts them up and cures th

moke-curing of fish by the Orochons while
ges that they can claim over the Gilyaks.
season for the drying of his catch, and if it
f starvation before winter is over, from an
d fish is bread and meat to these tribes
other hand, after hanging his fish to drain,
hem in the shelter of his hut over his fire."

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

9: Hawes--196
116, 262, 527

"[LSS: Bef
The huts are
of the bear ar
rice, vodka,
feast is of co
Gilyak housev
and mixed wi
rice, salmon
results to the
(species of w
barbatum and
bear's, deer'
with fish-roe
with potatoes
their skins m

ore the bear fête] Great preparations of food have been made for days past. crowded, and hospitality is freely dispensed. At the same time the owner nd his nei ghbours will be gainers by the feast, for luxuries such as tobacco, etc., are on sale, and will bring in a goodly profit. The staple article of urse yukola, or dried fish, but a variety of dishes is concocted by the wife, with this as a base. Dried and frozen hard, it is grated to fine powder th seal-oil and whortleberries; and when you add to these three ingredients -roe, and roots, the possible combination of messes are many, and the Gilyak highly palatable. The roots in most common use are pu-chi and pis ild rhubarb, I believe). [LSS: Erratum: this should read Heracleum l Laminaria esculenta] These are in demand for flavouring their stew of s or seal's flesh; while a lily, which they name kashk, is eaten generally . At special feasts and near Russian settlements, the guests may be regaled , in which case they are doled out sparingly, and not a particle of them or ust be wasted."

263

263 CONDIMENTS--kinds of condiments used in the preparation and consumption of food (e.g., salt, sugar, honey, spices); processing of savory herbs and spices; uses of condiments; etc. See also:

Use of seasoning in cooking . . . . . 252 Salt manufacture 258
Manufacture of sugar and sweet confections . . 257

/440 cont./

252 which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyp, on
* 262 Sakhalin kap. The kernels and shells of the cembra nuts are
[192] kneaded into a dough-like mass of a reddish-brown color, obtain
from the ground bark of the black alder with the addition of seal
oil, which is given the form of cakes or small loaves of bread
about one span long and equally wide and decorated on the uppe
side with some figures.

The number of roots which the Gilyak use as food is not inconsiderable. Unfortunately, I am not in a position with regard to many of them to give the taxonomic names of the plants
[137] to which they belong (3). Most of the roots, especially those

[113]

3. The names given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Maximowicz in working up his "Primitiae florae amurensis," St. Petersburg, 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, Vol. IX), and Fr. Schmidt for the botanical part of his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria kamtschatkensi Gawl. (Gilyak kark) and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak nork which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage chambers; likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. (Gilyak tschjurk), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ryghr), and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tuks udalak, /441/ mryu, plim, a(r)sj, etc. Some bulbs, such as tho
• 263 called ngyfki by the Gilyak, which presumably belong to a speci
252 of Allium, are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as
137 seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

/441 cont./

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103]

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general)by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps), Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak löllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214,

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
[264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-knife, stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

/443 cont./

*262 animal food, and especially fish food, on the whole, constitutes the basis and mainstay of the existence of the Gilyak.

263 A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of the Gilyak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they do not use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have a certain aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here what I wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1).

1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a professor in Basel.

which has also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

[113]

2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus /Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism/" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 115).

among the Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the preparation of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat it in any other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not know /444/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it
114 was sold. The following experience gave me further evidence of
263 how little it is required by them: since toward the end of my journey in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for so in every Gilyak village that I passed through on the west coast of Sakhalin and along the Amur-Liman, but always in vain, until Pronge, on the mouth of the Amur, a hazelnut-sized lump of salt wrapped in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get and had kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. The Gilyak repeatedly expressed their repugnance for it when they saw me eat salt. From the numerous similar reports on the use or
[171] non-use of salt by various peoples Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

/444 cont./

rtainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
most exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
nd the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar
th salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas
oples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods
ve an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable
od" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations
m the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
nfirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

luced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to
ke a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
antities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the
yak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the
ntrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is
garded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet,
s does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclu-
n and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the
r festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which
es not alter the very predominantly animal character of the
yak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten
them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man
o trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise,
in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal
d, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear
ivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall
, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak,
ong whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn
istance.

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
101 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
[796] what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation taftsch for
[192] salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabssun
(Mongolian: dabassu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture, livestock-breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
263 general, sugar (Gilyak ssäta), on the other hand, finds great ap-
439 proval among them, and to be sure, in the form in which they
became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

[192] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian ("ssachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/445 cont./

263 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are
439
000

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
250 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
[182] hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2/. Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
197 ormotsch-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of
[See category 116, p. 1013--Analysis]

322 /717 cont./

*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uitsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p.1250 /, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band. Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the lásng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/718 cont./

*796 just as it would be extremely uitsch if one wanted to fry, not only
252 bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the
[784] bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
[263] shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward
[182] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in front of the bears, they were offered to them as a sacrifice and were intended for the forthcoming feast.

*796 In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old
[887] men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young
[251] people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in additional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.
*796 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals
231 which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They
541 were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng. Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat
252 into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the meantime, more life and commotion had entered into these preparations for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/716 cont./

anging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides
he elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so
t appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking
nd the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the
ld men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat,
hich was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the
ouse and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals
ragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was men-
ioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from
he storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached
o the bear rack in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins
f paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were
ed while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives
hich at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of
air from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uing-
shakko of the Gilyak, with which it is uitsch to cut anything other
han bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a
umber of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The
atter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth ob-
ained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with
he help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when
onsuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed
iscussion.

The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-
poon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always
arved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about
n the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather
eep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and
). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat
roth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat.
hat makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that
ometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood,
nd sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided
ith various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival.
he latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

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252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened.

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes

266

266 CANNIBALISM--prevalence of cannibalism; participants; victims (e.g., captives, felons, slaves, sacrificial victims); parts eaten; occasions; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:
Human sacrifice 782

9: Hawes--269-270 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 266, 821, 823

"There were legends which seemed to indicate
in the extreme north of the island, was regarded
of 'black men who were cannibals,' (1) but beyond

1. What the origin of this report about black m
old legends the Gilyak hero is often represent
eating him.

us lay our goal. The Gilyak canoe seemed a poor
the stars shown by the natives stamped them as a
were noted for their [270] excellent orientation in
no information about the moon, and so I asked if
No, his father had told him something about him
he knew he was there, he really couldn't tell if he
there, or a good man."

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
● [263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur
clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange
and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[550] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly
fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs
were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride
it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in
this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on
either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that
the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[171] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in
yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

177 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most
valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his
directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a
brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer
tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
177 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former
were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-
hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips
nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
50 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled
with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which
[824] the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was
rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the
left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn-
ing-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[352] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

7: Kreinovich--26 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

● 263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

452 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of gosk-pas 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanɣ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pas. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (maɣt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

13: Seeland--15 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and
eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and
bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore
they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cran-
berries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered
for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor,
they gather and consume great numbers of berries and espe-
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ishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use,
of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea
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has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly,
because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to
buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are
utterly happy.

● 263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to
Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup.
Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since
they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer
so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had
passed through the bush (?).

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439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them.
Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina)
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induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak
do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not
very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke,
although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very
expensive. After this general account of the various articles
of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something
about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes
is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup.
One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner
of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

264

264 EATING--regularity of eating; informal eating (e.g., between meals, at work or play); meals (e.g., hours, number per day, participation, composition); techniques of eating; table manners; sequels to eating (e.g., disposal of waste and excess food, cleaning of utensils); associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Eating implements and utensils	41	Feasts and entertaining at meals	574
Food preparation	252	Etiquette	576
Ablutions	515	Military mess arrangements	705

Gilyak

that Cape Maria (or Cape Elizabeth),
as the 'end of the world.' We heard
them and their country, Vanka assured

hen was I do not know, but in the
ed as slaying his opponent and

sea-going craft, and the ignorance of
land race. On the other hand, they
the dark. From Vanka we could get
e knew anything about the man in it.
once, but he had forgotten, and, though
were a bad man, condemned to live

271

271 WATER AND THIRST--use of water for drinking; manifestations and control of thirst; ideas and practices related to the drinking of water; etc. See also:

Water supply	312	Libations	789
Municipal purification of water	364	Notions about water	823
Utensils	415	Conception of the thirst drive	828

13: Seeland--53 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
● 271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.

272

272 NONALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES--drinking of nonalcoholic beverages (e.g., tea, coffee, lemonade, milk, blood); special techniques of preparation (e.g., boiling, percolating); consumption (e.g., quantities, occasions); food values and physiological effects; drinking etiquette; etc. See also:

Dairying	234	Meals	264
Cultivation of tea, coffee, and cacao	245	Utensils	415

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
574 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
533 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/374 cont./ YeT

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortunate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she participates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourning they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father, and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
[589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the desire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradually acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
177 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow themselves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/426 cont./

of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both qualitatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma, always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches, a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4)[1] with several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

/427 cont./

1. (cont.)

unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiedy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

* When a Gilyak undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his countrymen, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

226 2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

221 The
222 mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infre-
262 quently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habita-
226 tion sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas
262 or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is
[361] worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish.
Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other
252 places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is
262 always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins
[231] is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating
[264] of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

*262 (Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[139] does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] tityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-als, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there; see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[252] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
● 264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs),
[142] a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[139]

[192] 2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[192] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103] 1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general) by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps), Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak löllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214,

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
● [264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-knife, stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

415 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
199 earth yurt and in the summer yurt is placed on the platform of the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part likewise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 3: matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle) and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
[412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 6; Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak komb).
415 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need, use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong), which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
[531] are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
[824] foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[531] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service, so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
● 264 served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
415 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachtschitsch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned
[See category 116, P. 1014 -- Analyst]

/446 cont./

264 415 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-

[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves

415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great

531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for

796 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively

322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-

412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/473 cont./

481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards without a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet long and five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level except for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curving upward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front end, several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among the Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual tapering of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Figs. 1 and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. Below Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form shown in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sakhalin there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of the front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an illustration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensable /474/ item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside the yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need them for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his feet when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can get off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in order to facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come back

481 later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spend the

484 night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serves him

412 as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for filling

516

● 264 1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when he sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his legs crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a tray, taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for eating

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-

[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the

[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The

462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does

● 264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men

[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women

462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper

[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations

462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work

411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting

[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/710 cont./

*796 amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the

[541] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the riv

● [264] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfa on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated

*796 around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Thre

824 Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of

[291] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and ne

[239] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latte type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, bu he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybo now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it a there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, th signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the

231 bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bea this had been done the day before, and the animal had been pro vided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in orde on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to hav his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous exper

[156] ment. Chusisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading th

55 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
84 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
55 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
86 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
78 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

55 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
89 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.

89 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
72 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
71 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.

77 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
97 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

272

272 NONALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES--drinking of nonalcoholic beverages (e.g., tea, coffee, lemonade, milk, blood); special techniques of preparation (e.g., boiling, percolating); consumption (e.g., quantities, occasions); food values and physiological effects; drinking etiquette; etc. See also:

Dairying 234
Cultivation of tea, coffee, and cacao. . . . 246
Meals. 264
Utensils. 415

/350 cont./

175 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. The
167 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which
could not produce themselves.

174 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how lo
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that wh
they first appeared there they must have been in possession of
entire economic inventory which they possess at the present ti
(with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say,
the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds
and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, e
His first cultural products must have been made in areas which
were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It
be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made o
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendo
● 292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they pres
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robe
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink te
and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They hav
finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may,
haps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors
On what did they stop in their own independent cultural develo
ment?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iro
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remote
from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them
in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know ho
to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until
cently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boa
and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

T /462 cont./
Gi salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found
263 a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and
T the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,
263
554

Gi 1. Nadarov", "Siev.-Ussur. krai" (Zap.
[113] Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch.
Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 80).

Maack (2) reports that every well-to-do person among them has

2. Op. cit., p. 79.

T salt in his household. They buy it from the Daur and have a
263 designation borrowed from the Daur ("katà") for it: katachàn.
439 Presumably therefore, they first became acquainted with it
192 through the Daur, and at a time when the latter, prior to the Russian invasion, lived all along the upper Amur and its source rivers, the Schilka and Argunj, engaged in agriculture and live-stock-raising, and had barter-trade relations with the hunting tribes in the north (3). Therefore, even at that time the tribes

T 3. See p. 339 ff above.
262
179
439
174 of the upper Amur region may already have obtained a number of cereals for food from the Daur.

Gi /463/ There should be added to a consideration of the diet
Gi of the Amur peoples a few remarks concerning the luxuries used
293 among them, especially liquor and tobacco.
292
171 The Gilyak do not know how to make any beverage for
G pleasure, either by an infusion of water upon the leaves, stems,
292 barks, or other parts of certain species of plants or from the juice
293 of berries and other fruits of their region, as is understood so well
171 by the Italmen of Kamchatka, according to the testimony of

G /463 cont./
292 Steller (1) and Krasheninnikof (2). I came across just as little of
293
171
000

1. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka,
pp. 76-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossi, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.).

Gi I came across just as little of
292 anything of the kind among the Olcha and Goldi (3). Even tea,
293

T 3. I am thinking here only of beverages for
[292] pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among
[298] the Manegir on the upper Amur I saw a moss
[222] that they gather in the forest and call mogo
[439] drying in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be drunk in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

Gi Even tea
292 which these peoples must have known for a long time through
179 their association with the Chinese (4) and which they were able
439

G 4. The Gilyak have the designation pyncht
[292] for it.
[192]

to buy in Nikolayevsk as well as in Mariinsk since the Russian occupation of the region (in the fifties), had not found acceptance among them at the time of my stay in the Amur region (5).

Gi 5. Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin",
114 pp. 88-90) reported that in 1881 the Orok
179 on Sakhalin prized tea highly and, if there
292 were any, drank it regularly toward evening. But this could have appeared only since the

251 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.
231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. Whenever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.
262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.
They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

273

273 ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES--types of alcoholic beverages used (e.g., beer, wine, spirits); techniques of preparation (e.g., brewing, distilling); apparatus (e.g., stills); consumption (e.g., users, quantities, occasions); drinking etiquette; craving for liquor; prevalence of drunkenness and behavior under intoxication; associated beliefs and practices; social and legal controls; etc.

See also:

Industrialized manufacture of alcoholic beverages	274	Sanctions against inebriation	689
Utensils	415	Alcoholism	733
		Religious orgies	786

/65 cont./

796 574 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of [576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish [262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear [614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 264 576 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 533 273 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts [554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed [782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/383 cont./

422 673 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians, regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they 673 762 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 177 526 152 273 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling, and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

T Gi 263 /462 cont./ salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and T 263 554 the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,

Gi [113] 1. Nadarov", "Siev.-Ussur. krai" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 80).

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2. Op. cit., p. 79.

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T 262 177 439 174 3. See p. 339 ff above.

of the upper Amur region may already have obtained a number of cereals for food from the Daur.

Gi 273 276 171 /463/ There should be added to a consideration of the diet of the Amur peoples a few remarks concerning the luxuries used among them, especially liquor and tobacco.

G 272 273 171 The Gilyak do not know how to make any beverage for pleasure, either by an infusion of water upon the leaves, stems, barks, or other parts of certain species of plants or from the juice of berries and other fruits of their region, as is understood so well by the Italmen of Kamchatka, according to the testimony of

G 272 273 171 000 /463 cont./ Steller (1) and Krasheninnikof (2). I came across just as little o

1. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, pp. 76-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossi, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.).

Gi 272 273 I came across just as little of anything of the kind among the Olcha and Goldi (3). Even tea,

T 272 278 222 439 3. I am thinking here only of beverages for pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among the Manegir on the upper Amur I saw a moss that they gather in the forest and call mogo drying in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be drunk in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

Gi 272 177 439 Even Tea which these peoples must have known for a long time through their association with the Chinese (4) and which they were able

G 272 192 4. The Gilyak have the designation pyncht for it.

to buy in Nikolayevsk as well as in Mariinsk since the Russian occupation of the region (in the fifties), had not found acceptanc among them at the time of my stay in the Amur region (5).

Gi 114 177 272 5. Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin", pp. 88-90) reported that in 1881 the Orok on Sakhalin prized tea highly and, if there were any, drank it regularly toward evening. But this could have appeared only since the

"Our tent, being new and of very thin material, leaked badly--so much so that we could keep nearly as dry, and certainly much warmer, walking outside. We tried a small fire within, but in a few moments the smoke became unbearable, and for want of better refuge Swartz and myself fled to our Gilak neighbors. Their only shelter consisted of birch-bark, sewed together in long narrow strips about two feet in length, and spread over a frame of light poles sloping to the ground and forming a shed-like covering, open in front and at each end. This was erected upon the beach, facing the high wooded bank, which served as a protection from the wind.

As we came up, one of the women was in the act of preparing the noonday meal over a small fire in front of the camp. A small pot contained several fine trout, near which was hanging a good-sized copper tea-kettle (a rare article among the Gilaks, who are, as a general thing, unable to indulge in tea). On this occasion we furnished them, in exchange for fish. [123]

Beneath the shed several deer-skins were spread over a thick layer of green boughs, upon which half a dozen humans and about as many dogs lay twisted and coiled into almost every conceivable shape. The group presented a curious, if not interesting tableau, which I will endeavor to portray in a few words, as it conveyed to us a very complete idea of the internal workings of a Gilak domicil, as well as some of their occupations."

Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--424 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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302

[806]

heir mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has hewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark. 'he contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and ut into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, edar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then ooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of ooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They at with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry ood they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat ogether; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the owls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places hich, however, are usually not reached by flood waters. he houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom or more. The front of the village is usually more or less dden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. he only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither alls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen rdens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a llage. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the gs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have parate bear houses, a small square made of beams where bear is kept and fattened.

Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

t it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It nsists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir ams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over th clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of rch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae), which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes ighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

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266 CANNIBALISM--prevalence of cannibalism; participants; victims (e.g., captives, felons, slaves, sacrificial victims); parts eaten; occasions; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See Also:

Human sacrifice. 782

2 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
9 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

2 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

3 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
7 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

3 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
9 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

6 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
9 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

2 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
4 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

/716 cont./

hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uĭng-dshakkò of the Gilyak, with which it is uĭtsch to cut anything other than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed discussion.

The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

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271 WATER AND THIRST--
of thirst; ideas and pra
Water supply . . . . . .
Municipal purification of water
Utensils . . . . . .

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use of water for drinking; manifestations and control
ctices related to the drinking of water; etc. See also

. . . . . 312 Libations 782
. . . . . 364 Notions about water 823
. . . . . 415 Conception of the thirst drive 828

/324 cont./

412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
177 handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is shown on Plate XXX in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks for their quite primitive character.

342 As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
354 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
521 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed, and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
[352] lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another, all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
[276] leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adventures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened, a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway
[See Category 116, P. 1010--Analyst]

T. /462 cont./
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3. See p. 339 ff above.

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, one may safely assume that, like the Daur and Manchu ngari region, the tribal relatives of the Manchu who were distributed from the Sungari along the southern Amur far below the mouth of the Ussuri, approximately to the oldi village of Dondon, the Djutscheren, who lived in ming and livestock-raising villages (4), also cultivated

4. See pp. 316 ff. above.

among other things. Finally, it must have also spread Sungari and from Korea to the upper Ussuri and down this he Amur. There can be no doubt but that even before an military expeditions in the seventeenth century the d become acquainted with tobacco and its cultivation Manchu (Djutscheren) neighboring them, indeed, in part ng mixed in with them. Even today, tobacco is culti- t only by individual Chinese living in the area, but also themselves, on the Ussuri as well as on the Amur, and tter, strangely enough, exactly as far as the dwelling he Djutscheren formerly extended. For, going upstream, the first Goldi cultivation of tobacco in the village of ch lies on the right bank of the Amur, opposite the above- ed Dondon located on an island. Like the Goldi, the ving on the sources and tributaries of the Ussuri also ob- bacco in this way. Furthermore, the other peoples of Amur region, the Olcha, Samagir, Negda, and Gilyak, t with the Goldi as well as with the Manchu and Chinese mur and Sungari, must have also become acquainted with as early as the seventeenth century even though tobacco be cultivated among them because of climatic and sons. Finally, through the Gilyak and Olcha of the tobacco also reached their countrymen, the Gilyak of Sakhalin, whereas the third people of the island, the obably received it from /468/ another source, directly Japanese (1). Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had

1. The designation for tobacco, as among

G Gi /468 cont./
276 17 192 SS [192]

1. (cont.)
the Manchu (dambagu) and Mongols (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too; thus, among the Goldi and Olcha damche, tamche, and tamache, among the Gilyak tam(a)ch, among the Ainu tambaku, etc.

G Gi SS 276 439

Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Orochon, Manegir, and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which they established relations with them as well as with other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was definitely predominant among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Olcha, etc. What made it especially popular among them is its much greater strength or acridness in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as its being far cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

G SS 276 177

Like tobacco, the Gilyak and the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe (Gilyak tai), which is also widespread throughout China and consists of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

G SS 276 177 /468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, o mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every

G [554] [321]

well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of th Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [824]

A [171] [127]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VII Th. Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

A [113]

/464 cont./

made out of willow switches and lined on the inside with strong paper, or in square chests made of six boards and likewise with paper stuck on the inside, on which an opening, closable by a bolt, is found on top on one of the edges (4). One of the purposes

4. Williamson, op. cit., p. 68. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 113. Maack, op. cit., p. 196.

of a Sungari journey by the Gilyak, Olcha, or Goldi is to buy such a chest (Gilyak kylmr-wakke) (5) of araki, for the liquor

5. Wakke means box or chest in general.

is naturally much cheaper at the place of production than among the Chinese retail merchants along the Amur.

Along with the liquor the Gilyak and the other peoples of the lower Amur region have also adopted the manner of drinking it from the Chinese. Like them, they always drink it warm (6) out

6. Marco Polo already remarks that the Chinese do not drink the "rak" (arrack) until after they have first heated it (Marco Polo's Reisen, the German by Bürck, p. 341, note 284).

of tiny porcelain bowls which they likewise buy from the Chinese for the purpose, just like the metal can in which the liquor is heated beforehand by putting the can into hot water or in the hot ashes of a basin filled with glowing coals always kept handy for this purpose as well as for lighting the pipe (7). This is how the Chinese

7. The Chinese way of drinking liquor has often been described, for instance, by Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 390) and others.

G SS /464 cont./ This is how the Chinese
273 merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers
177 and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is
439 how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Olcha, or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamia Rinsô describes the manner in which the Smerenkur on /465/ Sakhalin drink their "arka" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these peoples is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage, from peculiar foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this circumstance, besides the others mentioned above, the procurement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I must testify to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This last seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as uitsch (unlucky) -- a conception which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

G 273 982 171 / G 273 (170) / G 273 439 / G 273 796

/465 cont./

273 preservation and augmentation of their property, which is peculiar
796 to the Gilyak to a high degree; for with the large number of participants at such festivals the host's expensive supply of araki would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore, thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak and the rare energy of their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their relations with the Russians a phenomenon which may hardly be equaled in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and losing everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small supplies of Chinese liquor. Their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

159 273 439 648

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels from Kamchatka and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikalia were added to the previous garrison of the lower Amur region.

the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolayevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /466/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyak were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the sixties one could read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyak, especially during their bear festivals and other celebrations (1).

[113] 1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

G 157 273 439 648 113 /466 cont./

1. (cont.)
"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 254); also Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

SS 276 19

Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and even the children are given the opportunity to become accustome to it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these people first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-know Manchuria is the country from which China, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dyna ascended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction o tobacco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

HM 276 19

HM [113]

2. Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Poussielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wassiljef ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the Manchu Dynasty.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

HM [113]

3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

439 /599 cont./
435 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want
291 them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evalua-
●273 tion of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the
435 Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

1. See p. 719 above.

of my stay among them. On the other hand, their gaze, constantly looking for advantages and profit, could not miss the value of so generally popular a commodity in the trade relations with both their own countrymen living farther away from the source of supply and in particular their less energetic Tungusic neighbors. Thus, their genius for trade also proved itself with respect to liquor and, as has already been mentioned, with the help of it they were even able to obtain many an advantage in their barter with the Russian Cossacks and sailors.

435 6) The articles that they themselves make for their household and the rest of their life and activities, such as utensils of all kinds, pieces of clothing, etc., however neatly made and adorned with decorations they might be, are not very highly valued by the Gilyak, unless they contain a precious material acquired from the Chinese, such as bows covered with buffalo horn, or the lances furnished with inlaid figures of silver, etc. It is not the fineness and beauty of the work or the time and labor spent on them, but the bit of silver or horn that gives these objects their high value in the eyes of the Gilyak.

*796 /722 cont./
594 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the
262 departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only
596 bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this in their mōps as provisions for the trip.

*796 Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog
53 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon,
562 however, for the first and only time the women actively partici-
171 pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators
*796 jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of
562 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because
[157] in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and
●[293] activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2. See p. 719 above.

*796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is
756 much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of the Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

9: Hawes--276 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 273 Russia
636.27

"Many of the peoples of these northern climes make intoxicating beverages, as for instance the Yakuts, who manufacture a spirit from toadstools. The Gilyaks may be considered an exception. There is, however, a decoction, but little heard of, made by them from the 'burrs' of birch-trees. These exude a black juice so strong that a piece of the wood, of the size of a lump of sugar, is sufficient to make a big cauldron of the beverage. The decoction is sweet to the taste, and has a welcome softening effect on the organs of respiration.

To-day Russian vodka, though prohibited by the Government, is eagerly sought after and frequently obtained."

Goldi RK3

463 cont. /

5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently -- was by no means the case at the time of my travels on it, or Schmidt's and Glehn's.

'hey did not know coffee at all and considered it, when they saw ne drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor 'as, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be ure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland, nder the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) araki or arki, also ustomary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic, longolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araku, airaki, etc.

ndoubtedly
equaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the me of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread pidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha, nd especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must ave soon been introduced to the Gilyak there. The latter, to be ure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from nother direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained eir liquor, the so-called ssaki, and even learned how to make weak ssaki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

7. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, p. 132. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

hinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinsô (8) reported

8. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

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/463 cont./

in 1808 that the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Sakhalin hardly know of the Japanese ssaki at all, to say nothing of /464/ making it themselves, but, on the other hand, "obtain a type of it, called arka, from the Man-kôs (Amur-dwellers), which in taste is very similar to the Japanese sôtsu." Like all products of civilization, liquor, too, is supplied to the Gilyak and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region chiefly from the Sungari region, where there are numerous and some very large distilleries established and run by Chinese (1) and in part also from the Ussuri, where the production

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1. Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, Vol. II, p. 67. Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

of liquor is likewise carried on by the Chinese, and, to be sure, exclusively for trade. The liquor made by them varies in quality depending on the grain from which it is made, either from kao-ljan, i.e., Sorghum vulgare, which is especially used for this purpose (2), or from one of the species of millet cultivated by the

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2. Barabash (loc. cit.) says that extensive kao-ljan fields along the lower Sungari always indicate distilleries in the vicinity.

Chinese (Setaria italica, Panicum miliaceum, etc.), or from a mixture of the latter with one another and with barley (3). De-

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3. For more details concerning the Chinese liquor and its preparation, especially in the Ussuri region, see Nadarof, Sieverno-Ussur. krai, pp. 105 ff.

pending on the quantity and the place of destination, the liquor is sold by the Chinese either in large bottles inclosed in wickerwork

Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw. Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

843 Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

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276 NARCOTICS AND STIMULANTS--drugs consumed for nontherapeutic purposes (e.g., tobacco, betel, coca, peyote); techniques of manufacture and preparation; methods of consumption (e.g., eating, chewing, smoking); special apparatus (e.g., cigarette holders, pipes, hypodermic needles); users; quantities consumed; physiological effects; behavior under narcosis and stimulation; associated beliefs and practices; social and legal controls; etc. See also:

Psychiatric aspects of drug addiction 188
Cultivation of narcotic plants 249
Condiments 263
Palliation of labor with drugs 461
Illicit narcotics traffic 548
Treatment of drug addicts 733
Notions about drug cravings 828

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak summer yurt.

/469 cont./

1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[1] and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014 – Analyst]

Gold RAS
Southeast Siberia RAI

/469 cont./

G 276 824 If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked G 276 415 in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of the pipes from time to time and stored in a special small pouch (Gilyak niryghsis), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6).[1] on which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped G 276 824 off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as

G [191]

1. The very same tobacco substitutes is also used by the Chukchee, who, however, obtain it by putting the wood shavings in the tube, much wider on their pipes, above the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated with nicotine from the smoke passing through it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a G 276 824 fern. Among the Goldi in Kõurmi on the Amur I likewise saw hanging bundles of an herb which they called toina and used as a substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of these plants must remain unknown.

SS 276 The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

SS [191]

2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not

[1] [See category 116, P. 1008 -- Analyst]

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Goldi RX3

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whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak
r great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to
thless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the
imiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing
nd fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins
er-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with
se (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among
red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like
the principal products from fishing also have a higher
ong the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon,
ple, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand be-
fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and
her hand because they are nowhere near as productive in
ct as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing.
nd vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem
aper for them than for the latter, both on account of
ter proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because
nselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is
idedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of
to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to
the above table /see p. 935/.

lly, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the
he Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the
e Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian)
s much more to their taste.
ce principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading
Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable,
otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on
, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters,
, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade
scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest
possible, not only by hunting, but in another way
ted to their nature. To this end they trade with their

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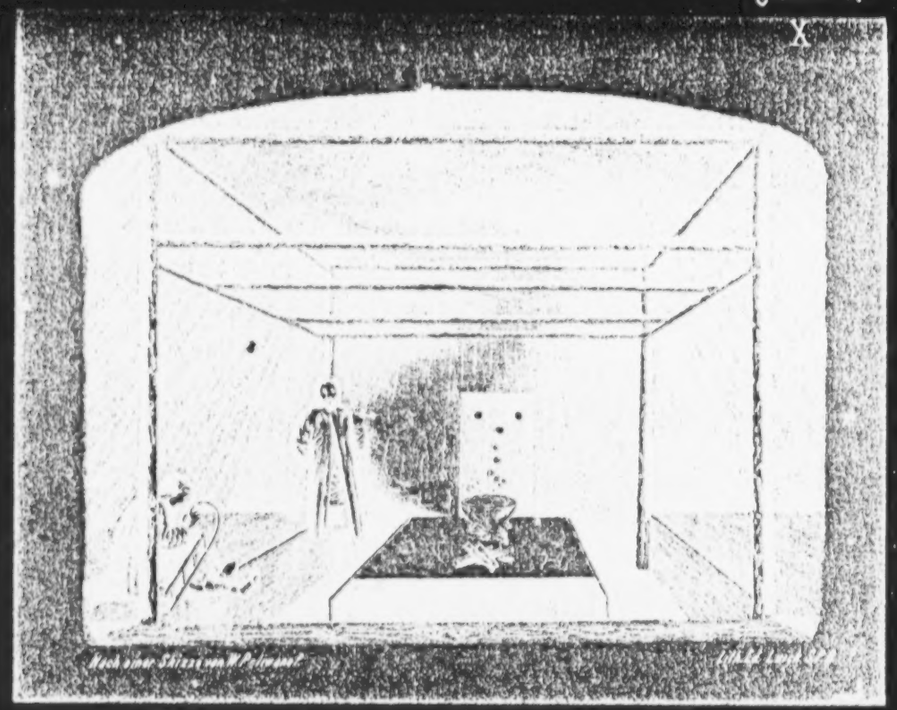
2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



The interior of a Gilyak winter yurt on Sakhalin.

Gilyak in summer clothing.

Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

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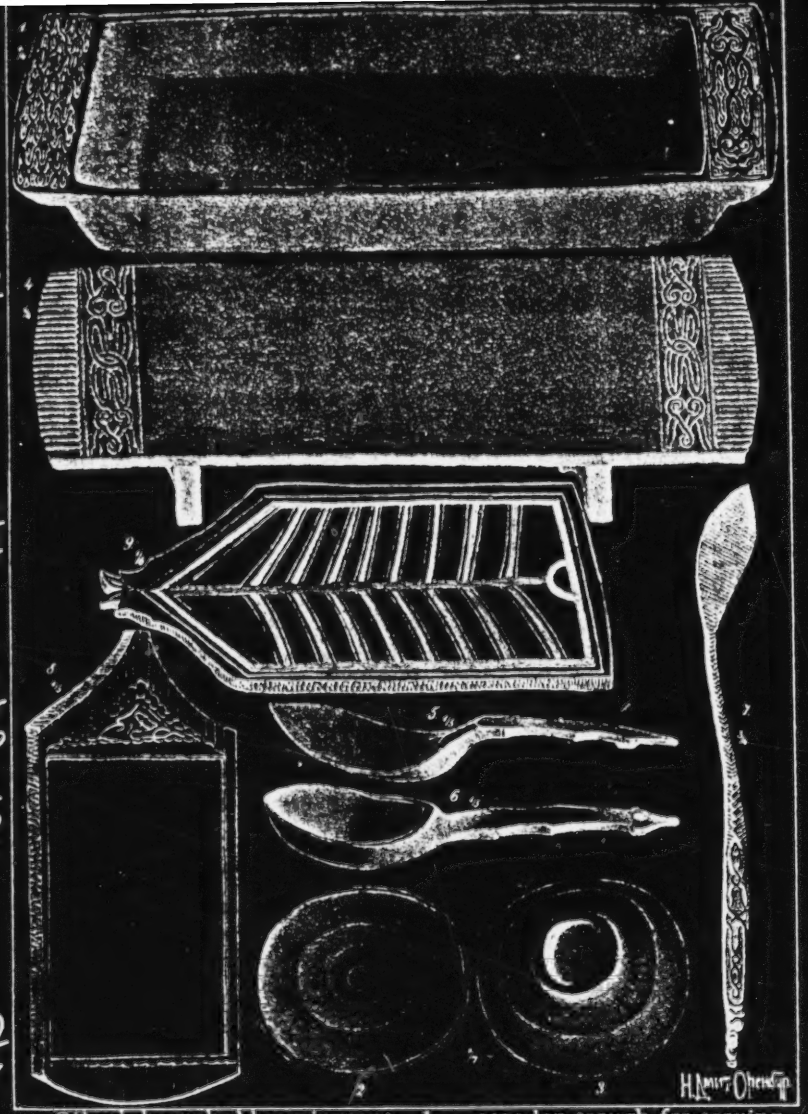

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop; 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

116, 276, 291, 302, 515

"They [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were
greasy skin garments, with naked feet and legs
that had once been braided, hung down their ba
both sexes were represented) was arranged mu
single braid, with the exception that no part of
two braids, or what had once been such, since
was a perfect mass of tangle, and becoming mo
energetic clawing and digging of several long,

We would have experienced some little diffi
which the woman had it not been for a long-ste
miniature brass bowl, which the former smoke
number of fine, large, freshly-caught fish."

e a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty,
s, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair,
cks in queues. That of the man (for
ch like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a
his head was shaven. The woman wore
her hair, as well as that of her husband,
ore so every moment through the
unwashed fingers.
iculty in deciding which was the man and
mmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and
ed, while his fair partner carried a

278

278 PHARMACEUTICALS--materia medica and pharmacology; manufacture of narcotics, drugs, and poisons; processing techniques; products; organization of labor and production; regulation; specialists (e.g., pharmacists); etc.
See also:
Use of poisons in hunting and fishing . . . . . 22 Use of medicines 757
Drugstores 444

/557 cont./

224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
278 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
439 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
käkch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

41 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
177 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from tw
439 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (póroki"): póroke.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy
000 Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

[113] 5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

"Coughs, colds, and pulmonary complanints are very prevalent, and the methods of healing scarcely adequate. For a sore throat, a concoction of moshun-tomash (field camo mile) is swallowed, and for inflammation of the lungs, a diluted exusion from the gungi of trees is drunk in place of tea.

Whether these herbal remedies are dictated by experience and the Gilyak knowledge of medicinal herbs, which is said to be considerable, or is anything more than Shamanistic lore and a series of charms, I cannot say. The treatment adopted for other ailments, such as toothache, swellings, earache, and ulcer, is certainly of the latter kind. For the first they apply some of the down of a hazel-grouse (Tetrao bonasia) to the cheek; for the second and third, the squirrel's tail (olf-rega) and a piece of its ear (tul-noss) are respectively tied to the parts affected; and for the last, gazhu, i. e. a piece of a wasp's nest, is placed on the ulcer."

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

1. Sometimes young bears roam about so far from their mamas that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand close to the entrance with his pelt coat on backwards, and as soon as the bear appears he hurls himself with his chest against the bear's head. The others hurl themselves on their leader and thus the alarmed bear is felled by the combined impact and is soon bound. If he is strong and raging so that he cannot be handled, he is immediately killed. Sometimes a noose is also put around his neck as soon as he appears. If the prisoner was a female with cubs, they are all taken home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in the lower Amur region, that is, in
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat farther up at the Amgun river. It is usually hunted in winter because, like the horse, it can travel only with difficulty in the deep snow, and the Gilyak on his snow shoes can easily overtake it and kill it with his lance. In summer time the animal is killed with rifles. Its meat is very popular and its skin is used for shoes, straps, etc.

The reindeer is also hunted chiefly in winter in the same manner. Occasionally the lance is also thrust at some distance from the target.

The wild boar does not occur on Sakhalin and the lower Amur; however, it appears 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk. It is hunted with lances and with rifles. Its meat is very popular, its skin, among other things, is used for the shaman drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably poisoned with the vomic nut which
278 the Gilyak buy from the Chinese. But this poison is not very
439 strong; much faster, in fact almost instantaneous, is the effect of its alkoloid, i.e., strychnine, which Russian fox hunters use but which the Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

224 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
278 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
439 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

224 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

136 The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for
224 it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs
825 only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the othe
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave
chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the wat
some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap wh
they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair wit
wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it wit
and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb thei
hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are
in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as th
three to four months old they are placed in a trough-lik
The little trough is open at one end and somewhat point
on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130]
is laid with its back against the bottom, its head agains
open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up
wise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother
leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle
her back.

368 When the Gilyák lad no longer needs his mother's ca
76 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gra
47 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even
but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him

55 The parents are tender and indulgent with their child

2 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
9 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

2 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

3 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
7 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

3 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
9 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

6 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
9 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

2 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
4 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
5 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

/327 cont./

reduced as much as possible. The house is provided with windows (4) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two longitudinal walls and the rear transverse wall each have two, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1); very often,

1. I did encounter this among other Amur peoples, but I shall speak about that later.

however, the window in the front transverse wall is absent, as, for example, in the Tebach house standing in the Pogromnaia on Plate XI, and not infrequently the other transverse wall and the rear longitudinal wall have only one window each, which is then always placed approximately exactly closer to one or the other corner of the house; in fact, in the smaller houses even the window in the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even there, because of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficiently. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size, sometimes rectangular wider than high, or vice versa. They have no crossbars, but instead only a number of vertical little sticks equidistant from one another, and fish skins take the place of glass between them. In particular these are skins from Salmo Jagocephalus (Gilyak: ḫgibi-ṅcho, or, on Sakhalin, ḫaghi-ṅcho) (3),

2. Known by the Russians throughout Siberia under the name ḫetĭ.

the most common kind of salmon in the Amur River, made as thin and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag. The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole frame. The floor inside the house consists of stamped clayey material. To the right and left of the entrance are the two hearths (2, Gilyak: ḫchenṅ) made of clay. They are fed through square

/388 cont./

1. (cont.) characters on it — no matter whether written or printed — I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in learning the possible diaries or other written notes of a Dzhaldzhin. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of Dzhaldzhin's maps of China were brought to me by their after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Nikolayevsk post.

/139 cont./

[illegible] the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible excursions and in [illegible] the starting of all kind of sleighs. The preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men return from their outside activities and when persons are gathering through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and who live in small huts, sometimes in rather great distance. Moreover, through the preparation for this meal the yurt is heated to the proper temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

Dried meat recently, dog meat — still a part of the bear festival; in there, the Nivkhs used the old steel-and-the old type of harness. The harness and the sledge which Grewingk saw in the Nivkhs in the beginning of the century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the same construction as another Tungus, namely, the Orochi, and were provided with a vertical shaft with the chief. The harness was made of a new type of steel.

The harness used the Gilyak trade wagon with a new type of steel. Its greater size and mobility permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods in a single journey drawn by 11 to 12 dogs. The Gilyak also had valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayar—usually called out his directions to his dog. The dogs were imported from Sakhalin and cost a brisk price. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a long or a longer sledge.

The Gilyak to a strength unknown to other peoples, especially in the Amur region, and, on the other hand, look as sturdy as they were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts especially sharply with the wide black edging with which the body of the robe is front, above and below, as well as the sleeves at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on in the interveining spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with different colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 and 4. The above-mentioned ornaments, however, too, are never lacking on them.

[illegible] 1895 г. 498—494 [illegible]

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, they began to use small quantities of tobacco, sugar and tea.

The immersion, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhs was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and was considered as a sacrificial animal. The Nivkhs also kept a few dogs in a household sense, as, for example, in a yurt, or in a fish-drying shed, or in a fish-drying shed, or in a fish-drying shed

/402 cont./

beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
[494] sinew attached to the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
[531] tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).

/402 At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak,
[494] who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements
[183] and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of
[171] the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a line for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

(3)

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 30. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rindô, "Tô-tari ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, Vol. 182, 188, 190, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note I. Fr. Schmidt, "Reinen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrovolskii, "Inzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Zvietiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 77). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

? [See Category 116, p. 1009 -- Analysis]

/403 cont./

286 (1. cont.)
[223] Geogr. Obshch., po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV,
[107] 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse,
[113] Ostr. Sakhalin" (i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70). Mimul, Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Suzpunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Ainu of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kêgiz, Bashkir, Vogul on the Ural, and others, as an ancienly familiar one (2).

(13)

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Gewohnheiten der Tataren /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Peterb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k Ledovit. moriu /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1833, pp. 73, 77. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Island of Berezov Kraj/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogouls" (Klaproth, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 261).

(150) Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving (3).

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned
[223] sideways served as protection from the wind. There were several
[107] other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance
[113] from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish; even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many impertinsions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about
[223] the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is
[107] provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and
[824] Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and retted in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first
[142] part of the work, the preliminary stripping of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women, the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Nivkhi, with the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and soaked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak pukin) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/559 cont./

286 which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illus-
[223] trated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from
[153] Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call
[107] "kangi-ngai" (kangi, horn; ngai, or from the name-piece of the
[113] Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak
411 kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white
[183] whale. A case made out of fur or fish-skin (Gilyak punnch-chal)
[223] is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ho)
[148] have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fish-
[113] ing eagle (Haliaëtus albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is wound on the spindles; the threads are then and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first part of the work, the preliminary stripping of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women, the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Nivkhi, with the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and soaked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak pukin) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winnyr (winter); and summer arrows, the vilyal are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone and
411 horn. Of the latter I have seen specimens of the sing leg bones of the
[183] musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended
[192] for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-2. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

Economy and Everyday Life

(223) The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most
[224] important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian
[225] salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zayezdki," sets sea
[226] salmon, or "zayezdki" was at its peak when the fish were taken and target
[227] set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the outcrop.
[228] On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a
[229] boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap
[230] and turned and swam into the net. Sometimes they saw the movement of the
[231] ropes, the fisherman lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this
[232] method, seven "zayezdki" produced 400,000 fish, or more than 2 tons. The Gilyakis
[233] needs of the fisherman. The "zayezdki" was usually built jointly by several families.

The salmon, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fibers
[234] They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom was standing in the
[235] shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from
[236] the Russians to sew together large salmon. Sedges and sturgeon were caught
[237] with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached
[238] to a long rope anchored in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (ungu-an-ma), carried
[239] on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets
[240] (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring
[241] and summer). The seines were used in the shallows.

The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the mouth of the Amur made a point of sea
[242] hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large
[243] fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the time of the first signs of breaking ice.
[244] They were killed with harpoons and clubs and dragged into the summer as well, in
[245] seiren on the ice floes. Seal-hunting was also pursued into the summer as well, in
[246] open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (ykh). This consisted

Sewing together a seine.

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
226 a special gift: the pim, throws into the sea together
786 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Ui,-ker, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first line at which
they stop. The Gilyakis believe that on every cape (kr,-) there
lives a ·tik- an old woman. These old women must also be
given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed
that ytax-·lik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who
lives in the mouth of the river Kal helps during the hunt.
225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf
(Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes
spend the entire summer and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks
told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kuvr-
mkl (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenck, the Gilyaks
go to Shantar Islands (On the natives
of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo·ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when
the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end
of the summer and then they would return to the village to
fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal
hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of
tsia-k'e, a heavy drag net.

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not
exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Nosp put
out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the
hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals
off cape Lisse and stayed there for two months.

The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
411 225 tsia-k'e. (2) Tsia-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
283

2. The very old seal-hunting implements in the
village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tia is
completely out of use. It was made out of a few long
sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted
with its structure and I observed how it is being used
in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18
kilometers in length.

maksuna. The rope is 45 ruchnyk (makhovyk) sagenes long.
Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a stretch.
Tsia-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the
tsia-k'e is called ·taki 'back.' The shore-end of the set is

411 called ymlrus and the sea-end is called ·zs-bax-puka
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied ·zs-bax 'master's stone' or 'masters stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the
seine. In place of plummets stones are attached to the bottom
of the seine. They are called tstr-pay . Large wooden floats
(vas,) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine, and
a stretch gets caught in the net, the stretch starts to
flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge
of the seine together with the plummets over the upper edge and
finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into
the seine. The seals pryt are shrewd and are seldom caught
in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of
the village Kul set the tsia-k'e at Kôvt-yain, Ks-ymu, Vilk
Lo·ri, and at.

According to old man Virp, some claims in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus Clan Qayjuy owned: 1. Lulvyz-pax, 2. Qayaqi,
424 3. Ir.
411 Lulv. -p·r and ·a,ryaqi are names of rocks sticking out
of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks.
It is a small island close to which there is another such rock.

3. In fog the hunters come alongside of the shore
or of the small island ·r. Then the young hunters
amuse themselves and play. There are only two
tsagr-pak stones for a game: "who can lift it and
who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat
place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition
consists in jumping on one foot (ta,lut ferd).

Clan Tsauuuy owned: 1. Mat,-lotri, 2. Tp·ri-yr·x, 3. Zom
v.r.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are
resting places for seals. The third is a rock.
Clan Kezop owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for
seals and Hapsa-vir - a stone.
225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

dominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of
hination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs
their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imag-
tion so boldly that their assertions contradict those of
er shamans or of everyday experience. From conversa-
ns, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the
yak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits,
n good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not
erged from fetishism.
od (Kush or Kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
er appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing
aid of his characteristics. In one village, however, I
rd that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In
we may already see something like priestly self-glorifi-
ion. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother
ch about him, only now and then something is sacrificed
im, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him
or his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak
sses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a
l of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the
rifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is
rificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a
ke is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it
let or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240]
tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme
g. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.
he bear usually appears as the executor of divine
inances, and he punishes the bad people during their life-
e. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstiti-
s ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be
arded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as
d or demigod.
he Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
om encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
d him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded
aving some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a
ain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored
". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874.
(Published in Russian).

ble. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and
the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets
789 handled with
278 house of the i
Besides the s
sold, for the
brave, and the
776 Of the nume
782 know about, s
ity are more
with gifts. Th
island of Sakha
778 ponds to the d
782 and "idol" are
532 symbols, but
kobolds. Usua
handed out on
means that its
it gets "lighter
somewhere.
tobacco, etc.;
with cranberry
Wood chips are
different appea
lives in a wood
vicinity of the
taken down, th
one is made.
others have the
still others hav
idols represent
hands and feet,
ing a navel. S
These also usu
789 different. Thu
844 figure carved
Besides the
778 looking objects
782 have a mysteri
177 stands on the s

1. From

Nikolayevsk-na
a Bhuddist tem
pillars remain,

aught, he is killed. But even after that he is
spect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
ols and left there until it begins to decay.
in, the bones and the gall are immediately
rmer are held by the Gilyak to make a man
latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
ous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
me are good and protect man, but the major-
r less evil, and must therefore be propitiated
e chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the
lin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
vil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
both called kegn, for the idols are not only
t times also the dwellings of the spirits or
lly they are kept in the storage huts and only
pecial occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when
" than usual, the spirit is roaming about
he offerings here also consist of millet,
very often the face of the idol is smeared
juice, which seems to have a powerful effect.
also hung around its neck. The idols have
rances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
en cone that is placed somewhere in the
yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be
e idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
Some idols are crude imitations of humans,
shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
ve the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
t children, others old people. Some have
others only a head which sits on a body show-
mall idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
ally have human forms, but some look very
s the talisman against a difficult birth is a
of wood, representing a double acorn.
idols, there are some more or less strange-
not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
ous significance for them. Such an object
o-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

the Gilyak village Tyr.

-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank
ple formerly stood; of this only a few stone
bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

281

281 WORK IN SKINS--preparation of hides and furs (e.g., drying, scraping
ning, tawing); materials and products; special apparatus; cutting an
ing of skins; specialization and organization; etc. See also:
Animal by-products . . . . . 237 General tools . . . . . .
Manufacture of garments 394

284

4 KNOTS AND LASHINGS--types of knots and their uses; splices; methods of lashing, hafting, and joining; etc. See also:

Weapons and tools . . . . . 41 Surgical ligatures. 752
Knot records 211

/509/

G. G. 412 171 [396 126]

The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is d
all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilya

[284]

Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of
Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the A
Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is il
the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which
acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, an
made in the following manner. At the upper end of
branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron b
ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong,
means of its upper part, which is all that remains of
the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the ac

G. 412 171

Gold RX3
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G.
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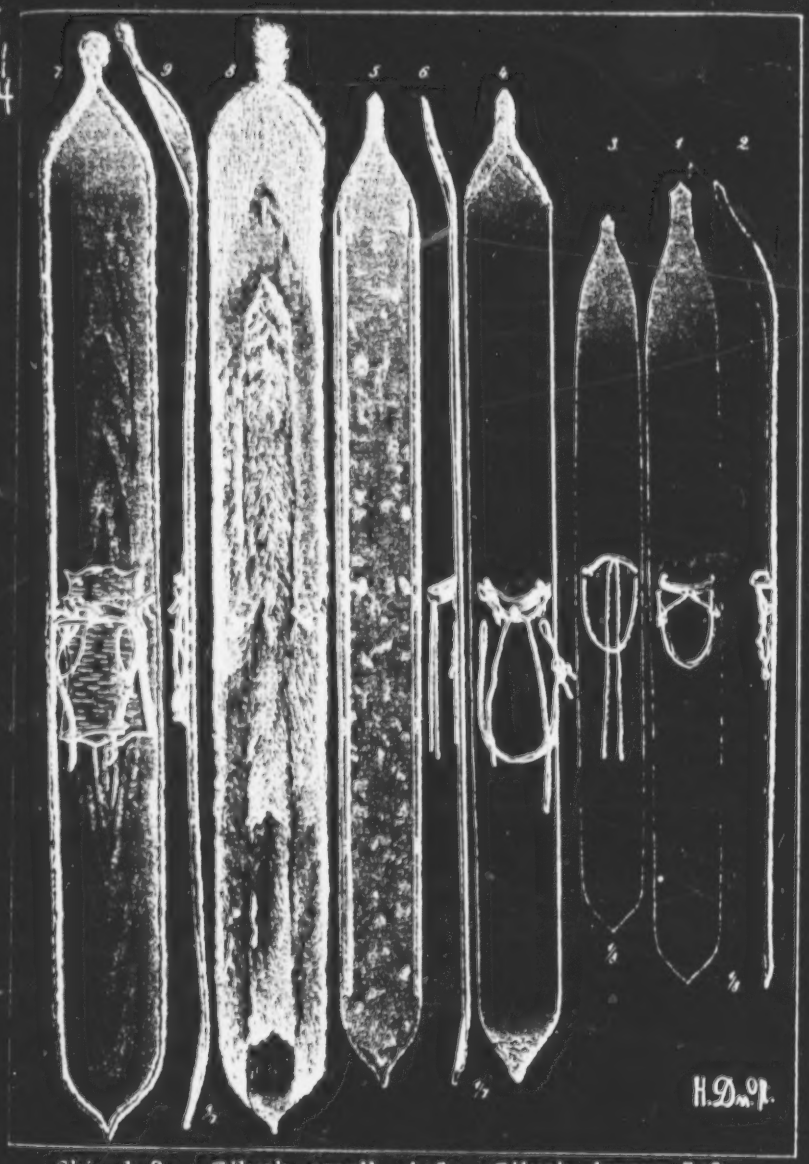
481
.284



Ski: 1-3 -- Gilyak, small; 4-6 -- Gilyak, large; 7-9 -- Goldi, large.

e skin, [LSS: of the white whale.] I believe,
l (Arctocephalus monteriensis), thongs of se
it spirally. These are again cut into lengths
ons, dog harness, and straps generally."

and certainly from that of the
everal hundred feet are obtained
s of about 130 feet, and much prized

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1, 2 -- weapons for killing seals; 3, 4 -- weapons for killing white whales.

285

285 MATS AND BASKETRY--techniques of manufacture (e.g., checkerwork, coiling, twilled work, twining, wickerwork, wrapped work); materials; products; uses of mats and baskets; personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Household appurtenances. . . . . 352 Utensils. 415

342 /327 cont./ They are fed through square
354 openings (f) on their front side and on top have /328/ a round
[415] hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dog
and under certain circumstances even food for human beings ar
342 prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearths are the sitting and
352 sleeping benches or plank beds (h, Gilyak: tikky) which bend i
354 very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet hi
and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chi
characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of
wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both
hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the
house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the sing
pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet
for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not
far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (
Gilyak: kla) usually higher than the house. The benches are
342 covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves ou
352 of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncover
● [285] and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mat
places. In the center of the house, between the two posts sup-
342 porting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (l), about two
352 fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
231 which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: kyl
The top of it, which along its longitudinal edges usually projec
out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped contin
tions, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground
and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, du
ing the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
Above the two ends of the dogs' table two cross-sticks hang dow
from the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long po
can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during
the feeding. Our Plate XII, 3/4 which shows the feeding of the do
to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of
the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, howeve
that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the
other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide
Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and
the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurat
3/4 [See Category 116, P. 992 -- Analyst]

286

286 WOVEN FABRICS--textiles; weaving, knitting, and netting techniques; special apparatus (e.g., netting needle, loom); products and their uses; specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Clothing	29	Industrial production of textiles	288
Spinning	283	Description of power looms	402

/402 cont./

294 412 531 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).[1]

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak, 286 283 171 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

(113)

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

[1] [See category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

/532 cont./

286 uniform in shape. Nevertheless, as we shall see in a moment, only a few, about four, can be distinguished among them as the most important and most practicable sizes on the basis of the principal types of fish. But before we discuss them in more detail, consideration must be given to one instrument which is used by the Gilyak for knotting all nets, no matter how fine or coarse they may be, for an uninterrupted and an even flow of the work. This is the so-called pork (Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 7) -- a wooden reel revolving around its axis, with two arms at the top and at the bottom, on which the cord for the net is wound and which is hung by its lower handle-end on a ceiling beam of the /533/ yurt or elsewhere, so that the threads required as the work progresses always run smoothly and unchecked to the knotter.

[192] The two most important tools used by the Gilyak for net-knotting are a peculiar netting-needle, Gilyak kilks (1) (Pl.

1. Among the Olcha it is called ssarpol, and among the Goldi ssarfo.

XLI /see p.1021/, Figs. 1-4), and a rectangular wooden board called kiwu (2) (ibid., Figs. 5 and 6). The former consists of

[104] 2. The w in this word is pronounced like the English w. Among the Olcha the kiwu is called keror or kerul.

a long, narrow, and thin wooden plate, the lower end of which is two-pronged as a result of the cutting out of a section, while in the upper half two long cutouts running parallel to the edges and meeting just short of the tip, leaves a long prong in between reaching almost to the tip, which I shall call the upper prong to distinguish it from the two on the lower end. The cord to be used for making the net, unwinding from the above-mentioned reel, is wound around these three prongs, and, indeed, in such a manner that it is alternately slung around the one and the other of the two lower prongs and, in between, always around the upper prong.

/533 cont./

286 192 Wound in this manner, the kilks, like a shuttle, moves from one side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, knotting its meshes. But in order to make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be there only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

286 192 226 [225] The larger the meshes of a net are to be, the larger must be the instruments used in making it, the kilks and the kiwu. The net used for catching hausen (patch-tscho) and occasionally also for seals -- Gilyak patch-kä -- has the largest meshes and, correspondingly, is made out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the netting needle, Fig. 4, called patch-kä-kilks by the Gilyak (also tolles-kilks and kerwagn-kä-kilks), and the corresponding mesh-board, patch-kä-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukki-kä, follows: tukki-kä-kilks (also jaghsin-kä-kilks), Fig. 3, and tukki-kä-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kä-kilks or also nokn-kä-kilks, is used for making the nets with which such fish as pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimk (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), kych, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, was designated for me by the Gilyak as myrch-kä-kilks, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (myrch-kä) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added, 286 226 however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for catching the tengi, S. proteus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, such as S. proteus in particular, do not require finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

/534 cont./

226 286 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the myrch-kä, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

[192] 1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it chalang.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While 227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The [286] nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

G /534 cont./
227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
• [286] the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
[784] are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and super-
stition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he
must always go around them, never underneath them. And,
finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used
again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among
the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used
in making it.

G Gi /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
226 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the
433 lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with
a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in
part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in
G part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
Gi First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
[262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from
the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new
methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that
none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are
or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak,
and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and
with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
G. all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
Gi to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life,
[224] hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying
the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more im-
portant role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is
more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream
and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently,
it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this
away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
G. ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
Gi 226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that
the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

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• 286
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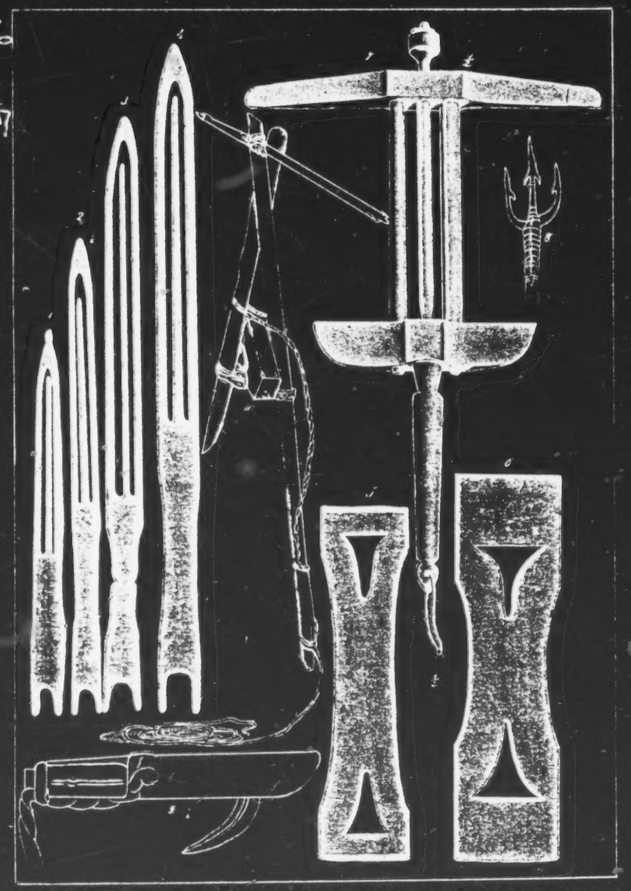

Fishing equipment of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi: 1-6 -- needles for plaiting nets (Gilyak) /see the listing for Pl. XLI, p. 431hh /; 7 -- yarn reel (Gilyak); 8 -- fish harpoon (Goldi); 9 -- fishhook for sturgeon (Goldi); 10 -- anchor that goes with it (Goldi).

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Economy and Everyday Life

226 The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most
[433] important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this
[433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the
[496] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber.
227 They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the
[283] shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from
[177] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign [illegible] breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

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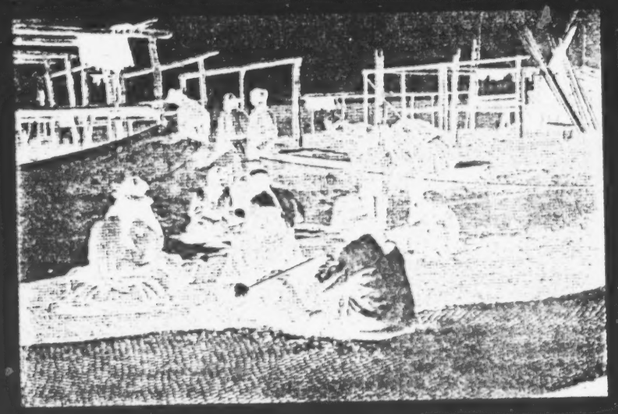


Sewing together a seine.

/403 cont./

1. (cont.)
Geogr. Obshch., po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70). Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /S[illegible]ch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1[illegible], pp. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Ssuprunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Ainu of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kirgiz, Bashkir, Vogul on the Ural, and others, as an anciently familiar one (2).

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k" Ledovit. moriu /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1833, pp. 73, 77. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Krai/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogouls" (Klaproth, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 251).

Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving (3).

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

/403 cont./

3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 194 191 [126] [114] I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas [199] the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish: even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 283 [824] In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first [462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, [114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kuik. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksj) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/532 cont./

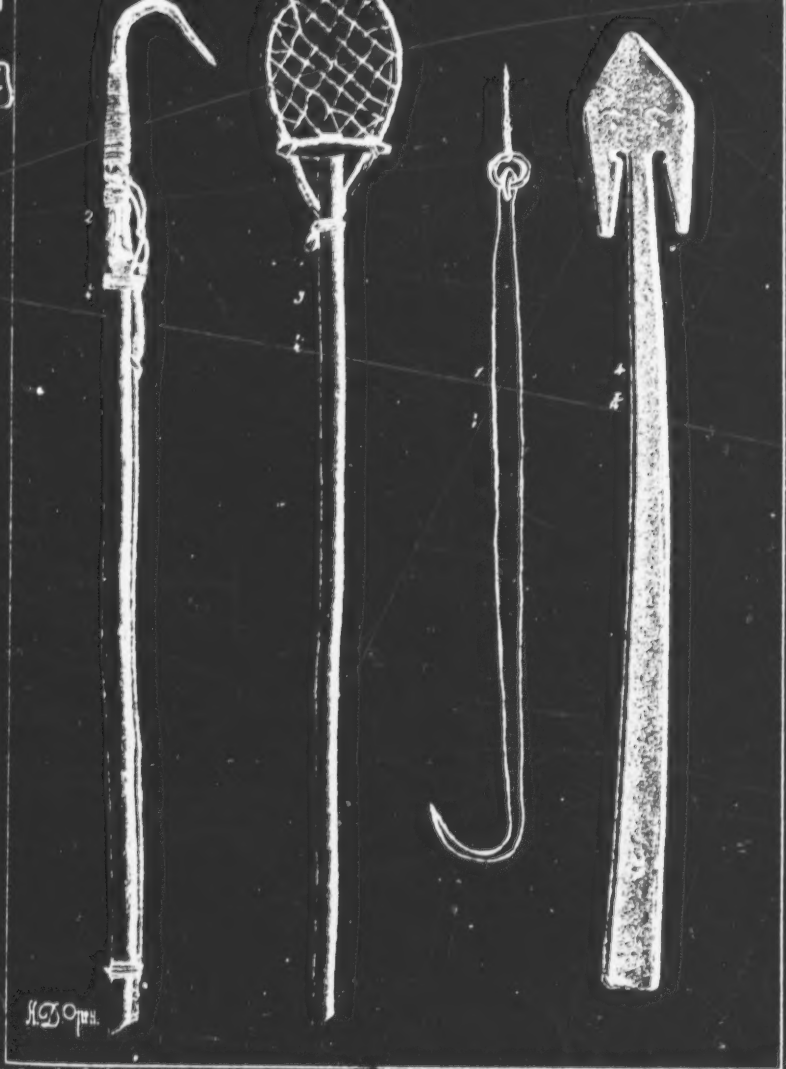
286 283 this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended f

[113] [114]

1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 [227] In view of the considerable variation in size of just the principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while



Gilyak fishing equipment: 1 -- fishhook for Gadus wachnja (Pall.); 2 -- hook for pulling out fish; 3 -- net for cleaning out the holes in the ice; 4 -- odn-tschongr of the Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--554 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

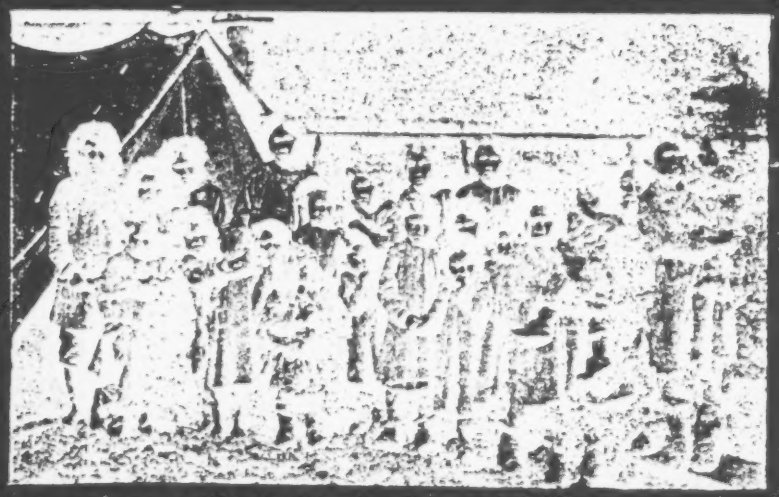


Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

2: Schrenck--207 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881

/100 cont./

101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer an
were involved, they gave different names
one and the same people differing only sli
101 is therefore not surprising that one finds co
114 in the interpretations made up to now abo
Chinese names, for which the above point
and which, in addition, came from men
sonal acquaintance with the lower-Amur p
example, thought at the beginning that Fi
were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4);

(113) 4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 182
301. In this connection he r
Gilyak as the Kuriles of the c
cerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timko
Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kilen
called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russi
ever, even recently regarded the Fiaka as
on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, tha
considers the alleged habitation sites of th
as the few reports concerning their respect
way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to
right to the latter interpretation, but cann
it either. The description of the Fiaka in
•[291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but b
winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, inco
Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, who
for /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer ski
a Tungusic people devoted to a higher leve

1. The drawings of the Kileng
(Atlas, Plate VII), as crude an

d more familiar regions
to branches or tribes of
ightly dialectally. It
ontradictory statements
ut these Manchu-
of view was not followed
who lacked any per-
peoples. Klaproth, for
aka and Chedshen
later (5), however,

23, pp. 290,
egards the
ontinent, con-

ovski's

g, as they supposedly
ans. Palladij, how-
Gilyak, and the Kiler,
at is, Negda. If one
ese peoples, as well
ive character traits,
be sure, grant more
ot entirely agree with
the atlas accompany-
brave people who in
ontestably fits the
se clothing of stag hide
ns) in itself indicates
el of hunting (1).

and Fiaka
d dissimilar

A G 101 439

/117 cont./ buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G 175 113 291

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi 103

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

4 sled is 70-80 rubles.
2 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.
1 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

VII. Trades and Occupations

5 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.
Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.
5 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.
572 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.
The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

291

291 NORMAL GARB--nude and covered parts of body; services of clothing (e.g., protection, vanity, modesty); standard costume; age and sex differences; seasonal variations; styles and fashions; description of individual garments; means of attachment and suspension (e.g., belt); etc. See also:

Cyclical trends in fashions 178
Sumptuary laws 434
Sexual modesty 834
Swaddling and infant attire 854

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

/254 cont./

832 826 609 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrā -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

832 826 533 In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree," luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek), gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 291 533 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 577 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ŕvukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer, Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the [867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

Sakhalin

/350 cont./

175 169 648 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

104 160 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

179 41 325 342 354 291 292 262 244 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent, have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

179 325 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

Amur
Sakhalin

Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

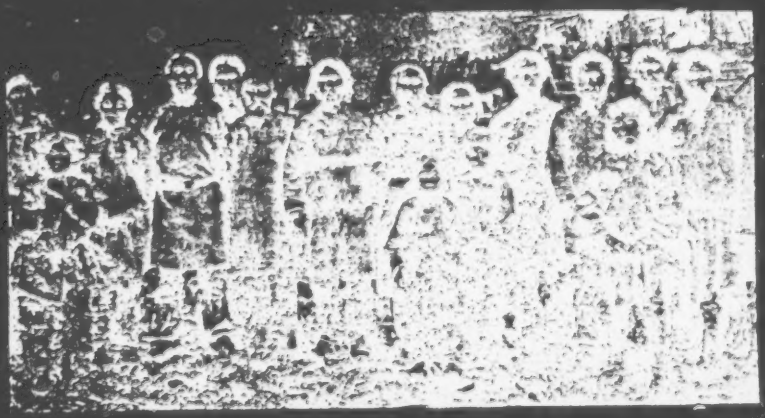


Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak,

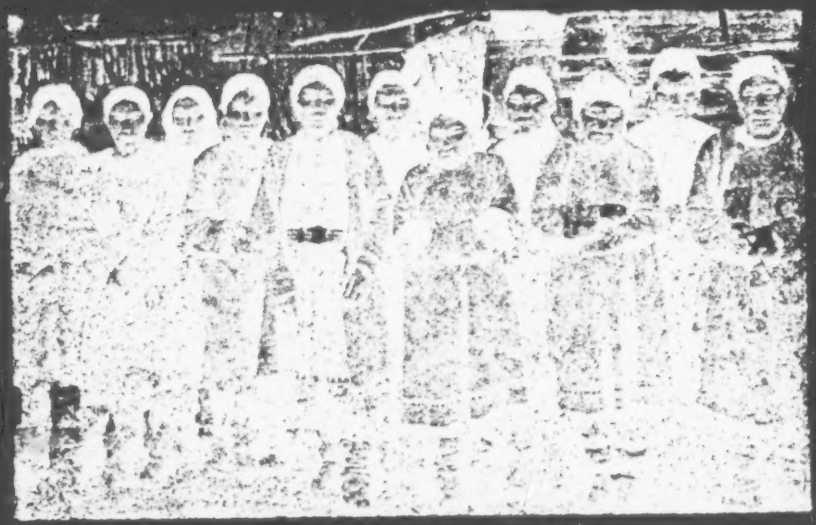

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

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Tungus RU

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are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

/386/

Section 5

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External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

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As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our discussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and seal-hunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only second place among them; furthermore they keep only one domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals; and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203 above.

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Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, besides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak, possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

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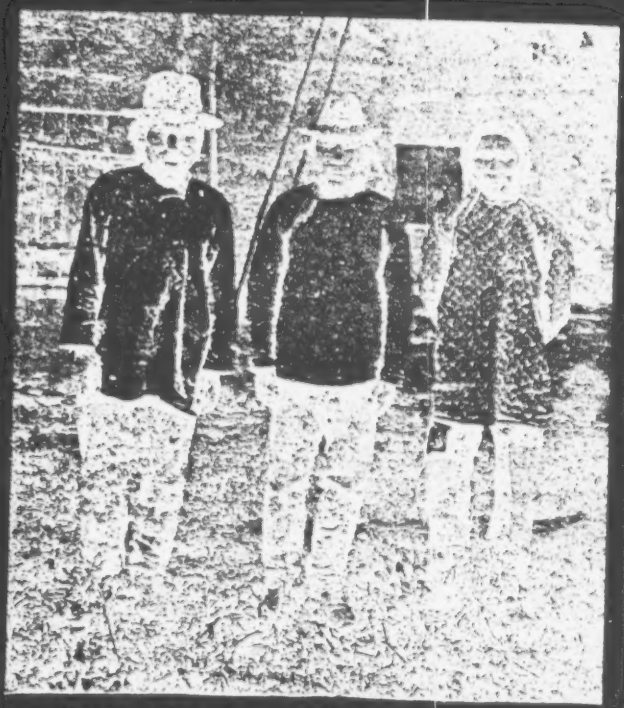

Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

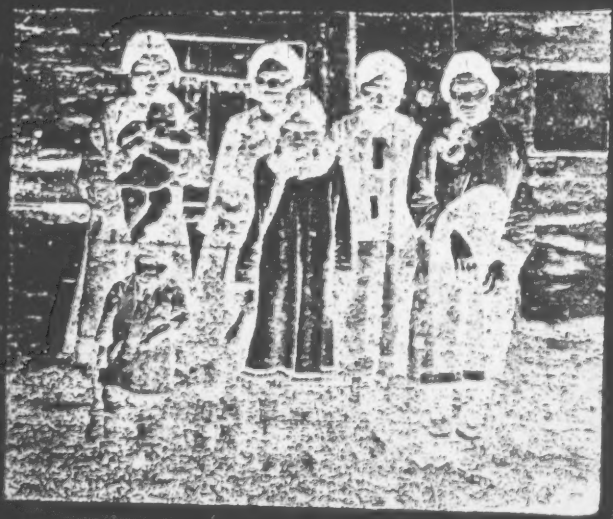

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Amur
Sakhalin

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Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

[516]

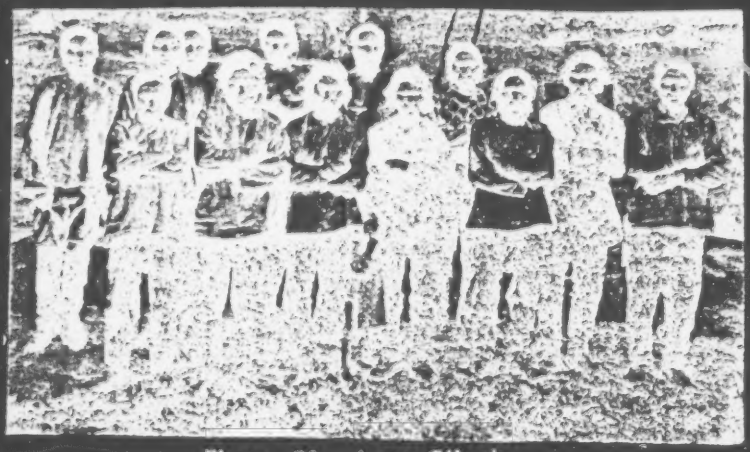
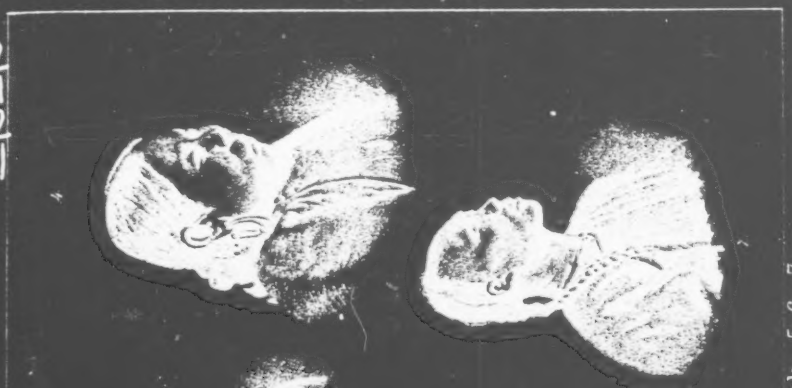


Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

1, 2, -- Gilyak Women; 3, 4 -- Gilyak Gi
Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--425 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



ls; 5, 6, 7 --

H.M. Queen.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/386 cont./
represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese. Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange, besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this trade has a very great association with this civilized people next to them, easily explain the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and arrangement of embroidery and other decorations.

/387/ The clothing worn not to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are sometimes cut in a single piece, tunnies (Gilyak [illegible]), an under and an outer skirt (Gilyak [illegible]) reaching to the knees and sometimes to the ankles, and a short shirt. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese, for nowadays also of Russian, blue or gray cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, they do not wear when wash their clothing, very soon turns a more or less dirty gray.

As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always wore as footgear. As a rule, the lower part of the boot (Gilyak [illegible]) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak [illegible]), tightened and highly polished. Sometimes, in the case of older specimens, it thicker and more durable than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (2). Summerboots (Gilyak [illegible] and [illegible]-[illegible]) (3) and

1. See my Beis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Lengr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back and sharply bent toe, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

/388 cont./
Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin tunnies they also

1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorated several little bran crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" on the back of the medallion, I found the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wai or one of the nearby villages. In the Amur region, these pieces come from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1864, after he had left the mission station in Wai, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venaut, who by order of the governor-general of Manchuria made a journey in 1880 from Aike-bo on the Sungari to the station of Wai, found in a Gilyak house, in one, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Comte, Adrien de Gerlaz, Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1882 (Vol. III), p. 228). In my ethnographic objects collected by Venaut concerning the kilting of ice in Brunière, I found a little cross and medal of pewter that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wai and Sadach, at the point where the mole in a savage pate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1856. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wai was amazed to see me as one of the Chinese. The moderen. He evaded or declined to adhere to questions concerning the Gilyak. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (ulkuch) to destroy a piece of paper with

/389/
The footgear of the Gilyak women is the same as among the men, namely, "Chinese make the man." Which is special, for the women wear, not only occasionally, have legs likewise of fish skin instead of leather, as the men of Chinese. Besides from Gilyak [illegible]-[illegible], also from Saime [illegible] (Gilyak [illegible]-[illegible]), which women also wear, and which, as the Chinese is in regard to the equivalent of two other skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not rare among the Gilyak, and, as a rule, only the rich can obtain it. As a table to be presented below, on the values given by the Gilyak to various articles of clothing, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which cost much more than a lynx skin. Such articles are the [illegible] and the [illegible] and attention as the lapter does. Conceptions of product and that therefore come into play here. In view of the active, commercial relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, or, the Chinese, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/394 cont.

the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur cap, inside the yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach free, they are flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-pani, it were there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small head and at the bottom knotted around the body by two cords. The example of the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Justin in Tebach, was of Gold workmanship. In was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fur, and adorned all around with the fur, and the pendant on the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a special form of pendant that I noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a peach tied around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak sitting outside their huts it is especially important to protect the lower against wind and weather, and so the lower death (Gilyak pani) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

/395 The footgear has already been mentioned above. In the winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put on boots made of bear skin, or more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). According

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Pub. Museum. "Der Eismeer von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/," in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, Pl. 13)

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ningsta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

/395 cont.

sala (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with

2. According to Maximowicz (Statistisch/Orientalische Reise in Ussuri-Land, in Mél. géographiques, 1. Fascicule, p. 1/Acad. de sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to E. Bretschneider (Pub. Museum. Ost-Asiatische Gesellschaft, Vol. IX, 1880

2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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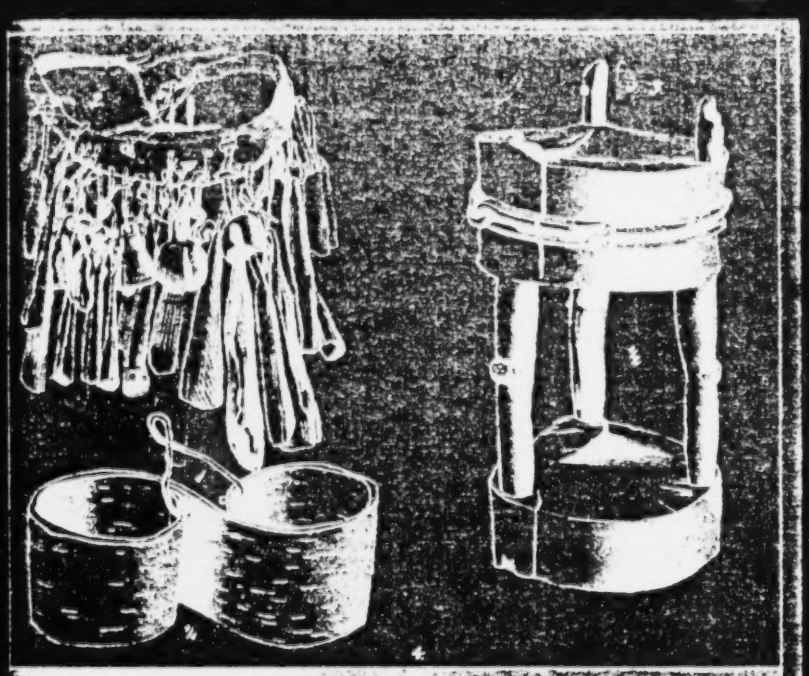
2: Schrenck--1261 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 III

756 ←

778
782 →

778
415 ←



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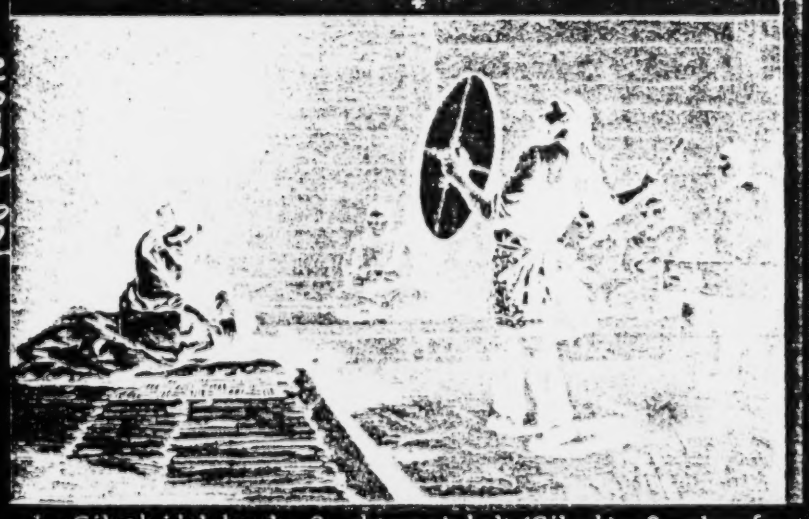

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

342
361
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291
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XI.

Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

764
493
291
419
352

LXII

A Gilyak corpse in the yurt.

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XII

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• 291
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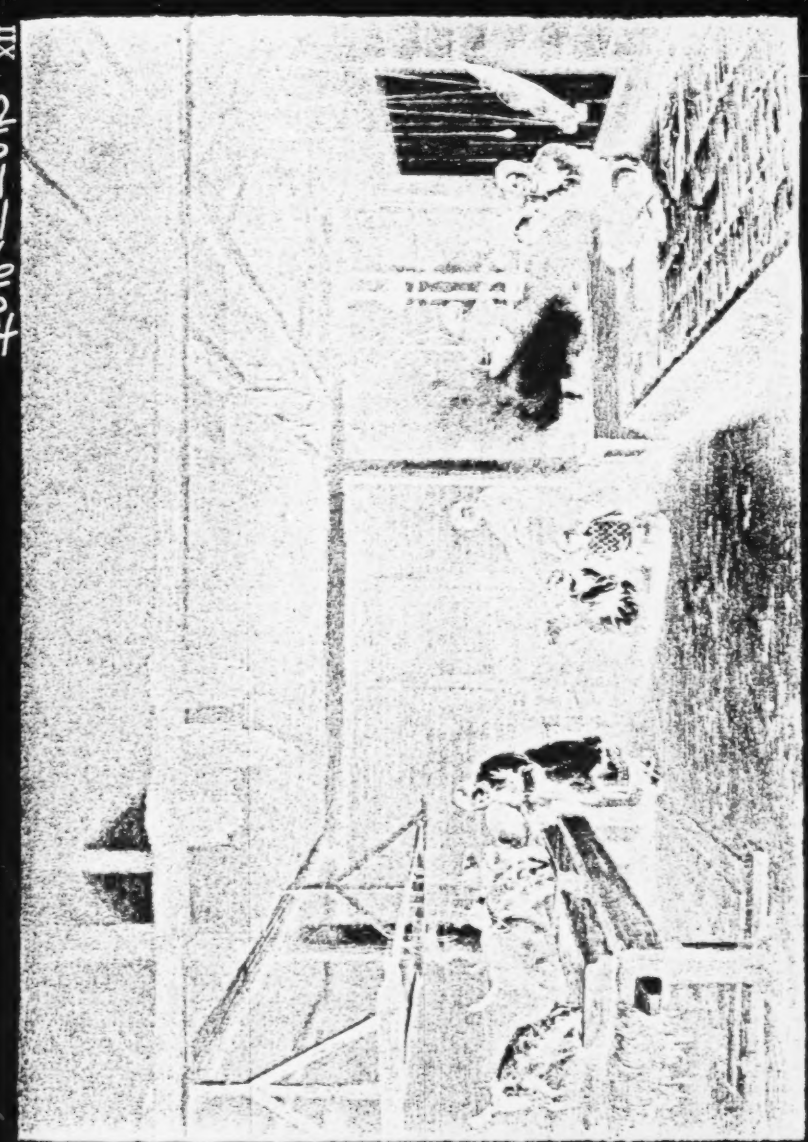


The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

2: Schrenck--1263 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXIII

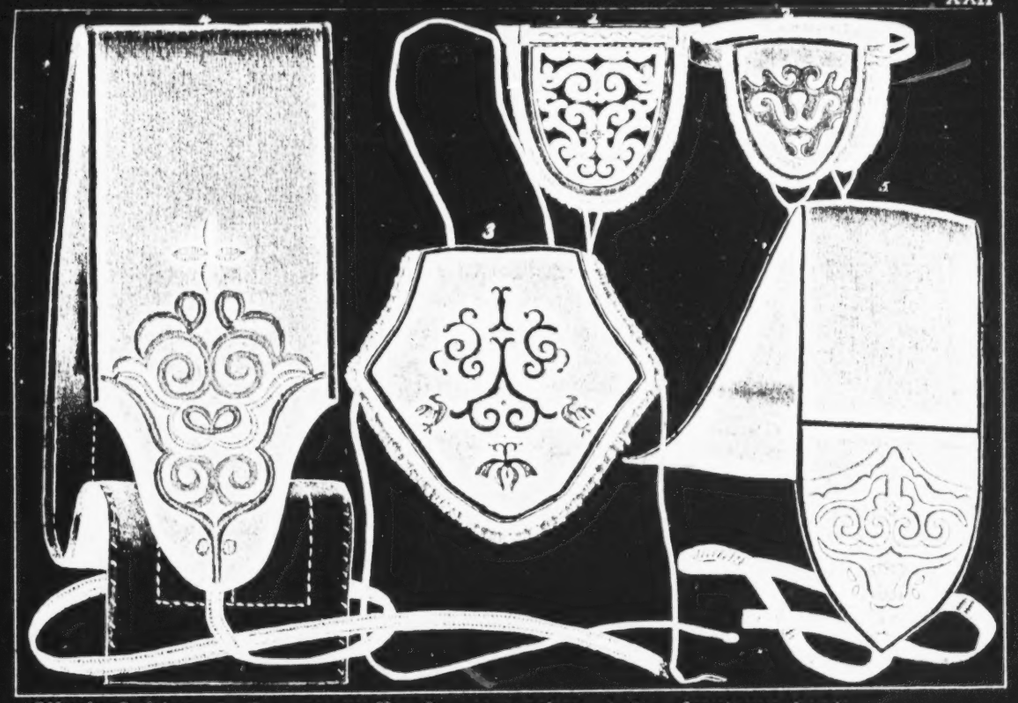
764
231
342
• 291

Gilyak interment.

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- women's everyday cap; 3 -- women's elegant cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the same made of lynx fur with sable trimming.

2: Schrenck--1002 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XXII



Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- ear muffs; 3 -- stomacher; 4, 5 -- fur sleeve-bands.

2: Schrenck--1009 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

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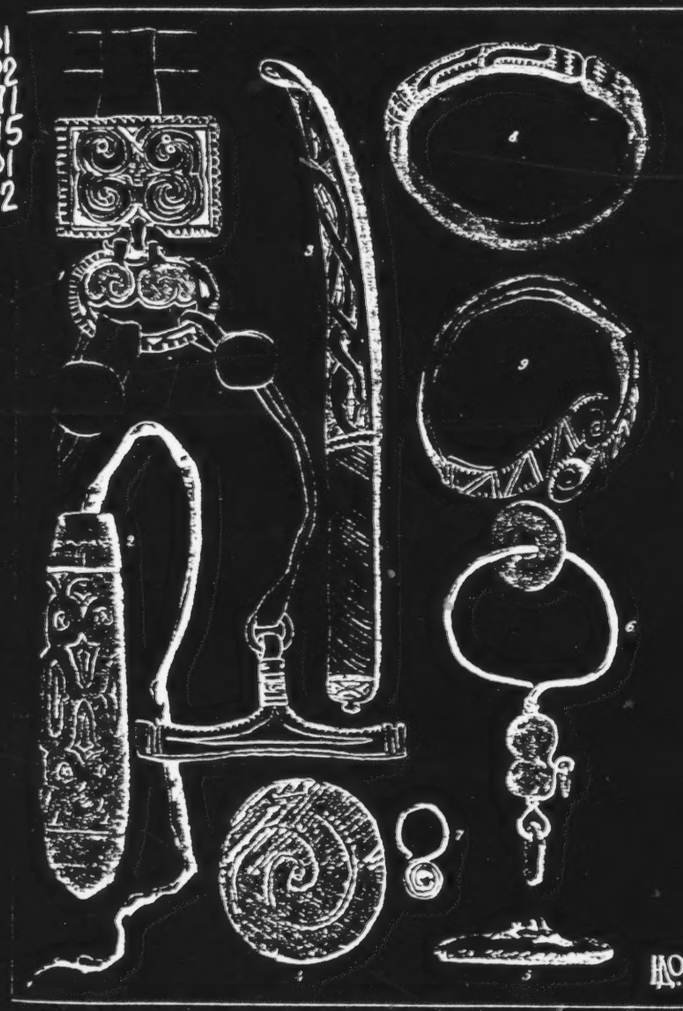


Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

/409 cont./

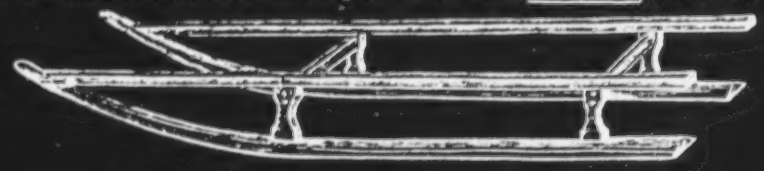
As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

Gi /492 cont./

Gi 492 the river near the Gilyak village of Plub-wo, we saw in the willow
Gi 493 thickets along its bank three sleds harnessed to dogs, whose drivers
[114] had climbed down and were holding their dogs. They informed us
G. at once that an Orok reindeer-expedition was approaching and that
Gi we must likewise hold back our dogs. Two of the men could be
[291] recognized as Orok merely by their clothing, the reindeer-fur coat
caps, boots; the third was dressed like a Gilyak, in a coat of dog
fur, with sealskin boots and apron-like skirt (kossjkcha), the latter



Orok Sled

Gi 493 of which was not lacking on the other two. Their sleds differed
no less than their clothing: two of them could not be distinguished
from the Gilyak sleds, but the third, a national Orok reindeer-sled
was of an entirely different nature. The accompanying illustration
which was made from a hastily drawn sketch in my diary, may
give an approximate idea of it. In comparison with the Gilyak
sled, it was far shorter and somewhat wider, with the same height
the soles /runners/ were likewise wider than among them, triangular
in cross-section, and provided with a sharp edge at the top. Toward
the rear they were completely horizontal up to the blunt ends;
toward the front they gradually sloped upward to join the longitudinal
side-bars of the sled at an acute angle; but there was no
curved piece of wood connecting the soles and the longitudinal
bars on either side, so that from the front the sled seemed to gape
so to speak. Two of the waiting sleds were loaded with reindeer
Gi moss, the third contained some household utensils, ski, lances,
492 bows, etc. It was not long before the reindeer-expedition of the
493 Orok could be seen and passed by us in a curve. It consisted of
5-7 sleds of exactly the type described above. Each of them was
harnessed to one reindeer, which pulled the sled by one strap.
The guide-strap ran from the horns down under the neck and chest

/598 cont./

435 undoubtedly can be explained by their great quantity, by the
439 as yet still undiminished wealth of animals in the lower Amur region. Only two types of fur considerably surpass all the others with their high prices: the black fox and the lynx. The former owes its high price, not only to the absolute beauty of its fur, also recognized and highly appreciated by the Chinese, but certainly also to its far greater rarity. The lynx fur, on the other hand, as was pointed out above, has too high an imaginary value in the eyes of the Gilyak themselves to be marketed in great quantities.

2) Like the lynx fur, several other articles are distinguished
435 in the above table by their very high price, in no way corresponding to their real value. Among these in particular are the old Manchurian iron armor and helmets discussed above at great length and the Japanese kettles with three handles, which, unfortunately, I did not see, but these could hardly so greatly surpass in quality the kettles from there with two handles, or otherwise somewhat different from them in form, as to justify
[556] the great difference between them in price. The necessity for special marks of wealth and distinction, present even among the otherwise practical Gilyak, is expressed in these things.

825 3) The same motive, vanity, also explains the high value
556 of a live bear among the Gilyak. It brings its owner not only no material /599/ advantage, but, on the contrary, even disadvantages, for the killing and consumption of it can take place only in a festive fashion which entails expense for the owner and host; in return, however, it brings him the flattering reputation of a rich and renowned man.

435 4) Among the various clothing materials which represent
439 the principal barter item of the Chinese in dealing with the Gilyak, the latter most prize the colorful silk materials with
291 dragons and other Chinese patterns and often gold and silver interwoven through them, but not because they themselves take special pleasure in them and live in luxury with them -- instead, one sees them used among them almost exclusively in small

/599 cont./

439 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want
435 them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come
291 back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evalua-
273 tion of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the
435 Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

1. See p. 719 above.

of my stay among them. On the other hand, their gaze, constantly looking for advantages and profit, could not miss the value of so generally popular a commodity in the trade relations with both their own countrymen living farther away from the source of supply and in particular their less energetic Tungusic neighbors. Thus, their genius for trade also proved itself with respect to liquor and, as has already been mentioned, with the help of it they were even able to obtain many an advantage in their barter with the Russian Cossacks and sailors.

435 6) The articles that they themselves make for their household and the rest of their life and activities, such as utensils of all kinds, pieces of clothing, etc., however neatly made and adorned with decorations they might be, are not very highly valued by the Gilyak, unless they contain a precious material acquired from the Chinese, such as bows covered with buffalo horn, or the lances furnished with inlaid figures of silver, etc. It is not the fineness and beauty of the work or the time and labor spent on them, but the bit of silver or horn that gives these objects their high value in the eyes of the Gilyak.

/599 cont./

439 435 291 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 273 435 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evaluation of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

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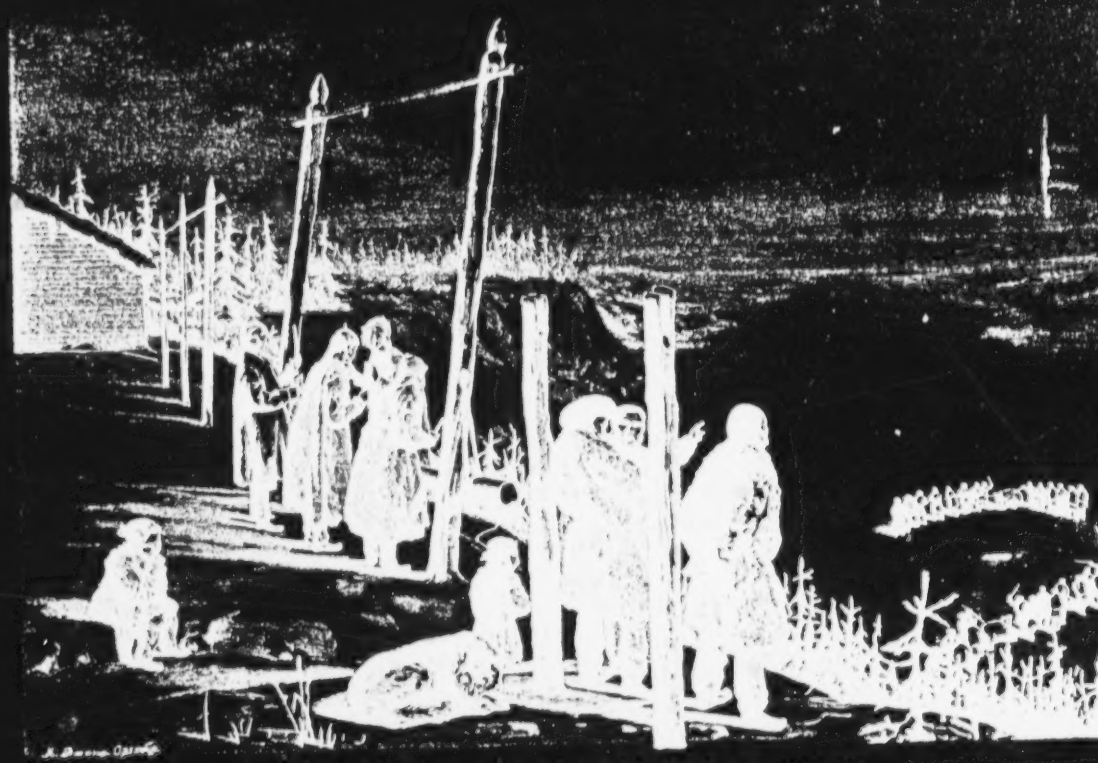

Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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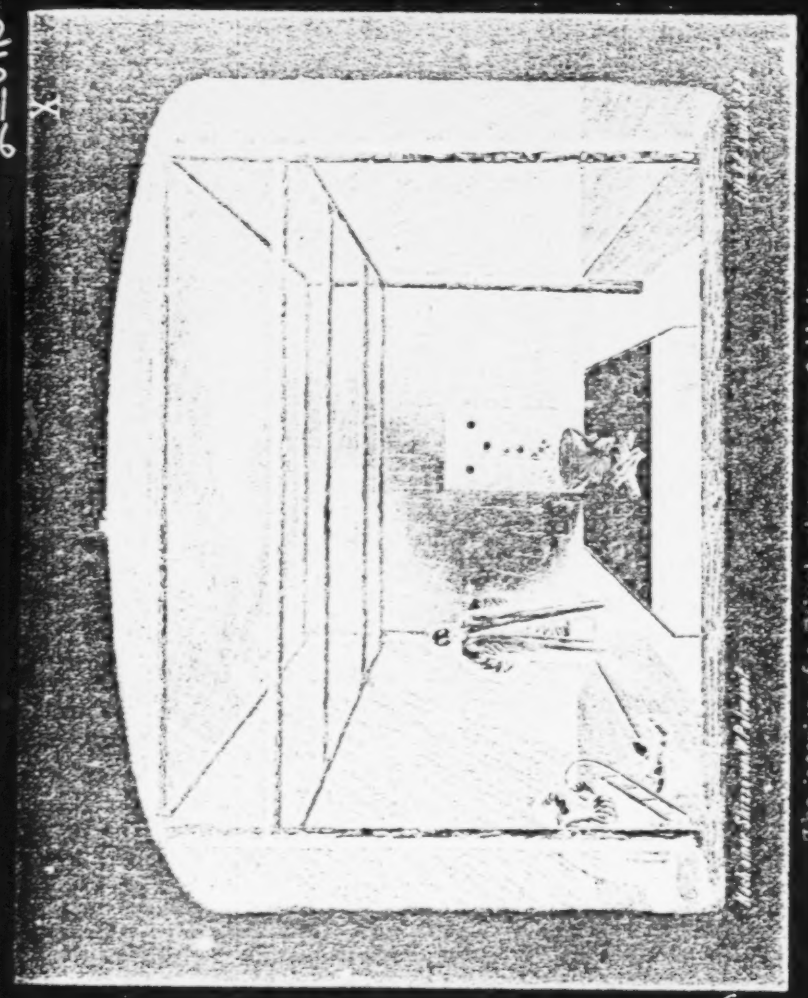
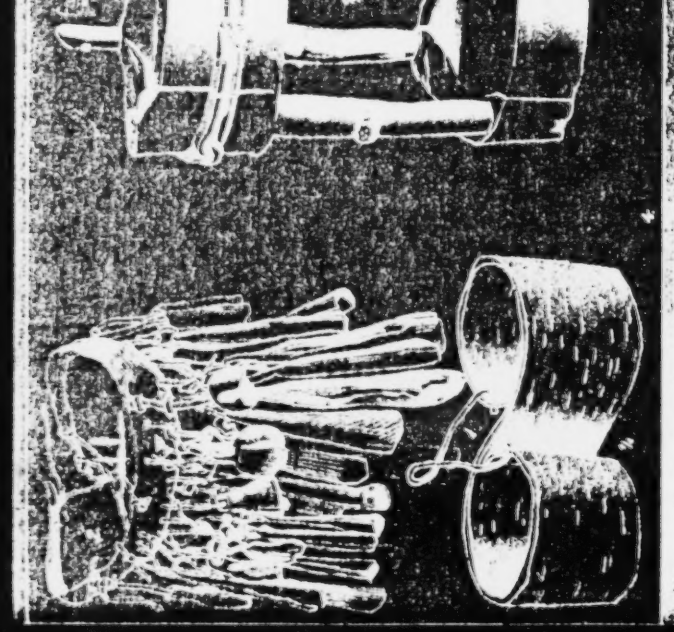


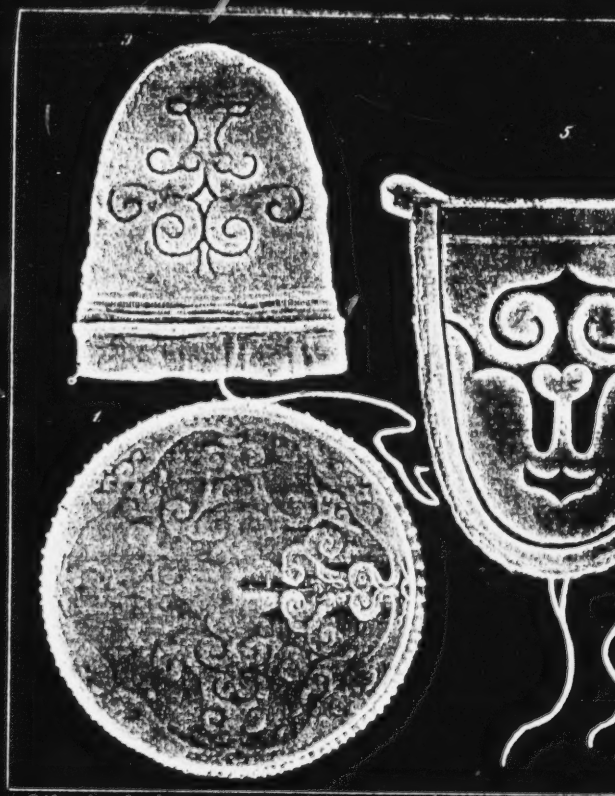
The interior of a Gilyak winter yurt on Sakhalin.

2: Schrenck--1261 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak



1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak)

2: Schrenck--1248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- summer hat made of bir

2: Schrenck--1000 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

ch bark; 3, 4 -- mittens; 5 -- ear muffs.

Gilyak in summer clothing.

Gilyak in

winter clothing.

142
291
411
342
302
516

Gilyak in winter clothing.

/644 cont./

855 case of a small boy; but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and annoying the whole procedure was for him.

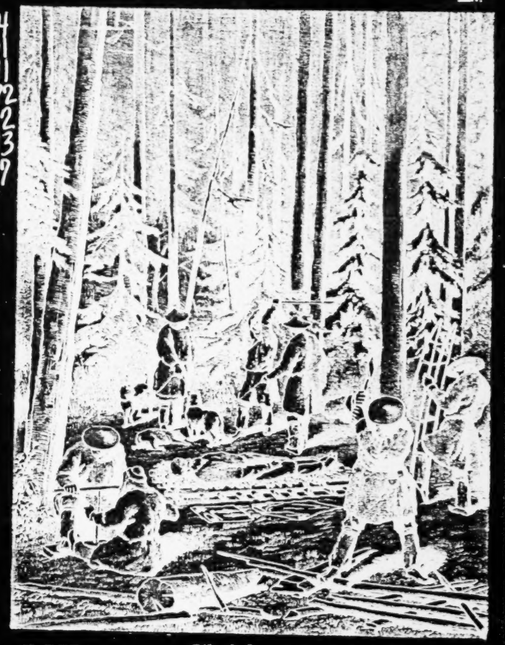
855 291 In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair, the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very fully. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this resp the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and a probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that o 524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together 273 a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adu ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., cept that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that th fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.

855 861 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children, of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without an one paying any attention to them.

524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and mimicking in their games the activities; work, and amusements of parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworth that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260 /) and only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parer or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or cou it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage am the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language amo them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the deligh

2: Schrenck--1264 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

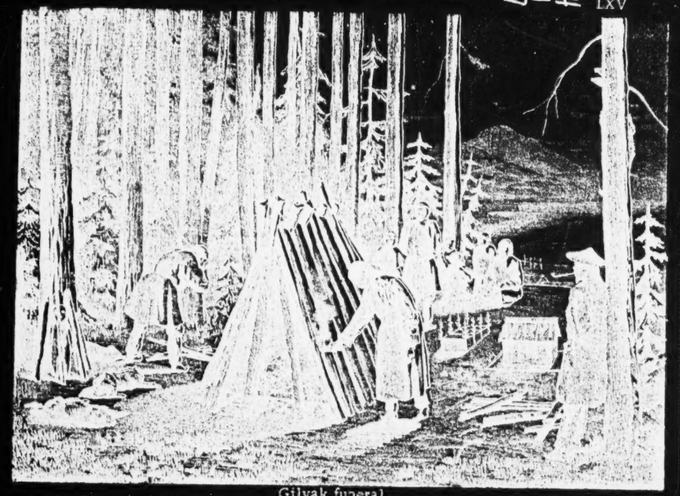
LIV.



Gilyak funeral.

2: Schrenck--1265 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXV



Gilyak funeral.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

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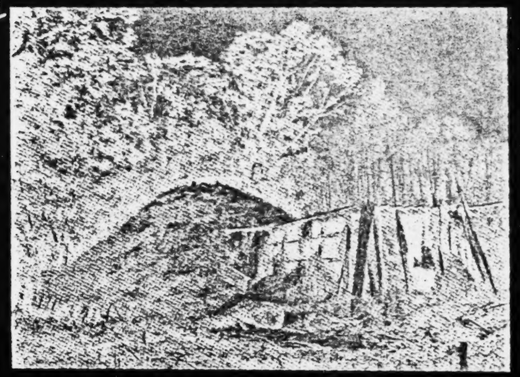

Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
[171] rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

• 291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
[531] was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).
[439] Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of 291 287
specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc.

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; 302
they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly 114
interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there 614
were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship
with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the [60]
murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

[P.096]

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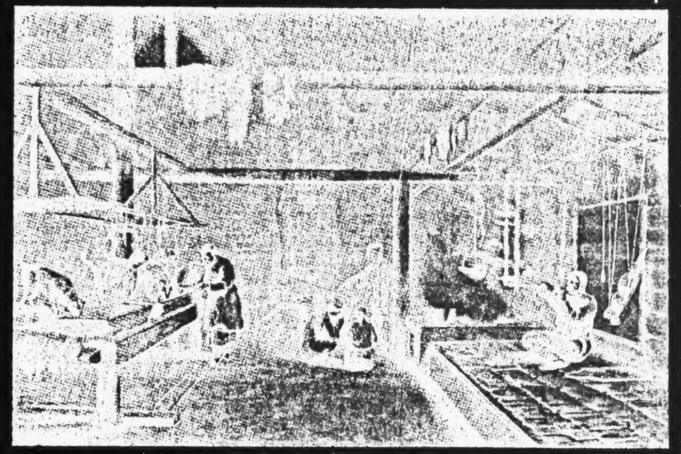

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

2: Schrenck--1148 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/710 cont./
amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks, or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experiment. Chusisin, Iudin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

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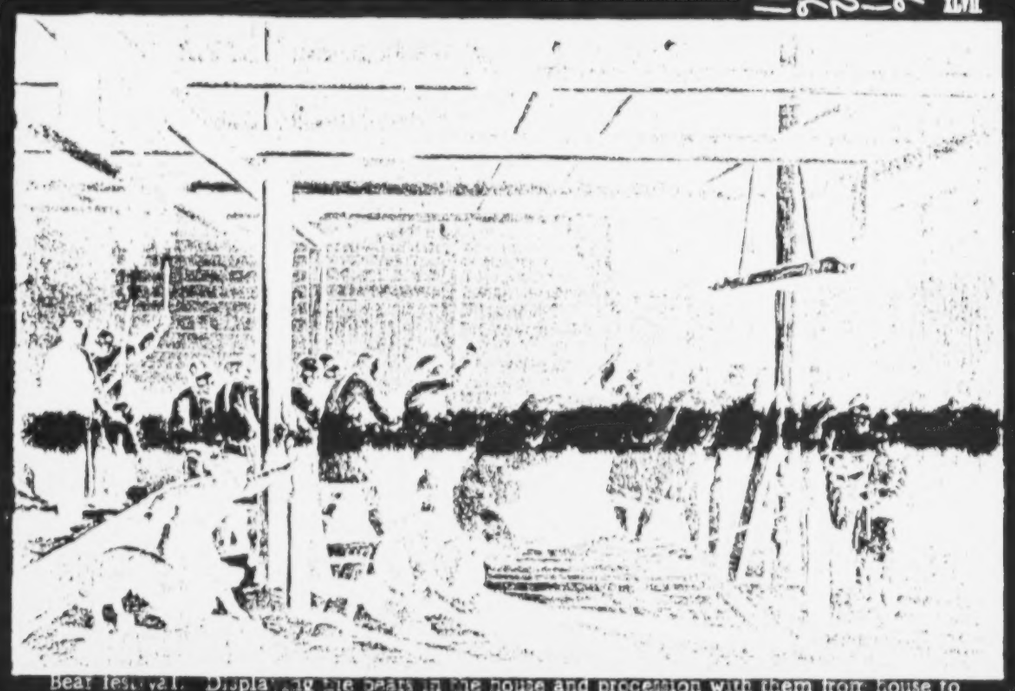

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible]895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

9: Hawes--158 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 291

"In summer they used to dress in fish-skins, (1) and in winter in seal-or dog-skins.

1. Salmon (Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which are known in Eastern Siberia as kita and gorbusha respectively).

Gradually Chinese cotton (ta-pu) has filtered in through Manchuria, and largely taken the place of fish-skins, though this material is still used for parts of the dress, especially of the Gilyak woman; and when visiting a Gilyak headman I found a mat of salmon-skins, stitched together, spread in my honour. In winter the men wear coats of dog-skins, but the women favour seal-skin, the short bristly hair being less in the way in their domestic occupations. The men add to their coat in winter a short petticoat of seal-skin. In summer they go bare-footed, except on journeys when, as in winter, they use mocassins of seal-skin, the hair on the outside of the leg portion only.

For underclothing, a ta-pu shirt, 'shorts,' and long gaiters, or spatter-dashes, like the Chinese, are worn by the men; and by the women long gaiters only, and a shirt or two of cotton or fish-skin. The outer tunic of the Gilyak woman, or rather frock, for it possesses sleeves, has Chinese cash coins strung round the border, which reaches just below the knees."

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Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off. 614 [372]

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy 614 627

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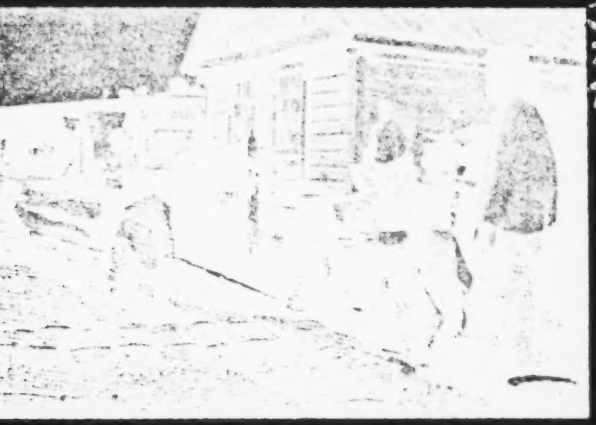

Feeding a bear.

h the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care 771
he sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky, 776
sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi
s in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish,
s, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice
e cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced
ter.
ountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
ere common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 614
ear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 231
umed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was
ith the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of [769]
n kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and
special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the
On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the
. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival,
n members gave the bear's master products and money. The
mily prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February).
orm—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles
itual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was
n them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the
ple of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan
festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and con-
complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow,
ing on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The
th the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent
pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526]
atches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing.
estival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et
put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi
tained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always
skulls of the bears he killed.
ial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764
nchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

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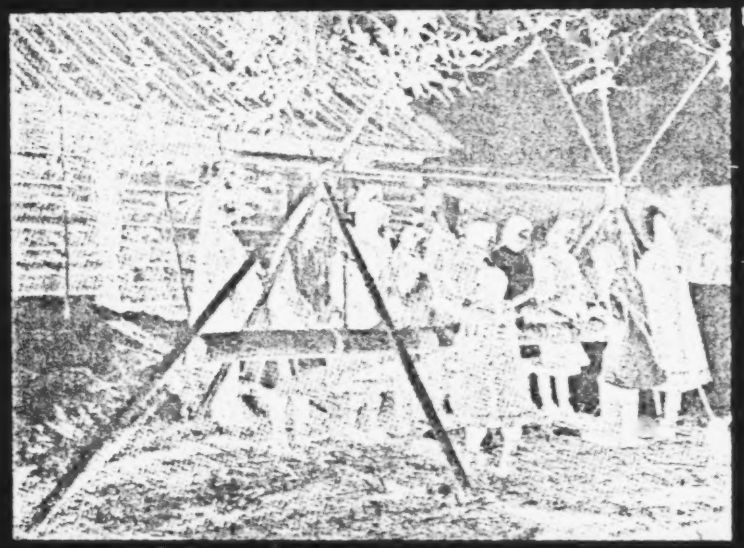


Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi 532
and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the 322
bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers [171]
were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved
with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given
bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they
indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt
or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so
forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a 534
primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). [796]
During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an
ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu- 871
tion. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, [212]
Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two
others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds.
Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the 175
Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be- 648
came the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized
to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted
several years.

the leftovers of the least concluded this interlude, whereupon important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated ound the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three lyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They nsisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which the branches had been removed except the crown and the permost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around e crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of irrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks, a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these culiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter pe. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody w stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with eir insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the ars several times, always returning to the path that led to it and ere turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their ignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the nal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes l led out of the kadhra.

Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the ars had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear s had been done the day before, and the animal had been pro- ed with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and bborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi- nt. Chusisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who

9: Hawes--271 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 291

"The shubi, or fur coats of the men and wome
by either, but the women prefer seal-skin and t
cause the former seldom go far from their huts
a great furry coat on (the hair is worn outside)
light and smooth seal-skin. The woman's hat (h
in shape, but has three lappets, two for the ear
up prettily with rings in two pigtails. This shap
the ears from the cold, and yet being easily ren
tearing the ears."

en, are often alike and taken in mistake
he men dog-skin. Probably this is be-
, and it is hot and inconvenient to have
during domestic duties rather than a
akh-pisakh) is not unlike a sun-bonnet
s and one for the coiffure, which is done
e of hat has the advantage of protecting
noved without catching the earrings and

20: Bush--104-105 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 291, 516

"At 6 o'clock we went ashore near a Gilak settlement to make tea, and were soon surrounded by a group similar to the one of the night before. They wandered barefoote over the jagged stones on the beach as though their feet were soled with iron, while the cold seemed to have no effect on them whatever. Some of them presented a very amusing tableau as we pushed from shore. Near our fire was an old [105] stump of driftwood about six feet long, on which six of them sat, with their feet drawn up under their bodies, their heads resting on their hands, and their elbows on their knees. In the group was an old gray-headed man, the patriarch of the village; and from him down in both sexes, to a little boy hardly old enough to walk, who, however, imitated the attitude of the others with the greatest precision. I would not have believed it possible to roost so many humans on a log of that size, had I not seen it done."

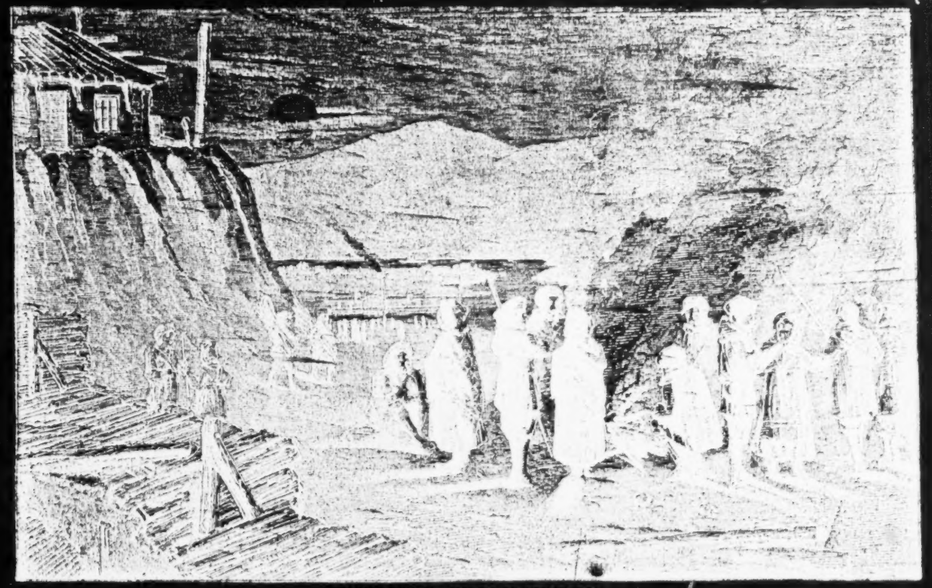
22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

133 was in motion and evidently came from a descending steamboat. On another occasion we missed in these channels a boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while General Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by a courier who was bringing him important despatches.

502 The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, and relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the delineated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are not navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable for descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is far more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not frequent.

609 The peasants always came to the bank where we stopped, no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wood
● 291 at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thirty gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughing, smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of the fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them into strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow. Of the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack coats of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others Tartar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, black beards, and smooth faces were played upon by the dancing flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and held shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

133 A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. The mountains on the south bank receded from the river and were more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowland covered with forest intervened between the mountains and the shore. On the north the general character of the country remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top and sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its summit. It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Monument, and rising from the highest point of the mountain; it appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a work of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half way down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttresses



NIGHT SCENE—GROUP OF PEASANTS.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

opp. 154

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292

292 SPECIAL GARMENTS--clothing of special occasions (e.g., festive apparel, rain gear, bathing costumes); headgear and footwear not ordinarily worn; costumes associated with special statuses and activities; special methods of wearing garments; etc. See also:

Dance and dramatic costumes 53
Personal or body armor 714
Military uniforms 714
Ceremonial attire 798

/325 cont./

764 Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased with a hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach; they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the deceased. They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in the case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husband cuts off a piece of the braid. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on the breast, and the guests come up one by one and smoke from this pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, or, finally, /326/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at his head a small cup with food, vodka, and cold water; the relatives come up from time to time, eat what has been put there, and again fill up the cup.

764 292 The deceased should not be dressed in garments made of leather or of fish skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fire, and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be given, for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garments for the deceased are sewed out of drel' and silk (pos") and provided in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the women [294] assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are sewed "lightly"; to sew strongly is a sin -- "uigyf." The deceased should not be washed.

764 292 192 The deceased is dressed in the following garments:

1. L'arkh, shirts, but unfailingly without wadding; no belt; no modesty pants.
2. Pan" -- leggings.
3. Ki -- boots of drel', of the same shape for men and women; the tops are short; the soles are also of drel'; they are put on the naked foot.
4. Hak: -- a hat also of drel'; the hat looks like a child's hat with the hood backwards.
5. Vamykh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sleeve coverings.
6. N'akh air -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of drel', three fingers in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.
7. Vigvyr -- a belt, a piece of simple drel', white in color, and with this only two pairs of scabbards (chek:okhal') of drel' (for

/326 cont./

764 a man) and one purse (mly) for tinder and flint.

[292] 8. Hontkh -- a tobacco pouch, also of drel', for both men and [192] women; tobacco is placed in the mly and the hontkh.

A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

[574] Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

No news, or tales, or songs (are recited -- purind).

On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the [824] cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and for children -- rose-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. One must select a good tree; otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length: /327/ among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise.

During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds [782] the deceased (mu n'igyvyn achnind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned -- tav mund, the floor is swept, then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, mos' is prepared, and tugur arnind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a clansman)-- mos' is thrown into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog sled. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "pryski" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the future fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

628 614 682 [562] /356 cont./

every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only wom are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable tha from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful, burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer li under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any corner, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necess neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murde man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, a in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the aven consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedur

614 628 682 539 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects fr some neutral clan an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlay-niv literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, an the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries tween the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a

[292] gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, a sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputa of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. The somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village o the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal' nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary. latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with h own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as poss The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a pl for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-

they masters. It is very strange that among these people who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

The characteristics here described apply also to the Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.
294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.
291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

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huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings selves. Around their necks the women wear beads of red glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden ets representing human figures.

pes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak onality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the churian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is rger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone , ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe er. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk lrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and s fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and co into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

he Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or e other activities for two days without any kind of food, on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. e other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, doubtedly eats five times a day.

would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winurney consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen eon in one day [110]

eir staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types rp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita o longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A ly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the on catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose sh are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from round; by means of air currents they become a dried non- substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita des the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored rozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

844 When the woman in labor goes to the place made
291 ready for her, she is clad in old soiled clothes. If the weather is cool she takes more clothes along. The only distinction in clothing worn during labor is that the woman in labor takes off the trousers, a garment that Gilyak women wear in summer and winter.

844 Usually an older woman who herself has gone
835 through several childbirths helps the woman in labor. If [757] such a midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not at hand the husband of the woman in labor can take her place; but under no circumstances may another male member of the family take this place, not even the younger brother of the husband, although, according to the customs of the Gilyak he has a right to the wife of his older brother and considers himself in a way her husband and certainly the second father of the child.

844 The Birth.

753 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

845 If the labor pains last too long and the woman suffers too badly, a piece of clothing is moved back and forth in front of her face and somebody blows down from above on the part in her hair.

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

"They [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were
greasy skin garments, with naked feet and legs
that had once been braided, hung down their ba
both sexes were represented) was arranged mu
single braid, with the exception that no part of
two braids, or what had once been such, since
was a perfect mass of tangle, and becoming m
energetic clawing and digging of several long,

We would have experienced some little diff
which the woman had it not been for a long-ste
miniature brass bowl, which the former smoke
number of fine, large, freshly-caught fish."

a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty,
, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair,
cks in queues. That of the man (for
ch like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a
his head was shaven. The woman wore
her hair, as well as that of her husband,
ore so every moment through the
unwashed fingers.
iculty in deciding which was the man and
mmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and
ed, while his fair partner carried a

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- women's ev
cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the same m

2: Schrenck--1001 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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XXI

veryday cap; 3 -- women's elegant
nade of lynx fur with sable trimming.

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which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

/397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tulv-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2).[1] It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth. On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

[See category 116, P. 1001--Analyst]

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292 174 531 [171] [113]

1. (cont.)

en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

292 531 199 239 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to [301] the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women 292 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use 239 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

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291 skin undoubtedly affords better protection against cold, wind, and rain when the hair is on the outside than when it is turned to the inside, and if it were first tested in this position, it would be natural to add another layer of it or of another skin in the opposite position, with the hair on the inside, and thus, avoiding a foreign covering, to obtain that double fur undoubtedly giving the best protection, as one finds among all the northern and polar peoples.

291 The above-described or illustrated garments are sufficient
●292 to show that the Gilyak like to provide their clothing with all
531 kinds of variously shaped, gay-colored embroidery and other ornamentation. I have sometimes seen among them whole collections of embroidery designs, and I brought back some of them. These consist of fabric or fish-skin patches on which the designs are embroidered or on which various figures cut out of thin birch-bark and symmetrically arranged are pasted (Pl. XXIII and XXIV).[2] Among them, however, are also found larger pieces of fabric sometimes made up of several multicolored patches and not used for embroidery, but on which arabesques and animal figures of the most varied kinds are colorfully, but always symmetrically arranged beside or intertwined with one another (Pl. XXV-XXVII).[2] If for the moment, we disregard the latter, to which I shall come back later, particularly in connection with the animal figures, and if we consider only the designs to be embroidered on the articles of clothing previously discussed, we find in them a peculiar character and taste which fundamentally distinguishes them from those of the Siberian

531 peoples. Whereas among the Siberian Tungus, for instance,
[191] who likewise adorn their clothing with embroidery, the simplest patterns and motifs recur with great uniformity and often, for example, only rows of the same simple figures, small triangles, squares, circles, crude curlicues, and the like, running over or beside one another, are to be found (as the Tungusic specimens illustrated on Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV, Figs. 5 and 6 show), in the Gilyak designs and ornamentation beautiful, curved and interlaced lines, diverse arabesques artistically overlapping,

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 1003-1004 --Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, pp. 1005-1007--Analyst]

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000 and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,
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●292 reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater
A
175 importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding re-
648 port which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he
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1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which
A he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report
175 the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the
114 tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and
648 the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

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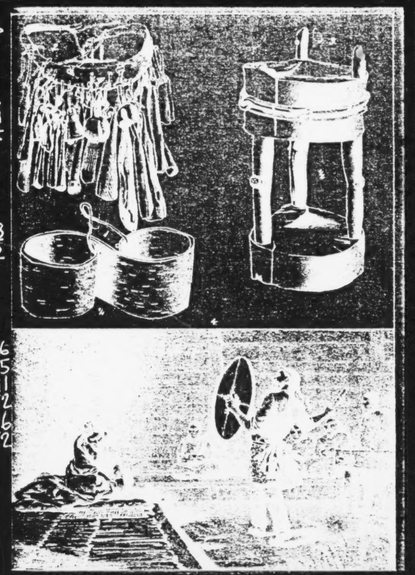
he character of an imitation of the whole animal. The ng of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although ect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the , so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, ust stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine d love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in saw them on two women, and the above illustration from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either al- a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one. similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed s headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation ole animal may occur among many primitive peoples. refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind her Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on er /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear olf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an ition (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

s place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northeig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this mal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo



1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse--something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical

293

293 PARAPHERNALIA--dress accessories (e.g., fans, special paraphernalia and regalia); protective apparatus (e.g., umbrellas, goggles); etc. See also:

Ornaments	301	Medals	554
Eyeglasses	416	Hearing aids	722
Canes, crutches, and other aids to locomotion	481	Shamanistic paraphernalia	756
Riding gear	492	Amulets	761, 778
Athletic equipment	526	Ceremonial paraphernalia	796

2: Schrenck--389 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/395 cont./

ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with

2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular as a holder for some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.

[See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

/395 cont./

and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2). The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata) adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX) (5). Usually a second knife is also worn at

5. On Pl. XVIII the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4), quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondak, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5), usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[See Category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively -- Analyst]

293 /396 cont./
302 Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well
412 as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a
[531] sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later
[239] hardening like wood; on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-
tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin
out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the
northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak.
The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be in-
verted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent
into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that,
after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper
372 piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the
293 steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain
(Gilyak kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII,
Fig. 1 a/a and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1) a/a Sometimes there is also found
293 on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII,
412 Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for
all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap,
at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc.
[32] This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of
[531] horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in
itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved
293 figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and
ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find
them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope
horn or deer antler, etc.
291 In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur,
237 which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are
sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs.
In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw
one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of
fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two
under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed
with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls,
children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur
coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,
a/a [See Category 116, pp. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

/567 cont./
114 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching
325 the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The
326 smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the
192 entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping
benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor under-
neath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr)
made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the
ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a
semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which
on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which
corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and im-
mediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the
iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube im-
movably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several
longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak,
placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows,
alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another,
adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them
on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These
tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces
to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[293] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yi-
dshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/
which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner,
a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./
114 Gilyak (1).
325
326
192
[293]

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to
325 iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are
326 also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
[531] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the
[435]

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of
the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
[439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they
prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because
pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-
mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the
forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak
for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the
Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

/644 cont./
855 care of a small boy; but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the
howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and an-
noying the whole procedure was for him.
855 In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair,
291 the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very
fully. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the
adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments
and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect
the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are
probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one
524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by
285 a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult,
ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., ex-
cept that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the
fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time
to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.
855 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children,
861 of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the
like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they
have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without any-
one paying any attention to them.
524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and
mimicking in their games the activities; work, and amusements of
parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most
popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of
wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy
that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite
stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260/) and
only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents
or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is
obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal,
for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply
the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could
it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage among
the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language among
them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

164 The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
563 Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have
342 spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe
362

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particular-
ly to external ones rising up from the extensive marshes
and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the
natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit,
(for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive)
and especially to the functional construction of the houses.
Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work
which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood
and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The
houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite
odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of
pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate;
it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose
disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems
to be only a limited factor in this question.
164 Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal
catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom
and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbear-
able colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.
In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers
from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come
mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.
Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia
seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the
Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered
from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during
my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.
Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect,
for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently
suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind
cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to
be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these
diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the
eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a
Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain
calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
164 a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
293 unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

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294 CLOTHING MANUFACTURE--techniques of manufacture (e.g., cutting, fitting, sewing); special treatment of particular materials and products (e.g., shoemaking, hat manufacture); decoration (e.g., embroidery); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., sewing machines); specialization (e.g., dressmakers, tailors, cobblers, hatters); etc. See also:

Leather and textile industries 28
Factory buildings 348
Household sewing machines 404
Decorative art 531

/325 cont./

764 Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the decea They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in t case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husban off a piece of the braid. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on t breast, and the guests come up one by one and smoke from t pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, finally, /326/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at head a small cup with food, vodka, and cold water; the rela come up from time to time, eat what has been put there, an again fill up the cup.

764 292 The deceased should not be dressed in garments made leather or of fish skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fi and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be giver for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garments the deceased are sewed out of drel' and silk (pos") and provi in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the wom [294] assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are "lightly"; to sew strongly is a sin -- "uigyf." The deceased not be washed.

764 292 192 The deceased is dressed in the following garments:

1. L'arkh, shirts, but unfailingly without wadding; no belt no modesty pants.

2. Pan" -- leggings.

3. Ki -- boots of drel', of the same shape for men and wo the tops are short; the soles are also of drel'; they are put o naked foot.

4. Hak: -- a hat also of drel'; the hat looks like a child's with the hood backwards.

5. Vàmykh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sl coverings.

6. N'akh àir -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of drel', three in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.

7. Vigvyr -- a belt, a piece of simple drel', white in col and with this only two pairs of scabbards (chek:okhal') of dre

/399 cont./

531 and snail-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorat all the other implements in their household and their lives wi all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the ab mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character o these decorations is always the same, as is described in more tail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less ex and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the u of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamenta 531 294 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest developmen the embroideries for the decoration of their clothing, utilizin for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of divers lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting togethe various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular amo the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liber

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as [439] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade fro the Chinese.

531 177 I have previously described the general character of Gil ornamentation as unique and completely different from that o the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influ ences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, mu of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

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[296]

Gilyak Men

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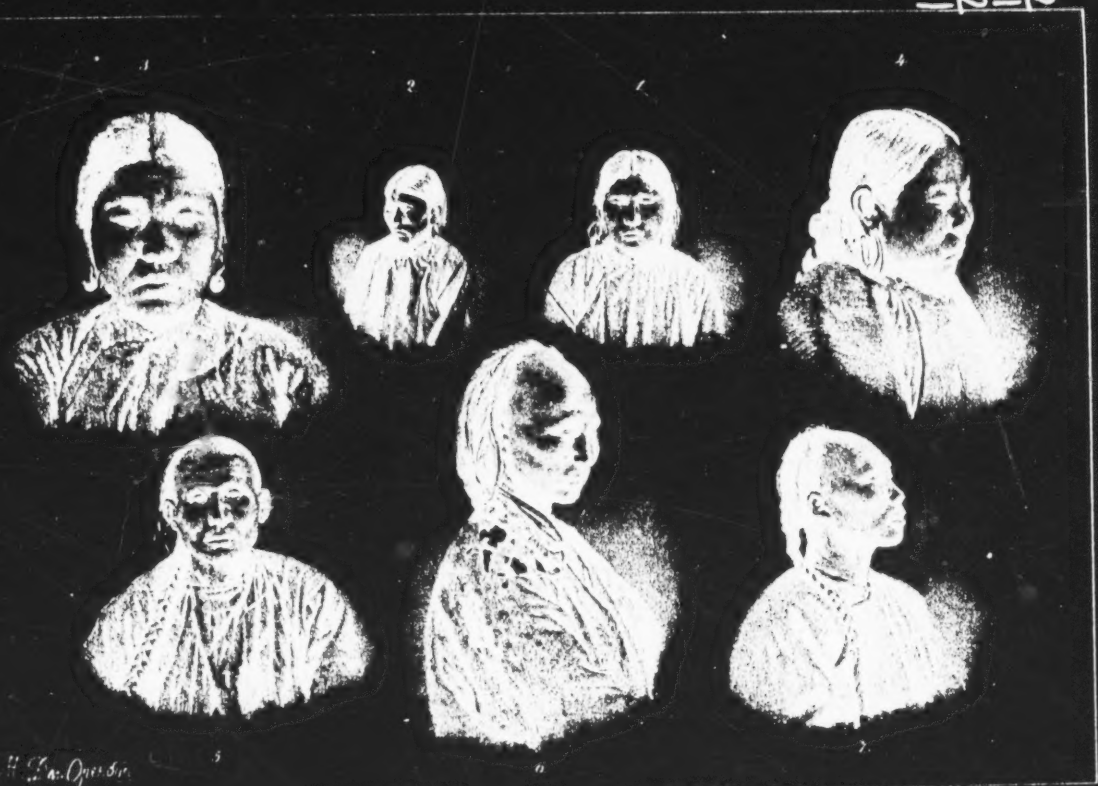
III.
2: Schrenck--425 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



1, 2, -- Gilyak Women; 3, 4 -- Gilyak Girls; 5, 6, 7 -- Gilyak Men

cont./
vide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the
er and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal,
the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and,
the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under
h a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy
h of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unneces-
during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against
and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical
nade out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-hak, i.e., in literal
ation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with
ent kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate
round the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark,
d on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII and Pl.
Figs. 1 and 2) (2).

2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer
reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ pro-
with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made
of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually
a broad edging of material in a different color, over which
a decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows
riously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging
on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper
with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl.
). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step
hey take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking
ner of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This
m, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of
ee Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
ee Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

177 /388 cont./
291 Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
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000

175 1. During my stay in the Amur region,
301 among such decorations several little brass
797 crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de
291 mission" and a bronze medallion bearing
648 the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?)
inscription were found on a woman's robe
from the village of Wair or one of the nearby
villages. In all probability these pieces came
from the French missionary, de la Brunière,
who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in
Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak.
His colleague Venault, who by order of the
Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey
in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the
Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime,
saw many of their children wearing such
crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des
Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol.
II], p. 218). To supplement the reports col-
175 lected by Venault concerning the killing of
648 de la Brunière, it should be noted here in
797 passing that it took place, according to what
114 I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank
of the Amur, between the villages of Wair
and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in
a strange gate-like formation come close to
the river. I visited it during my winter journey
on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already
aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village
of Wair was named for me as one of the
murderers. He evaded or declined to answer
my questions concerning the details of the matter.
Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad
luck (ultsch) to destroy a piece of paper with

/388 cont./
175 1. (cont.)
648 characters on it -- no matter whether
797 written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps
114 through him I would succeed in obtaining
possible diaries or other written notes of
de la Brunière. But despite the high
monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak
for them, only a few scraps of one of
D'Anville's maps of China were brought
to me by them after the lapse of some time,
when I had already again returned to the
Nikolayev post.

281 To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
291 the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur
[136] region, Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, on Sakhalin
laghi-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them hav
the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skin
in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleaned of the
adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and t
individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in qualit
is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are pe
formed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protecti
against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually
without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attach
to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII).
The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though the
281 were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts
291 especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the
53 of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves
at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentione
color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on
in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distingu
by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently
colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 a
[301] 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never
lacking on them.
[See Category 116, P. 998--Analyst]

/401 cont./

the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned, but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep themselves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it. For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2),[2] worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck; whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the

[See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

/401 cont./

latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

cont./
object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be
ed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by suc-
- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.
The thread with which garments are sewed varies accord-
the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for
ole, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn,
, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call
k and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which
taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd.,
5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary
g nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fish-
ts (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

hinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and em-
ries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread like-
btained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the
nd the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak
n use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although
now of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term
) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing
ric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pam), which is

/402 cont./
294 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
412 decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
531 tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).*

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak,
286 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements
283 and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of
171 the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

[113]

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

* [See category 116, p. 1009 -- ANALYST]

/639 cont./
462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting
[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/766 cont./

764 bystanders to step somewhat farther back, and there a group of men, women, and children sat under a tree, watching the greedy flames which consumed their dead.

Nearby was the cremation site of an old woman from the same village, who had died not long before /767/ and beside it the raff belonging to it, still quite new (*). This was now to

* The little hut to the right on Plate LXV /p. 1265 /; between it and the pyre, the cremation site.

serve as the raff for the old man, and its door was opened so that the soul of the deceased, during the cremation of his body, would move into this domicile intended for it.

At the moment only the customary raff symbols, discussed below (53-55 /pp. 1233-1234 /), and a few bowls and vessels made of birch bark and wood stood in it. After the corpse is burned, however, and his soul has moved into the raff (for traveling on to Mlygh-wo), then the provisions of berries, fish, tobacco, and the like needed for it are also brought into the raff. -- When the fire had died down somewhat, the widow and a few men took long poles and pushed the burning wood closer together; they also threw on new wood in order to speed up the cremation. Soon nothing could be seen of the corpse except the charred stomach, which burned the slowest. The quantity of material burned and the fresh air of the forest prevented any unpleasant odor from being detected during the cremation of the body. The fire was maintained for a long time so that the body would burn completely to ashes, which are then scraped together and buried (on the spot). In the meantime the women, and among them the wife of the deceased, take up the slain dogs (**) and begin to skin

[237] [294]

** On Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, as on Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, three dogs are erroneously shown instead of two.

G 764 [237] [294] [262]

/767 cont./

them in order to
The meat of the
but left on the p
booty of crows a
(2 S.R.I, pp. 1

Gi 764 152

49. Goldi
of the Amur), w
some distance a
out of the grass,
vestigated and s
wailing, staring
inquired as to th
buike, that is, "
her husband had
She did not seem
order not to distu
(probably calme
tion, in the othe

*** Se

G 764

50. Gilyak
cerning the buria
are cremated, a
/768/ over which

G [114]

* See
48, p

small points on t
Plate LXVIII /p.
nounced with a b
linen-covered or
and equipped wit
the ground.

G [211]

sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins.
se sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten,
lace of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the
nd also of the other hungry dogs of the village.
0-14.)

In the village of Chongar (on the right bank
hile I was passing between two yurts that were
part, I was startled by human wailing that came
which was higher than a man's height. I in-
w a woman who sat there hunched together and
at the sky. I watched her for a while and then
e reason for her mourning. She said in reply,
dead," then stood up and explained to me that
died in the next village and she was lamenting it.
to mind the interruption, and when I left, in
rb her in her grief, she likewise went off
d by the interruption), giving up her lamenta-
r direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. IV, p. 17.)

e Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

Tombs

. I learned from Jutschin the following con-
l of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses
d the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground,
a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

the divergent statement in Appendix
1227.

e roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration
1268 /, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pro-
urr). In the interior of the raff there is a small
cloth-covered board, pierced in the center
a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under

[241] In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949
[433] to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal
[231] husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

177 An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and develop-
648 ment of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly
474 scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages,
361 the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log
648 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds,
474 etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings
36 devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a
[342] bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are
177 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages
648 have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti-
474 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and
342 flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the
353 walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They
177 also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and
29 also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the
[294] traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays,
[292] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater
262 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products.
758 The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions.
[043] Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part
of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to
a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them
wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the
gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to
the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw
into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the
same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with
the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and
has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned
up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of
the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket
differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are
most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket con-
sists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is
of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this
type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons.
The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various neces-
sary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc.
Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a
shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of
bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear
a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are
covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very
cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the
inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are
fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the
Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets
[109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of
their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of
sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid
of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are
soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows.
In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of
attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have
brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa
are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored
cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

296

296 GARMENT CARE -- methods of laundering clothes; repair techniques (e.g., darning, patching); special care and preservation of clothing (e.g., drying, snow removal, waterproofing, storage); organized services (e.g., laundries, dry-cleaning and pressing establishments, shoe-shining and repairing specialists); special techniques and apparatus; etc. See also:

Soap manufacture . . . . . 388 Domestic laundry appliances 404
Commercial laundry and dry-cleaning machinery 402

/386 cont./

291 represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese.
439 Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange,
[177] besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

291 /387/ The clothing worn next to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are not taken off even at night, trousers (Gilyak warsch), an under and an outer shirt (Gilyak larkch) reaching to the knees and buttoned from left to right at the neck and
[177] chest. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese,
[296] or nowadays also of Russian, blue or grey cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, since the Gilyak never wash their clothing, very soon turns a more or less dirty gray. As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always serve as footgear. As a rule, the lower or foot part of the
[237] boot (Gilyak ki) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak kighitsch and kighitsch-langr), which, especially in the case of older specimens, is thicker and more durable than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (Ph. nummularis; Gilyak pyghi and pyghi-langr) (1) and

1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back keel-shaped in the middle, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

30

30 ADORNMENT--general statements dealing with several aspects of adorning the body other than by the wearing of clothing, and with th facture of the means of adornment.

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

687 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tugurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
837 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

301

301 ORNAMENT--types of ornament worn (e.g., necklaces, bracelets, ring
anklets, earrings, labrets, hair ornaments); mode of attachment or sus
pension; age, sex, and status differences; materials and manufacture;
casions of use; etc. See also:

Work in bone, horn, and shell 321

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotschai; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

302

302 TOILET--shaving and depilation; hairstyles (e.g., cutting, parting, arranging); care of the hair (e.g., washing, brushing); care of the nails (e.g., cutting, filing); body painting; use of cosmetics, ointments and perfumes; age, sex, and status differences in toilet; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See Also:

Electrical appliances	403	Bathing and laving	516
Combs, brushes, etc.	412	Decorative art	531
Barbering tools	413	War paint	714
Elimination	514	Menstrual hygiene	841

/257 cont./

143 826 588 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 ● [302] The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attaining sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.

881 826 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who [302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 867 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos connected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,

881 585 833 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

/304 cont./

685 754 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire village, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

687 695 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 30 178 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their

881 585 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she begins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her

841 ● [302] oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŭgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 839 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives accommodates a guest under one blanket.

843 823 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it begins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

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823 773 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin. Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 761 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary. Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

● 302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 825 [782] A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

704 825 [261] In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and they treat him like a killed one. When they set off somewhere (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

703 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

142 291 ● 302 516

Photo. 16. Amur Gilya

142 291 854 302 516

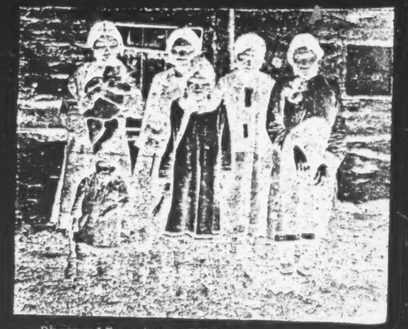

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

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292 1. (cont.)
171 en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St.
53 Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's
171 note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et
113 privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869,
Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

292 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the
53 cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The
171 tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the
239 Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the) ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women 2 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use 7 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

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As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

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This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

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The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak

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artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting
[142] in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridi-
[826] cule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn
[856] from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of
● [301] boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

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and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

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Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), 2 or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair

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worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the
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[301] cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or

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facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and
301 the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among /

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this
2 [See category 116, p. 1009-- Analyst]

Gi /417 cont./
301 1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from
Gi [304] those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly
[515] like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway.
Gi [191] Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with re-
[184] gard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-dse, along the seacoast at least from Olga Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, corre-

2. Olympiada Wassiljewa, op. cit., p. 67.

spond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the
ooo right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

Gi [114] 3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril; according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

G From what has been said, it is readily
Gi seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has
SS 301 spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as
302 the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where
171 this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose
177 rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

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302 however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair
301 style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the
171 lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not
177 wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the
T Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and
[302] even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there
[301] wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Orochon.
[171] Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

G A more common customary ornament among all the peoples
301 of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver
171 or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On
G [531] Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV, 1 Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This
Gi ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite
[301] practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi
[464] (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work,
Gi however, is not done by the men, but by the women.
[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

1 [See category 116, p. 1025--Analyst]

/418 cont./
ooo however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
301 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
17 Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
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[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[177] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

301 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this
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is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

In concluding this section I must still raise the question as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

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solely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade with them. Among the Goldi, who live closest to the Sungari Chinese and have constant retail-trade relations with them, a tenth part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver ounce comes into consideration, which makes it necessary for them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value (ja or dicha). For the more distant Olcha and Gilyak, however, who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods in larger quantities in Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the tenth and the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance -- for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it expressly in making appraisals, but rather it suffices to give only the number concerned. If I had made my investigations into this question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite direction, going from the latter to the former, the unit of value upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent to me without any difficulty, automatically, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not represented among the latter by any coin, is always only an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to form only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of the corresponding pieces of goods or other articles. As is well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver ounce is current in the form of coins -- the round brass coins with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tschcha), which are usually strung ten and a thousand on a string. On account of their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellas, they are used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also as shirt and belt buttons. In my time Russian coins, likewise called tschcha (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak, were not accepted either by them or by the other natives of the lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their value and because the Chinese merchants likewise would not accept them (1). Through their association with the Russians,

1. The only coins for which a use could be

2: Schrenck--998 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

2: Schrenck--1009 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

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Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

116, 301, 422, 435, 556

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use,
are large simple rings of silver, of on
with an agate or two. These, with the r
shoes are regarded as family heirloom
surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family, a
paper-money or a heap of silver pieces
sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-blue
Moreover, they are just as useful in th
to dealing in the concrete, knows exact
and when he comes in his travels to a F
measure the value of his ruble notes."

and mostly of Japanese and Chinese make. They
e and a half or more inches in [272] diameter,
are silk brocade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and
s. They are bought one after the other with the
nd represent the capital of the hut. A bundle of
have little attraction for the native, whereas a
silk is a 'thing of beauty and a joy for ever.'
e business of exchange; and the native, long used
ly their value, whereas money is unfamiliar;
Russian store, he has no standard by which to

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

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As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

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artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

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1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however,
[153] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the
[161] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre-
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later": see note * on p.1236./

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will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/

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fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about

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his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi-

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tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

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animals for what the latter were doing to them.

Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamiā Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

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It may be presumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

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the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

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Goldi, etc. (1). These peoples therefore regard the unshaved and

1. Venault, "Excursion dans les parties intérieures de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Annales des voyages, Vol. XXX, 1852[II], pp. 205, 214. Actually it is not difficult to recognize the Olcha villages of Adi, Pulu, and Uchtr in the Tschang-Mao-tse villages mentioned by Venault, "Aki," the first, going downstream, "Pulo," and "Ukuu." It has already been mentioned above (pp. 212 and 388, note 1) that the "Kili-mi" belonging to the Tschang-Mao-tse, who through the murder of de la Brunière gave rise to Venault's voyage, are the Gilyak. Venault also notes that in their physiognomy the Tschang-Mao-tse are closer to the European type than the Tuang-Mao-tse, which is absolutely correct for the Gilyak and Olcha in contrast to the Goldi, Orochi, etc. (See pp. 286 ff. /untranslated/ above.)

unshorn hair as a symbol of freedom, as the Ainu do with regard
G to the braid. This also explains the aversion, heightened to
302 superstition, of the Gilyak, who are especially proud of their
648 freedom from the Manchu-Chinese, against shearing their hair or even cutting the braid plaited with all of it.

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How much the distribution of the Manchu-Chinese hair style among the Amur peoples depended on the expansion of the effective, not merely nominal rule of the Celestial Empire can be seen from the Orochi. In the southernmost part of their habitation area, where they, designated as Ta-dse, are under considerable pressure from the many Chinese (Mandse) living among them, they wear their hair exactly like the latter, except that, as is also very frequent among the Goldi and Samagir, it is not shaved on the front of the head, for lack of the necessary tools, but only cut quite short (2). Farther north, such as in

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southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuli, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4),

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chtenlia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

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Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

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and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

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Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from

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the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and

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the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Puteshi. na Amur", p. 224) see this
2 [See Category 116, P. 1009-- Analyst]

/417 cont./

1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway. Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with regard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-dse, along the seacoast at least from Olga Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, corre-

2. Olympiada Wassiljewa, op. cit., p. 67.

spond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril; according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

From what has been said, it is readily seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

/417 cont./

however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Orochon. Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

A more common customary ornament among all the peoples of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV, Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work, however, is not done by the men, but by the women.

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

[See category 116, p. 1025--Analyst]

/418 cont./

is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

In concluding this section I must still raise the question as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

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First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Arai Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more or less discussed by the European or North American travelers who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Amur Sakhalin

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Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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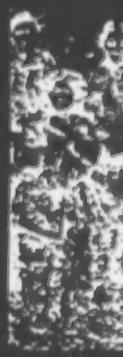

Sakhalin

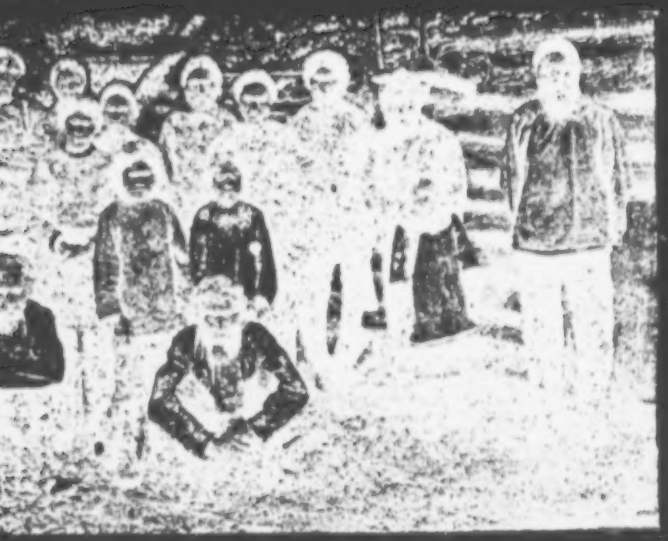

Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

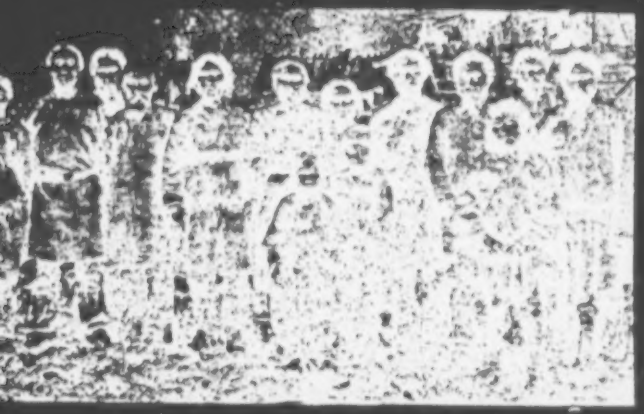

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak.

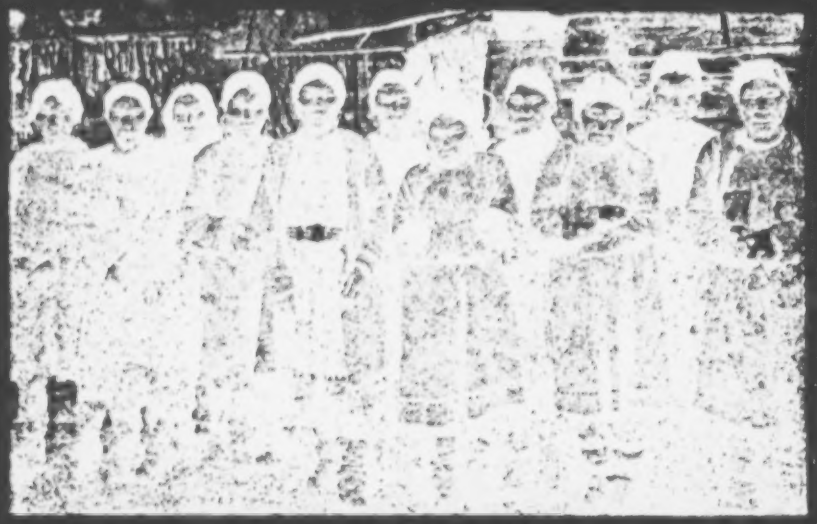
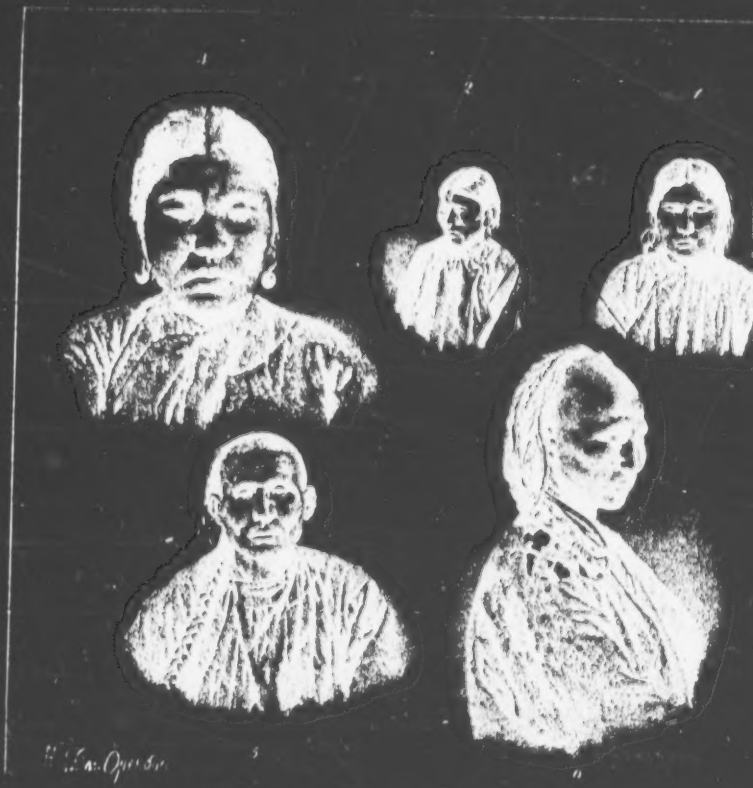


Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.



1, 2, -- Gilyak Women; 3, 4 -- Gilyak Gi
Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--425 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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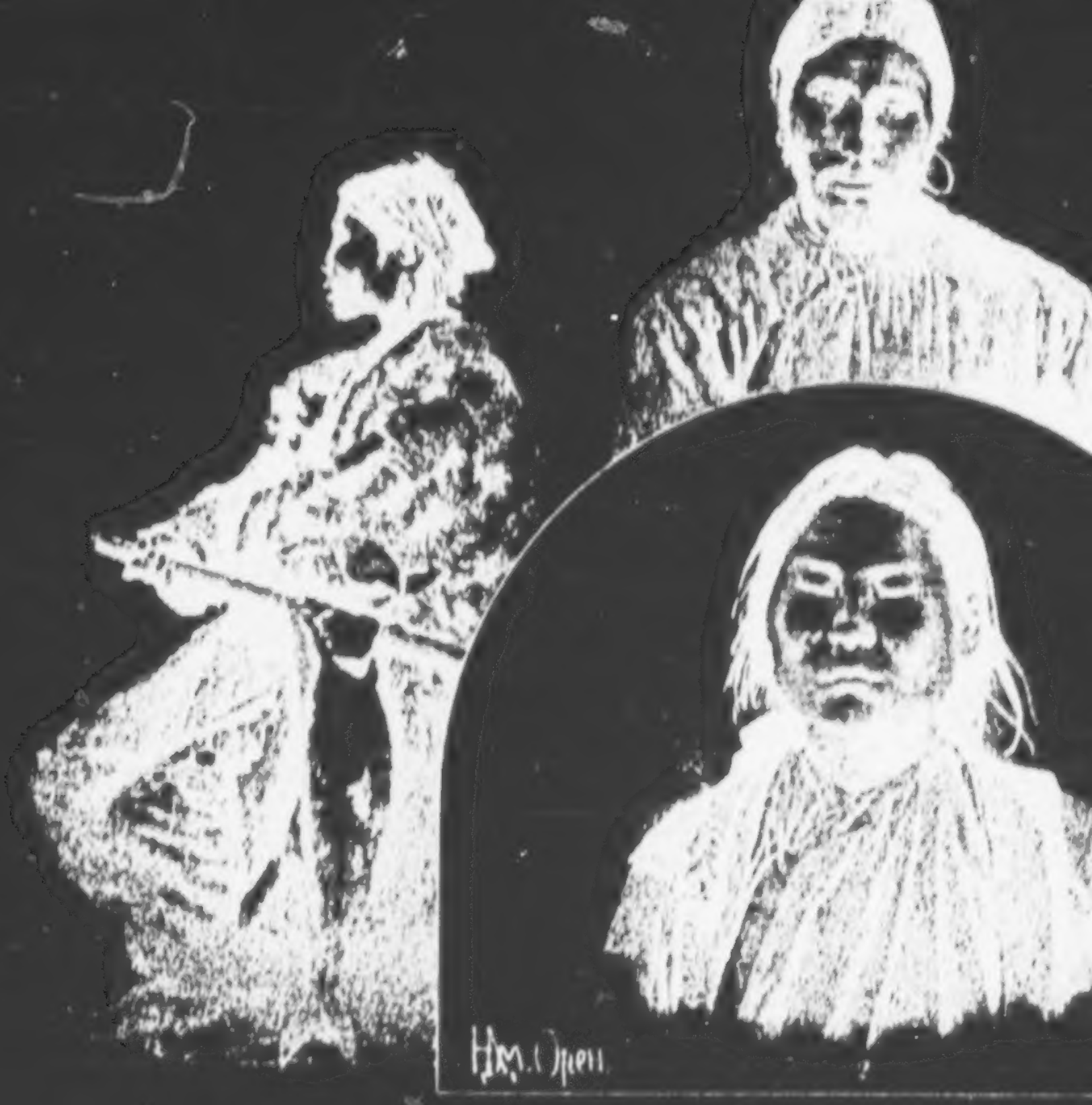

Gilyak Men

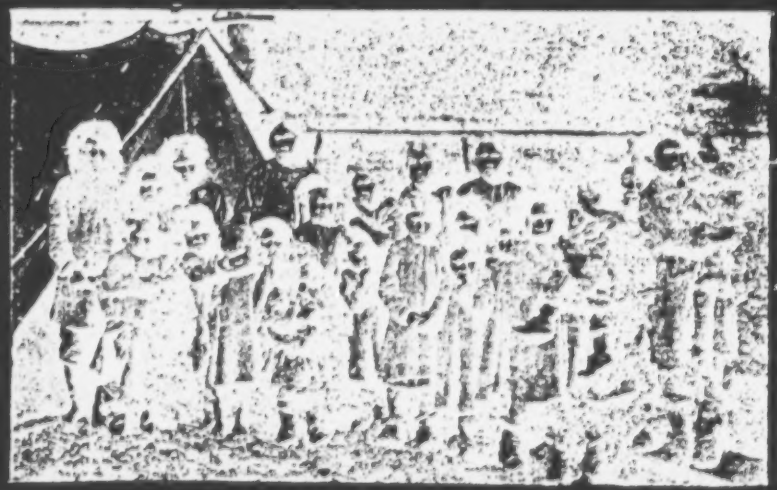

Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

2: Schrenck--998 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XVIII.

Gilyak in winter clothing.

2: Schrenck--999 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XIX.

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc.

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

9: Hawes--157-158 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 142, 302

"The Gilyak is short of stature, about 5 feet 3 inches in height, spare of limb, and, though often wiry, scarcely robust. His women-folk scarcely exceed 4 feet 6 inches. His complexion is tawny, gipsy-like, but not yellow, and his hair, which he wears in a pigtail, is raven black. Altogether his features betoken a mixed race. Though he has the brachycephalic (round) head, the broad face, and high cheek-bones of the Mongol, [158] yet the slight brow ridges, big mouth, prominent lips, and flattened nasal bridge of the latter are considerably modified in his case. The majority of Gilyaks possess the hairless faces of the Mongol, and perhaps the exceptions who have bushy beards are descendants of Ainu and Gilyak ancestors."

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FROM
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2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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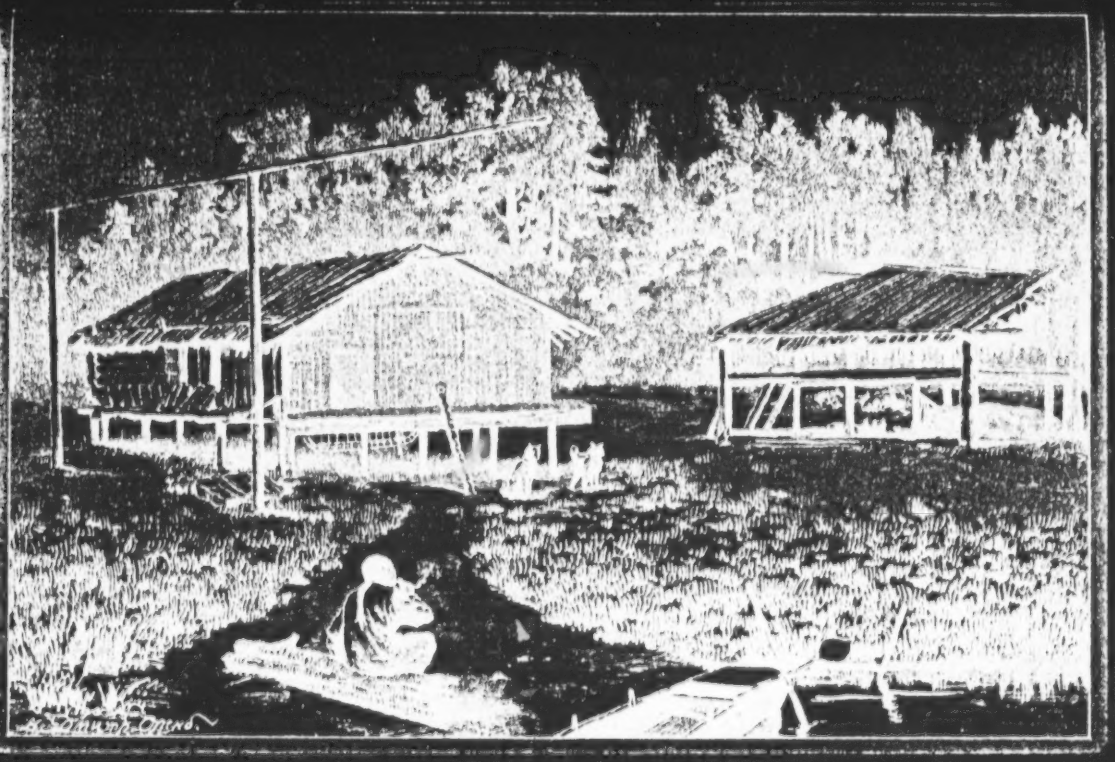

Gilyak summer yurt.

13: Seeland--32 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

> 1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

20: Bush--77
116, 276, 291

"They [LS
greasy skin g
that had once
both sexes we
single braid,
two braids, o
was a perfect
energetic cla

We would
which the wo
miniature bra
number of fin

T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak

, 302, 515

SS: A Gilyak man and woman] were a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty, garments, with naked feet and legs, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair, been braided, hung down their backs in queues. That of the man (for ere represented) was arranged much like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a with the exception that no part of his head was shaven. The woman wore or what had once been such, since her hair, as well as that of her husband, t mass of tangle, and becoming more so every moment through the wing and digging of several long, unwashed fingers.

have experienced some little difficulty in deciding which was the man and man had it not been for a long-stemmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and ass bowl, which the former smoked, while his fair partner carried a e, large, freshly-caught fish."

231 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs, white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not altogether certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka, but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he made no response to a question which Borasdine asked. Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon. The women did not look up from their work, and were not 142 inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complex-
• 302 ion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

•302 men wear it plaited into queues, and others let it grow pretty much at will. Each woman I saw had it braided in two queues, which hung over her shoulders. In their ears they wore long pendants, and their dresses were generally arranged with taste.

000 When recalled by the steam whistle we left the village and took a short route down a steep bank to the boat. In descending, my feet passed from under me, and I had the pleasure of sliding about ten yards before stopping. Had it not been for a Cossack who happened in my way I should have entered the Amoor after the manner of an otter, and afforded much amusement to the spectators, though comparatively little to myself. The sliding attracted no special attention as it was supposed to be the American custom, and I did not deem it prudent to make an explanation lest the story might bring discredit to my nationality.

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304

304 MUTILATION--scarification and tattooing; cranial deformations; tooth filing and removal; piercing of ears, nose, and lips; genital mutilation (e.g., castration, circumcision, clitoridectomy); age, sex, and status differences; special techniques and apparatus; associated beliefs; etc. See also:

Masochism	158	Self-torture	786
Mutilation of criminals	681	Eunuchs	839
Mayhem	683	Initiatory rites	852, 881
Mutilation of captives	727		

/418 cont./

301 is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it
191 made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubt

[113] 5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

302 In concluding this section I must still raise the question
•304 as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, paintin or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

G /419 cont./

302 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can
304 state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them
171 today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the
A 302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced
304 chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this
[195] island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks
A 304 and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied
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[113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more
[195] or less discussed by the European or North American travelers
[184] who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails
A
[113]

2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

G
K /421 cont./

304 In the whole series of Paleo-Asiatic peoples from Jesso to
171 Greenland we find only two small tribes who lack the custom of tattooing -- the Italmen on Kamchatka and the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin. Under these circumstances one might think that the custom of tattooing was formerly indigenous among these two peoples, too, but had disappeared in the course of time. Such an assumption, however, is not permissible. Steller's and Krascheninnikof's reports on the Italmen come from a time when the latter had by no means lost their national characteristics to such an extent that such a prominent and, if it existed among them, ancient custom as tattooing could have already completely disappeared without any remnants or traces and even without having left behind any accounts in the traditions. And, as was pointed out at the very beginning of this work, I became fully acquainted with the Gilyak at a time when they were still in full possession of their individuality. The complete lack of tattooing among the former as well as among the latter must therefore be regarded as part of their individuality in contrast to the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

Gi At first glance it might seem that this individuality of the
304 Gilyak in the Amur region was also shared by other peoples, in
171 particular those living adjacent to the Gilyak, for the Olcha, the Orok on Sakhalin, the Negda, and Samagir do not have the custom of tattooing. But the situation is essentially different among them. I think I can say with certainty that tattooing is not at all customary at present among the Olcha, /422/ for I became acquainted with them on several voyages throughout their habitation area. I became acquainted with the Samagir on the Gorin only in Ngagha, the largest of their villages, to be sure, and concerning the Orok on Sakhalin and the Negda, I met only isolated individuals, but other travelers, too, who had more contact with them, did not observe any kind of tattooing among them, for example, neither Middendorff and Schmidt among the Negda nor Poljakof, after a stay of several weeks on the east coast of Sakhalin, among the Orok there. This is very noteworthy

/650 cont./

114 and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4,
175 often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and
567 stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services,
[435] are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the
[439] Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over
Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the
[304] country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the
[184] slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be-
175 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get
567 their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ai who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had
[648] absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the
567 Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery
171 among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided

posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and deformities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat upward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies, also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
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1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

Gilyak in summe

r clothing.

293 /396 cont./
377 Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well
415 as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a
[53] sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later
[239] hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-
tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin
out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the
northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak.
The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be in-
verted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent
into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that,
after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper
372 piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the
293 steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain
(Gilyak kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII,
Fig. 1,[2] and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1).[2] Sometimes there is also found
293 on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII,
412 Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for
all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap,
at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc.
● [321] This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of
[53] horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in
itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved
293 figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and
ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find
them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope
horn or deer antler, etc.

291 In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur,
237 which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are
sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs.
In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw
one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of
fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two
under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed
with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls,
children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur
coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,
[2] [See Category 116, pp. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
177 i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
175 Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
172 Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
415 wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

A [113] 1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
G ● 321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they

K 323 415 [113] 2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
172 Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K [113] 3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.
4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6

G /468 cont./
G 276 wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small
192 bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or
G mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every
[554] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for
● [321] his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of
chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the
Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192 4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the
276 Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it
439 up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-
made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes,
because they get them from another source, from the Japanese.
I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small
head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little
finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-
A shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their
824 own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb.
et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A 191 [29] 1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his
A [113] "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[10] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credenc

[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[53] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg
● [321]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small
556 quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand,
and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

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Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
•321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.

[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak
593 of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
842 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlà, tammlà, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

322

322 WOODWORKING--methods of seasoning wood; techniques of shaping (e.g., cutting, planing, burning, warping); treatment of special materials (e.g., coconut, bamboo, gourds, bark); use of special apparatus; finishing techniques (e.g., oiling, lacquering); elaborated woodworking crafts (e.g., cooperage, cabinet making), manufacture of wooden and other furniture; specialized personnel and organization; wooden products not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Lumbering and sawmills	313	Shipbuilding	396
Carpentry in building construction	335	Lathes and other woodworking machines	402
Description of furniture	352	Tools	412
Woodworking machine manufacture	392	Sculpture in wood	532

264 /446 cont./
415 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Fig 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously o account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thum
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
796 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself s the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In cont to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decora tions put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artisti carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusi
•322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carv on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/322 cont./

342 half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
35 the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually rounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away various utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This creates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, between the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, there are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet from each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, twice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame put together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped earth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there are several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the rear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be-
[417] tween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles over the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which the kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the front part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a triangle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the large kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts there are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for human use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the large yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several days, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is made in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in the center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for
[415] illuminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or
[312] more large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with drinking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of the entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt, a supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top, exactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form of a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

/445 cont./

263 439 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
[482] hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2, Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
179 ormotsch(?)-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[See category 116, p. 1013--Analyst]

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.
161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p.249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

133 they do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream
312 is torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not have an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

133 The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from
361 both sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low islands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland they are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region is covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there the stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by the sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark
136 or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.
136 The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir
137 and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

/638 cont./

586 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

462 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In 462 22 general, the man only has to attend to providing the most important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, [251] make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods inso as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, 462 roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to • [313] cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

314

314 FOREST PRODUCTS--exploitation of forests and other uncultivated areas
products other than timber or food (e.g., gums and resins, rubber, vege
oils, dyestuffs, medicines, bark, textile fibers, peat); intermediate proc
(e.g., refining of palm oil or rubber, production of charcoal); organizati
labor and production; etc. See also:

Chemical industries	38	Materia medica	
Collecting of edible materials	222	Ethnobotany	

42 posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
46 to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
32 formities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

2 Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
2 serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

1 Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
4 also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

6 As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
- below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

312

312 WATER SUPPLY--sources of water (e.g., springs, wells, rainwater catchment); waters with special properties (e.g., mineral water); waterworks (e.g., dams, reservoirs, settling basins); transportation of water (e.g., containers, pipes, aqueducts, canals); irrigation and drainage systems; construction, maintenance, and regulation of water supply systems; etc. See also:

Natural occurrence of water 133
Use of irrigation in agriculture 241
Excavation 332
Water purification 364
Water power 376
Pumps 406
Plumbing 336, 414
Containers 415
Water rights 423
Canal navigation 502
Bathing 515
Flood control 731
Public health 744
Beliefs about water 823

purga (snow-storm) blows up everything is so completely buried that only those trees can be seen which, at the beginning of winter when the post roads are being laid, are pounded into the ice at regular intervals. Then everything is buried under an enormously thick covering of snow which lies immovable for half a year. During this time the forests are accessible to man only with the help of snow-shoes and dog sleds. Through the stillness of this white solitude the unlovely but energetic voice of the raven is heard; or the stillness is broken by the rapid ringing of a Russian post bell or by the "takh", "takh" which is the Gilyak's signal to his dogs. The raging purgas which last for several days are followed by weeks of cloudless skies when during the day everything lies in a dazzling white glow, and at night the icy heavens are resplendent with bright stars.

The sea coast of the Gilyak country is very picturesque, but hardly charming. From the foam of the breakers up to the peaks of the mountains everything is covered with dark forests, and even the picture of the summer landscape is often clouded with rain and fog which are almost continuous throughout the warmer season. (1) And during the other half

1. The cold arctic current travels past this coast and condenses with the moisture-laden southeast winds.

of the year everything is rigid with snow and ice, so that in winter one can travel with dogs from the mainland to Sakhalin.

This is the general picture of the native land of the Gilyak. There remains for us to add a few details, insofar as these have been ascertained.

With respect to geology, it may be said that argillite seems to occur more extensively, but many igneous minerals also appear. Thus the shores of the De Kastri bay consist of trachyte and basalt. Limestone occurs only seldom, which accounts for the softness of the water. The mountains are rich in metals -at least in various localities gold, iron, and lead were found, and it is well known that on the island of Sakhalin there are large coal beds.

The flora is varied and abundant. The conifers are represented by the fir and the larch, but the pine is absent. Of deciduous trees [104] there are oaks, maple, alder, birch, aspen, elm, among others. There are many berries, especially cranberries, raspberries, and rubus chamae morus.

313

313 LUMBERING--kinds of timber exploited; gathering of firewood; logging op
tions (e.g., felling, trimming, hauling); techniques and apparatus used; s
mills and pulp mills; economic importance of lumbering; organization of
labor and production; forestry science, practices, and policy; etc. See al

Forest resources 137
Conservation policies 185
Silviculture 245
Paper manufacture 289
Woodworking 322
Building supplies industries 339
Industrial structures 34
Fuel 37
Lumbering machinery 40
Tools 41
Moving of heavy weights 48
State and national forests 65

Then she pressed tubers of dry shrub into the opening for the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the kettle.

When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha. While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese. In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea, in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the Muzeĭ Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the ancient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat. In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for dipping pieces of meat in it.

On the following day, after the meat was taken off the heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea. The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings of qosk-pāks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps. He handed the shavings to his wife Hemany. The old woman stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using stalks of burdock-pas. In a row with the skulls lay jugular vertebrae (mar't) and bone splinters from the broken skulls. The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun took the board with the heads and the mug containing the eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at [95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible. next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

513 heads. Their cover consists of skins, some
coarse military cloth.
182 The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are diff
342 They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, no
floor is somewhat below the surface of the g
middle of it is a box-like open hearth made
and above this is an opening in the roof. In
the houses are usually full of smoke.
314 A Gilyak house is lived in only during the
342 parts of the year; in summer, however, tho
484 off on longer excursions move into the airy
592 consists of boards, and stands on poles in o
from rats. [115] On their expeditions the G
themselves huts of birch bark, and they car
wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped,
hot steam. They also make baskets, small
this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one fam
al of them live together, sometimes as man

501 VII. Transportation Methods
Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regula
made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather nar
about six to seven meters and has no keel.
is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Leng
of three planks, one of which is the floor, th
sides. The floor board projects out at the p
boards are shorter than it and are joined by
boards; the projecting floor board softens th
and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards
wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss w
is covered with thin wooden strips and faste
is no rudder; instead they use a short steeri
used alternately on the right and left sides.
are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in th
There is a small bar fastened to the edge of
oar, against which it is braced. The rower
cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised
The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth
very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe m
inside, the frame is supported by a double r
same material, which runs criss-cross. U
person sits in this canoe and rows with a do
right and left.

etimes also of a

erently arranged.
r windows. The
round; in the
of pressed clay,
windy weather

cold and colder
se who do not go
storage hut. This
rder to protect it
ilyak often make
ry along with them
and softened in
dishes, etc. of

nily; usually sever-
y as eight or nine.

r one is usually
row, but very long,
The steering end
gthwise it consists
ne others, the two
row, the two side
two small cross-
e impact in landing
are joined with
which on the inside
ned down. There
ng oar which is
The ordinary oars
e shape of a lyre.
the boat for each
s sit on low, narrow
and a sail is set.
These boats go

ade of birch bark;
ow of lashing of the
sually only one
able oar, both

321

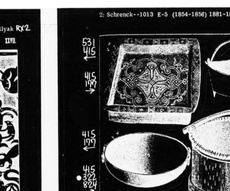
321 WORK IN BONE, HORN, AND SHELL--techniques of cutting, drilling, and polishing; treatment of special materials (e.g., ivory, mother-of-pearl, chitin); use of special implements and apparatus; bone, horn, and shell products not elsewhere described; industrial elaborations (e.g., button ma facture); specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Tools 41
Marine industries 228
Animal by-products 237
Featherwork 287
Ornaments 301

Gilyak patterns with animal figure and arabesques of birch bark.

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- dipper made of birch bark, with decorative arabesque work; 4 -- dirc, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and tongs; 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.



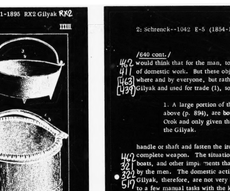
/640 cont./

would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made everywhere and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 896), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows, which also they buy in the material and use specifically or chiefly by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and to still less time left for smoking, and sleeping.

The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, are far from exhausted by what has been mentioned above; for in addition to all that there is still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak husband as well as wife find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, but even when he can about to leave on a journey or returned from one, on the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, and one who has this pride himself on it. One (X Xyi) was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could answer: ламгин, ламгин, ламгин, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however, there is also an egotistical, militarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in the maintenance hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise /641/ apart from the bride price they will be a welcome help in the

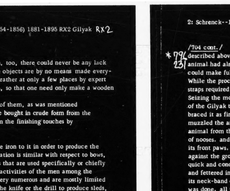


/704 cont./

described above, for the latter was done after the hind legs of the animal had already been fettered in the cage, but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house, all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feast were held in readiness. Setting at the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect, one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one mounted the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear, pulled its hind legs from under it by means of ropes, and laid it down on the ground. The bear fell on its front paws, but here, too, someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. This through quick and concerted action they have the animal so completely disarmed and helpless that in instant, and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done, all the Gilyak jumped off the bear, all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk, and the bear again stood there as its claws entirely free and unfettered, except for the neck and body band, roaring madly, whereupon the young boys carried on the sticks, the women in their arms, it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and cowberries /Brickeberen/, whereupon, after a short pause, the same procedure was again repeated several times, that is, the small bear was taken immediately from Jolin's house to another one, but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times, or sometimes only twice.

Immediately after the bears had been removed, the male youth of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood, until there was a large pile of them. Everyone who had a knife, except for the women and girls, began to cut the sticks at one end; or, more properly, to whittle them. that is, to make the pointed end of the stick into a kind of

1. The j here is to be pronounced soft, like the French ج.



/704 cont./

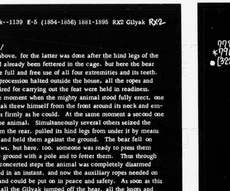
Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side, but most of them on two opposite sides, and some all around; indeed, from some of them very fine and gracefully curled wood-shavings (the repeatedly mentioned so-called catch of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol, which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits, such as the giving of offerings to the river (1) conjuring away storms (2), etc.,

2. See pp. 802-804 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

may not. of course, be absent from the bear festival. This we already see it exhibited over the roof of the house in which a bear festival is to be celebrated and at the same time in the part of the bear cult is to be enacted. We were to /705/ encounter it in more copious masses as the bear festival progressed. For the moment, however, the whole heap of whittled sticks was again carried out. in order to be used on the following day. While the men, young and old, were busying themselves in this way, there appeared a fresh supply of ennep, into which this time they also mixed pulverized fir needles (from Picea ajanensis, Fisch., Gilyak name) as an activity which lasted until evening.

Meanwhile the leading of the bears in and out of the other house, in which the bears were not without disturbance, the Gilyak can never have enough of this entertainment, and they take as timely an interest in all the individual incidents that occur in connection with it as is shown among other peoples at. say, concerts, festive games, or dances with the merry music. which in the bear feast is the Gilyak's only music. Everyone has an opportunity as the head of the one or the other row of bear-leaders, and, as I could by presence intensity, and pressure of mind; the closer he allows the infuriated animal to approach him, the greater the danger to which he exposes himself, the louder is his share of the applause and the greater his fame and distinction among the people. Every detail is followed attentively and afterward



/714 cont./

Toad made out of birch bark.

the gra; beards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly. Siberian, and, so to speak, solemnly. The place in the kettle in the fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. This the kettle was filled with water for it to clinch up water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and the hatchet, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' noses so that it hung about three feet above the floor. The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed in relief.

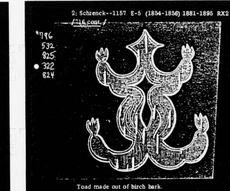
The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the large bear. Each leg was first placed upon the chopping block, and, as the bears, as though to ask him for their permission to prepare it; and was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked piece were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

/716 cont./

begging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, to it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a rare beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouse, /717/ All of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion: pieces of fur and the skin of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-paws wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bonite of hair from the bear's pelvic region around them, the so-called ninda-dokako of the Gilyak, with which it is clinch to cut anything other than bear meat and so on (see Plate II /To 1351/, Fig. 3), and a number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was cooked directly in it with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when performing bears, is very interesting and deserves detailed discussion.

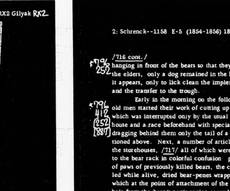
The bowls called nichrey-ngar or nichrey-ngash, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons nichrey, are always carved out of a single, rather thick, good-size piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate I /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same Plate, Fig. 2) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle end, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes



/718 cont./

even on the lower end of the spoon which are used by the Gilyak at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Stogin in Kuik, and came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a similar used in connection with bear feast, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly sinch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival. on Plate I /p.1250/, Fig. 1, for instance, it is drawn with the neck and body band, on Plate I, Fig. 3, and Plate III /p 1252/, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band. Plate III, Fig. 6, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate II /p 1251/, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 1 in Plate III, shows the bear's head in the tilting and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate II, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because in a case shown about all the situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the bear's close spiritual relation of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak set on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. A barbecue, the kettle was filled with water, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, only in the prepared bear meat broth, and sometimes both the front and the handle end, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes



/718 cont./

stagnon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in an unsuitable place, so to speak, where they could not be seen by the bears, quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Stogin in Kuik, came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a similar used in connection with bear feast, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly sinch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival. on Plate I /p.1250/, Fig. 1, for instance, it is drawn with the neck and body band, on Plate I, Fig. 3, and Plate III /p 1252/, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band. Plate III, Fig. 6, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate II /p 1251/, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 1 in Plate III, shows the bear's head in the tilting and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate II, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because in a case shown about all the situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the bear's close spiritual relation of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak set on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

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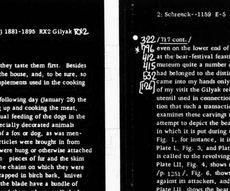


1. Like the one pasted on the window, see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has been said above other than the following. With the cutting up of the meat, the cooking of the broth, and the eating of the bear meat and broth, but also for all other food during the bear festival,

/754 cont./

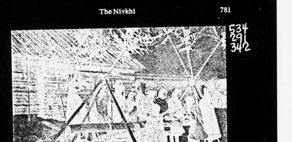
826 753 sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however, 755 is a shaman. He conjures up a ldgn (a good god), who removes 756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch 757 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of (780) the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the vagmipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp. 822 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found. 746 It is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always 824 made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

753 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mkjingai) are 755 similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much 825 less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (halb) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the laiz bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magi. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak 554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak



Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ulchi 534 and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the 324 bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers 1071 were often remarkable in their craftmanship. Some of them were carved 746 with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer, and so forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a 534 primitive one-string instrument (t'ygytyg) and a lip jew's-harp (khangai). 1046 During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an 871 ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks. 1042

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay school was opened in the 1890's by the missionary, Protopopov, who was assisted by the Nivkhi.

Protopopov also established the first school, which was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the 648 Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted

/350 cont./

197 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this. 325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/ 871 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel. 1042 Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in 197 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is 741 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he 18 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her 472 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes- 255 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a 18 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when 323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their 194 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence 172 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savagery." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/447 cont./

302 yi-dhakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape. 412 Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the unjir-wen of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), 2 is used; for fine carving, the kydr-dhakko, a knife with a very narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among 412 the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschakhr) (1)

[192] 1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tschakcha. Among the Olcha: alako.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Wasej, is shown on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 6. These owe their origin among the Gilyak more to the imitative instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

As one sees from the above, all the household and table 445 equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood 323 or birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they 322 neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for at most a single piece of it, usually one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese for drinking brandy, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak as an article of value or as an oddity. The fact that pottery, even 323 in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite 114 their being surrounded by people skilled in other things, for example, in woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade, certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put their fate itself still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of pottery of any kind in their households nor did I even hear of any from others. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia Rinš's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur 197 region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthenware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

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323 similar in shape to that of the Olcha and the Japanese (2). /448/ 114 114 648 [113] 2. Mamia Rinš, "Tôsats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

322 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not 114 originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese 114 pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not 114 remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Manšô) near Kidzi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidzi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Usuri, I never saw such factories or any 323 their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that 114 in the Goldi village of Sulbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however,

[113] 2. Maak", Puteši. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

323 is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, 114 totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinš's report, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored 323 the Amur region. How this happened will be illustrated as 114 much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion 648

/448 cont./

323 of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the 114 Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment, 648 it will suffice to make the general remark that it most probably was brought by violent seizure and devastation plundered by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinso's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, executed, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, like their neighbors upstream and downstream, the lower Goldi and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of this sort made in China or Japan could not find approval and acceptance among them. This destruction of the pottery manufacturing in the lower Amur region, 415 on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the 114 mass production of wooden implements, to turn those large bowls 114 322 and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kota, respectively.

Whereas the pottery and porcelain industry was destroyed 323 along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded 114 progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tribu- 648 taries. /449/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tsien in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

[115] 1. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutse /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obšch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

[113] 2. Journey in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

/449 cont./

323 utensils produced there, some of them of very good qua- 171 were shipped far away, and, according to Barabash (3),

[113] 3. Barabash", "Sungar. ekspedicia 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pot- Maack saw in Sulbi on the Amur probably also came fr Sungari. The fact that it does not go farther down the ever, to the lower Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite 323 annual trade voyages to the Sungari, attests all too clea 17 aversion that they entertain against such utensils.

If, from the statements by Mamia Rinš given ab 323 must draw the conclusion that the Gilyak and Olcha, th 17 do not use pottery in their households today, nevertheless they must have been familiar with it in the past, for they 415 it themselves, it may also be gathered from them that 114 means an art practiced since ancient times, but rather 114 learned it through the Chinese and Japanese in relatio 114 He found the pieces seen by him on Sakhalin, as was sa 114 to those of the Chinese and Japanese, and it is highly p 114 the main porcelain factories near Kidzi which he ment 114 under Chinese influence and with Chinese co-operation 114 it was recent and foreign, this art could so easily again 114 altogether among the Gilyak and Olcha amidst the subs 114 favorable conditions, without leaving any trace other t 114 aversion against its products. My view that the mainl 114 was originally foreign to the Gilyak and was temporarily 114 by them from the Chinese only in recent times is also 114 by the fact that this art, as among the Gilyak, it missi 114 was missing up to a short time ago, among all the other 114 Asiatic peoples, with one single exception. Mamia Rin

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

/447 cont./

yï-dshakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape. Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the us(i)r-wossj of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), is used; for finer carving, the kydr-dshakko, a knife with a very narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawkr) (1)

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[113] 2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark

/453 cont./ Mamin Rivers (Alaska) to be rare, report that the Ten Commandments Sakhalin that they make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two sides, large, hollow, and with a round bottom, and the other (i.e., divine pots, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent Japanese origin of this art. The Sakhalin people, in the north, are Tungusic, and their neighbors are Ainu and Japanese.

6. Nordenskjöld, Die Umseglung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega. Leipzig, 1880, Vol. I, p. 147.

1. Sibirsk. Aneb. no wilhelmshof, Inclichtvot de ostiaks. Ein Vitre Ethnographie Exploration from the Discoverer by Vrian, F. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Patjalsof found, besides other articles, in the graves of Aino given on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient Kamchadal, one finds, in the work of Steller, Beschreibung des Camtschatkischen Volkes, the information that they

2. Nomad on Ono Tetsuya, ed. of 1905, p. 87b.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and Kraschninnikof say only wooden vessels among them, and Pinkerton (9), while giving a description of the vessels, says

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamtschatka in the Years 1851-1855 (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Ibid series, Vol. VIII, 1856).

mood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly dried. Such be thought was a Tungusic (?) [illegible]

/453 cont./ Mamin Rivers (Alaska) 2: Schrenck—490 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak 82.

was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand. Also, with regard to Kuryak and Chukchee, the anthropologist Bogoras, at Tuchi (Tuchinskaya Bay), knew only of the making of seing and drinking vessels out of wood, bone, etc., but do not report any of fired clay. The northernmost pots that the members of the Vega expedition saw among the Chukchee were of American or European origin (6). Nordenskjöld, however, heard that the Asian dwellers

4. Nordenskjöld, Die Umseglung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega. Leipzig, 1880, Vol. I, p. 147.

5. Ceramics, pottery, etc. Among the Gilyak, Orochi, and Olcha of which Shimin Rinsö spoke was of in only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back, it is not impossible that the Gilyak and Orochi have recently been found in the earth, together with some tools, at various points in the Amur region and in Sakhalin, especially along the Petchi River and in Tarakha (3). These potsherds,

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Petchi River, near the village of Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tuchutyrkach at Tuchutyrach (at the Russian call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, a human skull (Tuchutyrkaya Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, some of these articles came to the Königliche Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

2: Schrenck—490 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak 82. Esk: no N02.

/450 cont./ 7. (cont.) Peoples in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847, Part I, p. 58. Alaska and its resources, 1870, p. 150.

Pinkerton and Kotzebue Sounds (8), and elsewhere. Dall says that

8. Wolde, Capt. Jacobson's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's /Capt. Jacobson's Travels on the Northwest Coast of America/, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 214, 215, 290.

among the earthenware vessels made by the Eskimo which he saw on the Yukon (Kwichpak), a few of which are illustrated in his book on Alaska, one was obviously modeled after a Russian model. This may have been the case, for since the Russians settled in this country some Russian dishes and troughs were soon unfindable in reached the natives there. Nevertheless, the making of pottery by the Aleutian Eskimo is so way came from the Russians. The latter found it there already, and Dawydof, like Sagaskin, represents the acquaintance with copper kettles and other implements, which the Eskimo owed to the Russians, and considerable late among them the relatively general distribution of pottery vessels of their own manufacture, was which Dall, too, agrees. Finally, also arguing for the great antiquity of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, Nordenskjöld (7) says that the simple and primitive fashion in which it is practiced. the vessels are shaped freehandedly, and therefore are not quite circular or symmetrical (1), and then are smoothed and decorated by means

1. As can be seen from the illustrations in Dawydof's travel account (pp. 214 and 215).

of peculiar and likewise very simple instruments (2). Without

2. These implements are illustrated by Dawydof (op.cit., P. 298).

2: Schrenck—491 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak 82. Esk: no N02.

/450 cont./ 7. (cont.) Peoples in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847, Part I, p. 58. Alaska and its resources, 1870, p. 150.

the same time, it specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to make no decision. Dall, however, has given the following conclusion concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I regret that the portion's art of the Gilyaks, Olcha, and Ainu of which Shimin Rinsö spoke was of in only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back, it is not impossible that the Gilyak and Orochi have recently been found in the earth, together with some tools, at various points in the Amur region and in Sakhalin, especially along the Petchi River and in Tarakha (3). These potsherds,

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Petchi River, near the village of Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tuchutyrkach at Tuchutyrach (at the Russian call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, a human skull (Tuchutyrkaya Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, some of these articles came to the Königliche Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

2: Schrenck—492 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak 82. Esk: no N02.

/451 cont./ 2. (cont.) by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 199).

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/451 cont./ 2. (cont.) by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 199).

3. (cont.) Imperial Academy of Sciences/ and are in our museum. Three years later, near the village of Tymovskoye, on Sakhalin and likewise at the bottom of pits which looked like the remains of earth dwellings, I found the above considerations concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

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1: Sibirsk/ng—501 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1903 RXI Gilyak 83 Sakhalin

/451 cont./ 4. (cont.) beads either straight, wavy, and zigzag lines, and, in general, the ornamentation

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period in the history of the Gilyaks, and, in particular, to a relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Petchi River (see /453/ note 3 on p. 490) were not to many Gilyak (?) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vremeshnoe Pomor'e)

whether they will had similar tools, or why tradition referring to them — they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin continued the idea and Czech in Tarakha above the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that dating the ware the Aino had gone into hiding in the earth after the arrival of the Gilyak in the Amur region, but the Nivx themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, the old men of Tymovsk knew of a legend which another than jects in a people called Tsisei who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the Amur. The remains of the ancient Tsisei now lived degenerate on the Gulf of Petlance, near Cape Tatarovo, and of other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (5).

5. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsheres are supposed to come actually only means Tungusic, it can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamin Sibirsk concerning the pottery of Tymovsk (7 Tymovsk, 1 E-5, Esc.then.pan)

123 METALLURGY—smelting and refining of ores, alloys, methods of casting, hot and cold forging; tempering; welding; welding; special operations (e.g. bellows, anvils, pincers) and scientific metallurgical knowledge etc. See also Ethnology, Industrial Arts, Mining, Technology, Commerce of metals" 123, 00 Metallurgy, general, 123, 01 Iron

1: Sibirsk/ng—501 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1903 RXI Gilyak 83 Sakhalin

/200 cont./ Manchu reached them also and installed elected tsiseis. There was such a seasons, for example, in Tangis. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak learned to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

Gilyak (?) Iron was known to them, however, in the earliest times as the most sacred method of obtaining fire — a method used in ancient times by the ancestors. All the other hollowwage are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but the most consequence these borrowings have inevitably brought the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

The Gilyak, in their primitive state, the basic food of the Gilyak is the ready products of nature — fish, fowl, berries, roots; he is the only one that knows how to catch fish and to obtain and accelerating his creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals, or hunt game. This is the fundamental feature of a "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of time when the Gilyak was ignorant of hoeing and sowing

/568 cont./
with the latter probably extend back into earlier times than those with the former, in that, as the latter do not show the Golds (in the other groups (i.e., before they came to the south region of the Amur.

1. See p. 214 above /unrevised/.

they already had a homeland on Sakhalin, where they were directly in contact with the Ainu and thus also indirectly with the Japanese -- this circumstance points to the latter as the source of the Gilyak's knowledge of iron and other metals, and as their teachers, even though only indirectly, in the minh's art. And a series of facts corroborate this in this view.

If the use and the working of iron had come to the Gilyak from the Chinese, that is to say, down the Sungari and Amur through the intermediation of the Manchu and Goldi, one would expect in the opposite direction, going upstream from the Gilyak, an increase in skill in the forging of iron. Actually, however, in the direction mentioned there is not only no increase, but, on the contrary, a decrease in the fineness and neatness of the metalwork. For the Chiba, to be sure, the Gilyak actually into skilled ironsmiths, and especially armorers, than their teachers, the Gilyak, but far behind the Golds and the Chiba in this (b).

2. The Manchu opinion also pen his Yutenb. ia Amur", pp. 175 and 207).

though they are extraordinarily skilled at many other things, such as boat-building, sewing, embroidery, and plaiting. In this connection, they do something different from the Gilyak in forging in that they use only one bellows, and also accumulate iron are not insignificantly /569/ different, for instance, an anvil shaped quite differently, and the like (1). Finally, it is not in

1. See Maack, op. cit., p. 207 and Plate II, Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 24.

be overlooked that the Goldi designation for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak one. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that they owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsh devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (b). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron was then imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, and already had been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of pieces which they obtained by trading with the Japanese in Sakmarai. Mamia Rinsh describes their procedure in forging the iron, which again corroborates what we can described above for the Gilyak; he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (b), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Sternenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

/569 cont./
cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in general their method of forging is "approximately the same as in Japan," still Mamia Rinsh does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and may even have been of categorization and conclusion. It therefore even more establishes beyond doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place from Japan to the Ainu of Sakhalin and from Sakhalin and Japan to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsh's time.

/570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils and weapons, bowls, spears, and the like are more like those part of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved on them are more like those of the Ainu than those of Japan are often reminiscent of Japanese pattern -- as was noted above (1)

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, to a least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsh's testimony,

/570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsh's testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin (Krafto) lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, in part, of the Japanese prohibition against forging. We must add that this step backward by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and strong character, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have had a salutary effect upon them in regard to the more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps accounted also, said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /unrevised/.

At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of their material skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more to the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Oroch, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

/572 cont./
their eyes, of course, were accustomed with the sea of great waves, so that they could not see the other bays, inlets, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly to trade with them, and, indeed, much (the) so the case can be seen from Stellar's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but were much taken aback only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figure during the welcoming" with them.

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadals, were brought by Japanese sailors, or from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukches, before iron needles were then brought by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a central occurrence of the geographical history of Asia, in consideration of the vast number of the peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the Asiatic continent, the region of the Ainu (1).

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 150) has recently been attacked by Braun ("Die Bevölker der japanischen Inselwelt. /"Ie Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm)" in the Jahrescber. der Frankfurter Verein fir Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1885-1886, 1886-1887, Berlin, Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. In speaking of the former (on Sakhalin) at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

/572 cont./
of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /unrevised/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the sea-shore, and had taken up fishing and hunting on the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of the Gilyak, which, of course, outside the scope of this work.

If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons and of hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two long very valuable and very estimated 2.5 meters long, which happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, he bought back his property.

K. Marriage and the Bearing of Children

Not much can be reported concerning this, and, indeed, summarized, and it is even rarer to find married men with more than one or two wives, for the reason a certain amount of means is needed, there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This dare not consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations are much alike to be given by the bridegroom last a rather long time,-a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A various, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl, the one known and wed. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl home, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

/574 cont./ Dwelling Sites
reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /575/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelichte., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 243.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Oc., p. 197.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, and to a doubt on the origin indeed very strange linking of the Kilan with the Gilyak of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged question the correctness of such a people (b).

2. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially gushed by a weapon-forging Gilyak, Siberia must be with them, and these weapons would long since have b able, if not from the people themselves, at least then Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien. Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is no for both the above-mentioned bow faced with buffalo decorated with silver and the beautiful knives, tipped knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, have to equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons w worked and inlaid with silver and brass today exactly foreign origin, nevertheless, they are not very ancient. Even the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the present

10. Seriand--2b E-5 (no date) 1882

Gilyak

/572 cont./
10. instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck hunting and hence is called "duck arrow" (1). The other arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not [illegible] more than 1 meter long and 0.25 meter in diameter.
11. small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various decorations and ornaments. It is fastened to the belt.
The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done without a pneumatic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is brought from the Russians and Japanese. Nowadays, however, the Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.
178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are 45 cm. wide and 1.5 meters long, made of very sturdy wood, and 45 cm. wide and 1.5 meters long, made of very sturdy wood, 4/5 lashkoed, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no other value than that of being a means of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 20 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, he bought back his property.

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/566 cont./

especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region, the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak. In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/567 cont./

114 325 326 192

On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[293] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yi-dshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./

114 325 326 192 [293]

Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

325 326 [531] [435]

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
[439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relatic

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

324 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 362 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after 22 the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat [184] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

324 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [178] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 177 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective 433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.

286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

372 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

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333 MASONRY--laying of bricks and stones; use of mortar; mixing and laying of adobe and concrete; types of construction (e.g., foundations, floors, walls); structural principles (e.g., arch, dome); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., trowel, hod, cement mixer); specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Stone industry . . . . . 324 Tools 413
Brick and cement manufacture 339

/321 cont./

192
342
[113]

2. (cont.)
Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the dwellings of same, of whatever kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Russ.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

342 house or Chinese winter-yurt. The earth yurt, toryf of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent half sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams. Around it there is erected a pyramidal /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration appears here./ Only at the peak of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c), likewise roofed over with thin beams or tree branches and dry grass, in which, at both sides, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

[335]

[354]

/326 cont./

342

1. This plate is to serve at the same time to illustrate the house decorations customary during the bear festival and some of the entertainment going on in front of it, which will be discussed later. ⁂

[335] The walls consist of thin, horizontal beams, which are not joined at their ends, but are pointed and fitted into the lateral grooves of a few thicker, upright beams. On the transverse walls, which rise higher, and especially in the middle of them, these vertical beams are of a considerable thickness. The gaps between the beams are plugged with moss and daubed with mud on the outside. The large, rather flat roof, which in winter has to carry a considerable burden of snow, requires very complicated timberwork for its construction and support. /Illustration appears here./ It has a regular roof framework made up of longitudinal beams and crossbeams. The ridge is supported, in addition to the central, upright beams of the two transverse walls (see Pl. XI), also by two thick, towering posts in the interior of the house (a) on the accompanying plan). Sometimes, instead of one post, two standing not far apart rise in each place. Similar, but much smaller and thinner posts (b) sometimes rise up here and there at the sides and, together with the two nearest vertical beams of the transverse wall, serve as supports for the middle part of the roof, and in the lower part it is supported by the longitudinal walls of the yurt. Longitudinal beams and crossbeams in turn run here and there between the towering posts in the interior, and similarly to the upper edges of the longitudinal walls -- a framework that /327/ serves to connect the walls to one another and thus to steady the walls and keep them upright. In addition, the lower part of it, up to a little above the height of a man, is used for the storage of various articles and for hanging up clothing, and so forth. On our Plate XI one sees the ends of the aforementioned longitudinal beams at the transverse wall, as well as at the ridge and the side edges of the roof, project out quite far, whereby the side beams of the latter intersect each other far out at the gable

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[353]

⁂ [See Category 116, p. 991 -- Analyst]

Ainu A8L
Eskimo ND2

A
231
439

/565 cont./
reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E
239
41

Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E
[113]

1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G
326
[411]

At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

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[396]
[493]
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[105]
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342 DWELLINGS--description of residential buildings; seasonal, local and status differences in dwelling types; durability and portability of dwellings; mode of construction; adequacy (e.g., for protection from elements, for security, for light and ventilation); typical number of occupants; ceremonies during and after construction; etc. See also:

Housebuilding specialists	33	Names of houses	882
Adequacy of housing	362	Household organization	892

/17 cont./

194 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-
342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak
196 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the
178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu
[199] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a
[192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

342 /18 cont./
198 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of
178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.
192

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the
171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that
174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee,
492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-
[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo.
[614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/27 cont./ In
22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar
252 festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple.
354 Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted
352 the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also
[197] very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank
[132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes
352 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward
516 the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/28 cont./
352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[516] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[492] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

492 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

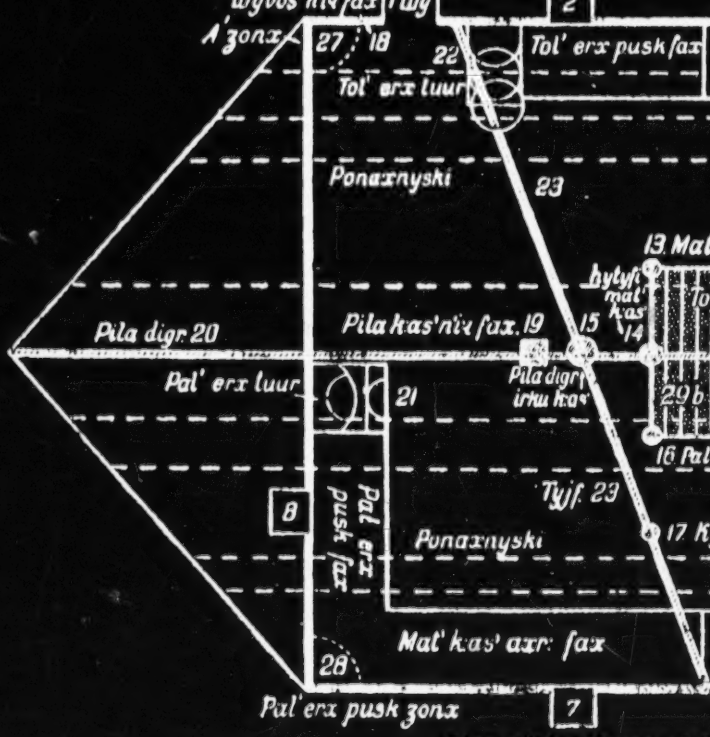
/30 cont./
221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Ty the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several h dred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, o to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their nativ
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrang
[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live
159 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociablenes which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must l the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its in ternal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mai to acquaint my readers.

III.

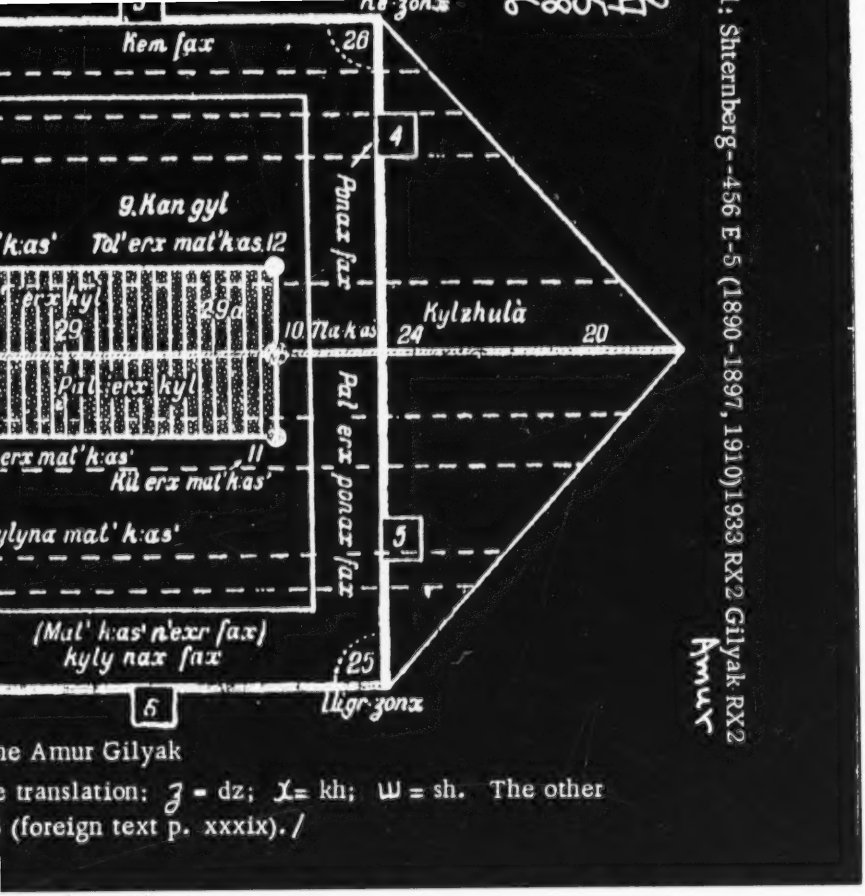
601 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence
171 on the Family-Clan Structure.
174

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothin characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nat alities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules t regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the A and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved featu
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although t
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful compa of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gil leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite differe



Plan of the House of th

/Three letters in the terms above have been changed in the
letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36



he Amur Gilyak

e translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other

(foreign text p. xxxix). /

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

333 windows ha
342 panes. Th
354 hinges. Th
bars on wh
among othe
ing of the h
sists of pre
The smoke
covered wi
sleeping bo
a high wood
Manchurian
seldom cle
walls of the
and small,
is a very p
cold in the
there is a
opening of
er kettle o
just in fron
floor. The
properly a
frequently
231 The furn
352 hearth or,
entrance.
continuous
diagonally
arundo. In
table. The
the table; t
again. Be
decorated
stools in ca
cross beam
cloths, etc
and the lik
kept in the
354 occasions.
373 tive fashio
or, if ther
513 In summ
skins or ot
cloth sacks

ve fish skin stretched over them instead of glass
e simple, low door has leather straps instead of
here is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross
ich lie or from which hang various implements,
r things a kettle which reaches to the front open-
earth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, con-
ssed clay; the larger houses have two of them.
passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and
th clay, which goes around the room under the
ards, leads out through the side wall and ends in
den chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and
ns have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is
aned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin
e Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low
and thus the warming of the benches from below
ractical arrangement. Even so, it is often very
houses, especially when it is below freezing and
wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper
the stove and besides that, as we have said, a small-
cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests
t of the front opening of the stove, right next to the
logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit
nd burn outside the opening of the stove, which
causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.
iture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
if there are two, they are put on either side of the
Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one
bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie
across it. It is covered with woven mats made of
the middle of the room is the long and low dog
dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on
hey are let down one by one, fed, and chased out
sides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively
cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few
ase a higher seat is needed for some work. On the
ns below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish,
.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows,
e. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually
storage houses and are brought out only on special
In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
n: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp,
e happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.
er their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear
her skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical
stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

335

335 CARPENTRY--special treatment of wooden materials in building construction; techniques of joining (e.g., by mortise and tenon, with nails or screws); structural devices (e.g., struts, king-post); specialized personnel and organization (e.g., carpenters' guilds or unions); etc. See also:

Nonstructural woodworking 322
Shipbuilding 396
Tools 412
Hardware 414

342 Before layin
[787] flour: if in the mo
is good; if of a hu
they change the pl
is also good.

342 Explanation
354 door. 2. Tol-erkh
"master" of the se
of the door. 4. Po
bed. 5. Pal-erkh
the mountain. 6.
alongside the long
near a small post.
342 of the mountain.
k:as' -- large post
erkh mat' k:as' --
small post. 14. H
digr-irku k:as' --
erkh' mat k:as' --
Kylyná mat' k:as'
n'ich fakh -- smal
fakh -- small ston
[354] 20. Pi'la digr -- e
the master of the
[335] master of the sea.
24. Kylzhutá -- th
son who has been
[778] corner for the bear
corner. 27. A dz
dz:onkh -- corner
[776] 29. The floor is di
tol erkh kyl. On e
the appropriate spi

f a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected
with the House

g down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling
rning there is an imprint of a human foot, this
man hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then
ace. If there are no imprints of any kind, this

of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy --
pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the
a. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left
nakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-
ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of
Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window
plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window
8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side
9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly
. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. To
post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' --
ytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la
large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal
small post on the side of the mountain. 17.
-- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos
stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir
e at the threshold on the level of the floor.
longated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of
nountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the
23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house.
e middle of the plank bed where they put a per-
vounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed
s head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper
:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk
on the side of the mountain for tabooed things.
vided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b)
ach half is placed only that which has to do with
rit, with tol or pal'.

/317 cont./
Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the sanctification, on the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chihinyr chihinx, a grass figure, and drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in autumn (cleaning) (I) and another time when one wishes. They

1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matrix, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

/318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chihinxi, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kejihn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

The shaman then says: "gu, gu (i.e., 'good'), in such and such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Z-z-gu, z-z-gu," such and such a corner does not have any spirit." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner. Ntasu (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kehhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/318 cont./
"Make a battue, drive him toward this grass figure. Ah! He has turned into a mouse." The chorus: "He is going there. He turned into a human form... he turned into a bird. He got into the pots!"

Finally, there is no other place, and he has to get into the chihinxi -- the grass figure, whether he wants to or not. When he has entered it, the hand of the person holding the thread appears to shake. The shaman shouts: "Pik hisu!" And that one hits. They light a candle, throw light on it, and inspect the grass figure: it again does not have its head toward the threshold. The shaman searches for him again. He finds him. Again the same thing. Finally, the chihinxi has its head toward the threshold, which means that the evil spirit has gone out. The shaman leaves his hanxi to keep watch overnight. In the evening of the following day the shaman calls the rest "master." He has one answer that he was late. The real "master" is generally hidden under the earth, the shaman looks for him and addresses to him the request: "Here they have built an isba, be the matter, they will feed you. watch over it, protect it!" Finally the master has appeared in the middle of the floor and stuck out his head. "Come out," says the shaman, "do not be shy, say what you want, we will prepare everything!" The master answers: "Kill the dog, rub the corner with its blood, boil its meat so that the dog steam fills the house. Boil kosterka. Boil mlyk marcha (a fish with two fins at the tail), boil the white lin'ka, the puchka, the head of the Siberian salmon, treat each post to the steam, do that, make a fumigating smoke with marsh tea, drive in a piece of pig iron several pieces by the threshold and in other places of the floor, then the floor will be iron. Strengthen it thus."

/234 cont./
One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and traps are being set, i.e., during the narkhund, and also during a bear festival and when a child was born.

III.

The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected with the House

A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post. The sweetbrier guards against the milk, while the flint is there so that there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spirit) cannot come through. The hanxi is made.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They make an iinu chihinxi (chihinx) efn (I) ehhlung: Ady-Tymti in the shape of a human face on each of four posts (narki khsr) of the house, and,for the sturdiest of the house, inau are tied to the cross rafters (narki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the narki khsr closest to the door, and rub the chihinxi with the blood of its heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and the chihinxinau, the kelgelnan'ch, or (in Arkyro) the lymyznman, and the mich are fed. These fetid fats are then placed in the hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (ehhr); for some reason these bindings are called "heart." After this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the ground. At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn the fire and say a prayer.

In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyond the fire the old man tugur-yehhh. The tugur, the master of the fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the fire and say: "Ungur inji, urlantaf muqit" (i.e., "eat well, be a good house"). Next they feed each /335/ corner, repeating: "Urlan tugur muqitalu urlaf parkif, hinlan taf muqif ta cho'ihsiff" -- "In a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck in the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old woman

/335 cont./
of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Ungur ch'ef, nehhlung kun k-khoiaf khavyr hunivagqin" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the ka'lung anikh -- "the hatch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three fats, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the woman, another by the man. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the blood.

The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house - four chihinxi, two male, two female, all pile hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur, -- This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyr'a-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hanchebacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves or arrives, she lies in the corner at the entrance, near the caps which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

Means for love. There is medicine to make another person fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies),or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/350 cont./
in boots or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Some Gilyak have indicated the period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with a war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might be of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve very expensive swords decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the south-east tribes they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to reforge iron, but they do not know how to make use of it. Recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail. Though the Gilyak

/358 cont./

/362 cont./
Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clan, the tombs of his clan. No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any village there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual development. The habit of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious character, non-like in matters of friendship.

Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent in the north, enter one of these authilis on a winter's evening, and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

/366 cont./
the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and any underwater fish is placed in the interior of a seal. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special ceremony gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual gifts, he necessarily sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen. He usually gives his client gifts to his god, although just a little at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The "head of the earth" towered majestically before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his pocket a little sack with saranka, tobacco, tweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up, he moved a few steps to the left and did the same thing. Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition," the utility of the sacrifice, the idea of a God, in our meaning, all seem to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no suffering. He does not wage any religious conflicts

/377 cont./
permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts
361 fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting
of nets for sable.

342 /378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live
alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his
brothers and classmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more
rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern
Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people,
frequently all classmen. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes
a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the houses, is not so costly for each individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women. The summer yurts are built
smaller and ordinarily house from one to three families. The winter
yurts are built through the joint efforts of several brothers or
classmen, the summer ones -- frequently by one person. But all
those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants
classmen or members of other clans who had no part in building
it, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders,
and it is doubtful whether the latter enjoy any special privileges
in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, there
will always be found a pair of persons who on their own initiative
will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the
builders themselves move and gladly welcome co-dwellers. Thus,
the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of
several families who participated in its construction, but at the
same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by classmen
(074) and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of
the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the
clan and was an object of collective property.

342 The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property
are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of
movable property among them are boats, nets, kettles, arms,
dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens that a
boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

/386 cont./ To make some money,
166 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
423 a living by sledding, sealing, etc. The settlements richest in seals and
(Z04) dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pontr, and Tangi; this last is
(Z05) also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
(Z06) Gilyak of Khoe and Tangi. In the settlements of Tyki, the
(Z07) Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
(Z08) them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
(Z09) vegetables. The settlement of Tyd should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
(Z10) the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
(Z11) competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer.

Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very
342 successful hunters of wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
(Z12) ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
(Z13) in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
(Z14) above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
(Z15) on one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead
of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe.
Farther north, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters
enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The
horizontal channels which lead out from the stove and stretch
along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these
latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a
vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
(Z16) adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
(Z17) the Amur Gilyak and in the *fanza* /house/ of the Manchu, from
(Z18) whom, it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
133 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
(Z19) tion; road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
(Z20) taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the
settlement of Pontr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Mut'vo, it strikingly

Photo. 68. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

/300 cont./
361 1. (cont.)
Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of
1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of
Sasaoch, the first above Nikolayevsk, already
in their summer dwellings located beside the
winter houses on May 16 (28); in the villages
farther upstream, however, up to Tadi, they
had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 Sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village
342 in winter separate to go to different places for the summer, only
114 to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer
houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wair
(or Weir, as the Russians call it), the summer houses are larger
and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all
the houses are then the summer houses, much smaller in com-
parison with them, large winter-houses, and some of the
larger storehouses, /321/ similar to the former in construction,
could easily be taken for living quarters. This explains the
excessively great number of houses that I gave in some instances
for individual villages (1). On the other hand, if the

1. Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Journey
around the World/, St. Petersburg, 1811,
Vol. II, p. 162) counted 27 houses in one
Gilyak (according to him, "natarischen")
village, which was located on the northern
end of Sakhalin between the capes Elizabeth
and Maria. For another village, on Baddaka
Bay, he gives 16 to 18 houses, but the de-
scription of it clearly permits one to recog-
nize summer and winter dwellings the latter
of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit.,
pp. 178, 182, 183). Orlof, on the occasion
of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of
Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of
houses in the village of Kuli as 46 (cf.
Tikhmenev*, Ист. Опис. обоз. Рос.-

/301 cont./
192 1. (cont.)
361 Amurik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Forma-
342 tions of the Russian-American Company/, Part II,
(113) St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 64), many of which were
certainly only storehouses.

summer and winter houses lie apart as two separate villages, the
number of individual villages appears larger to the uninitiated
traveler and in another way he again gets the impression of a
larger population for the region than it actually has. Later on I
shall return to the number of houses in the individual villages of
the Gilyak, after we have first come to know in greater detail the
construction and nature of their summer and winter dwellings.

342 It is certainly for reasons that make it necessary for the
136 Gilyak to build separate dwellings for winter and for summer. In
winter it is important to be protected against the exceedingly
severe cold; they accompanied by violent storms and snowfalls;
in summer, on the other hand, to counteract the excessive
humidity which is caused by the maritime location and the con-
stant overflow of houses that is by no means rare. The summer rooms
that are as tight as possible and enclosed by windproof walls,
while the latter, on the contrary, can be achieved only by more
open dwellings with a constant circulation of air. To contribute
both adequately in one structure seems to be beyond the strength
and means of a primitive people. Let us now see how the Gilyak
have solved this problem.

342 The winter houses of the Gilyak are of two types: a simpler one,
peculiar and primitive -- the *earth* yurt, and a more complicated
one copied from the Chinese design, which deserves the name of
house rather than yurt (2), and which I shall call simply winter

2. The Russians originally designated the tent-
like dwellings of the Siberian natives with this
word (Russ.: yurta) of Finnish-Tataric origin (cf.
Ahlqvist, Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen
Sprachen /The Cultivated Words of the West

/321 cont./
2. (cont.)
Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 106).
Gradually, however, it became common among
them for all the dwellings of same, of whatever
kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam
houses of the Russian peasants (Russ.: izba) or to
other European houses, and one also often finds
it used in this wider sense in the official accounts
referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians
in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak
winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the
same sense in this work.

342 house or Chinese winter-yurt. The earth yurt, *tarvf* of the Gilyak,
is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is noth-
ing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent half
sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to
be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square
and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are
smoothed off, at least the upper part, and roofed with beams.
342 Around it there is erected a pyramidal /322/ roof slanting upward
(336) evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to
one another and resting on four vertical posts, in turn, it is
supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration
(B54) appears here./ Only at the peak of the roof is an opening left to
serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is
covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn
when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely
looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by
the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the
yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected
from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however,
but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passage-
way (c). Likewise roofed over with thin beams or tree
branches and dry grass, in which, at both sides, either
a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

/322 cont./
342 Plan of a Gilyak Earth Yurt (*tarvf*).
(113)

Key:
a - Supporting posts. b - Entrance. c - Low passage. d - Door. e - Hearth. f - Rear corners, without plank beds. g - Hearth. h - Stone triangle for the large kettle. i - Water container. j - Front wall. k - Front corners of the yurt.

floats. At the end of this passageway one reaches the door
(d), which is either vertically hinged, or is turned up, or is
formed by a board placed horizontally, which can be pushed
aside (Pl. X) (i). Directly behind it, or below it, a few steps

1. On this plate, showing the interior of a
Gilyak earth-yurt, the door, through which
one can pass only in a extremely stooped
position, is too high.

lead down to the floor of the hut, which consists of stamped earth.
342 In the yurt, along both sides and in the rear, between the sup-
35 porting posts and the earth wall, runs a sitting and
sleeping bench or plank bed (e), which is about one and a
half feet Category 116, P.990 -- Analyst)

/322 cont./
342 half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
35 the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually
rounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away
various utensils, clothing, and sleds, and the like. This
creates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, be-
tween the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded
as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the
inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man,
there are cross-poles running between the supporting posts, which
serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the
yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet
from each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide,
twice that in length, and three inches high, made of clay, or
very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame
put together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped
earth. Over the hearth, another stone platform is laid, the inside vent is so
very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the do
has disappeared or shrunk to a few sheltering projections -- in
short, the yurt has become a tent made of thin wooden beams.
(Z21) Such was the small yurt of Tafiz-wo in the Tymy Valley on
(Z22) Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856
and found the mercury in the thermometer freezes the next morn-
ing. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary stru
ture, or, any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with chil
dren, and their summer yurt stood not far off. This winter yurt
Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and
larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usu
erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surp
by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855
(Z23) was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on
high nashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (I) on the west

/323 cont./
342 and crosswise diameters corresponding to the hearth or crosswi
35 to it.

The smaller earth-yurts of the Gilyak are quite similar in
nature, except that in them all the dimensions are more or less
considerably smaller. In some cases, for instance, the hole
dug in the ground for building the yurt is so shallow that there
is nothing to be seen of any wall behind the plank beds, but
rather the timber of the roof begins immediately. In order to
gain space in such small yurts, the two rear corners are also
equipped with plank beds, so that, with the exception of the
front wall and the two front corners, one continuous sitting or
sleeping bench extends all around. If the dimensions of the yu
are reduced even more, it finally becomes quite shallow, and
hearth and plank beds, framed by narrow, upright boards, ar
rise above the ground, the latter only as much as the thickness
of the layer of boards serving as a bed. In the smaller yurts, ther
very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the do
(Z24) Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856
and found the mercury in the thermometer freezes the next morn-
ing. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary stru
ture, or, any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with chil
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Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and
larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usu
erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surp
by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855
(Z23) was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on
high nashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (I) on the west

1. The Gilyak call this cape "Pilia-Wangi," i.e.,
Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly
promontory, where we were, "Manch-Wangi"
Little Wangi.

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 [087] Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 354 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy -- door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side 342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. Tol erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylynã mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor. 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of [354] the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the [335] master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house. 24. Kylzhutã -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a person who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed [778] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things. [776] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do with the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.

/315 cont./

342 782 Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chmãus) are placed on the appropriate half; if there is not enough space, then on the appropriate nau (tol or pal'). /316/ /Sketch of the house-plan appears here./

342 [776] /317/ Tyvyz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erkh pusk; if the family is large then also the kemfakh (3) and ponakh (4). The bear's head is placed in the middle (25).

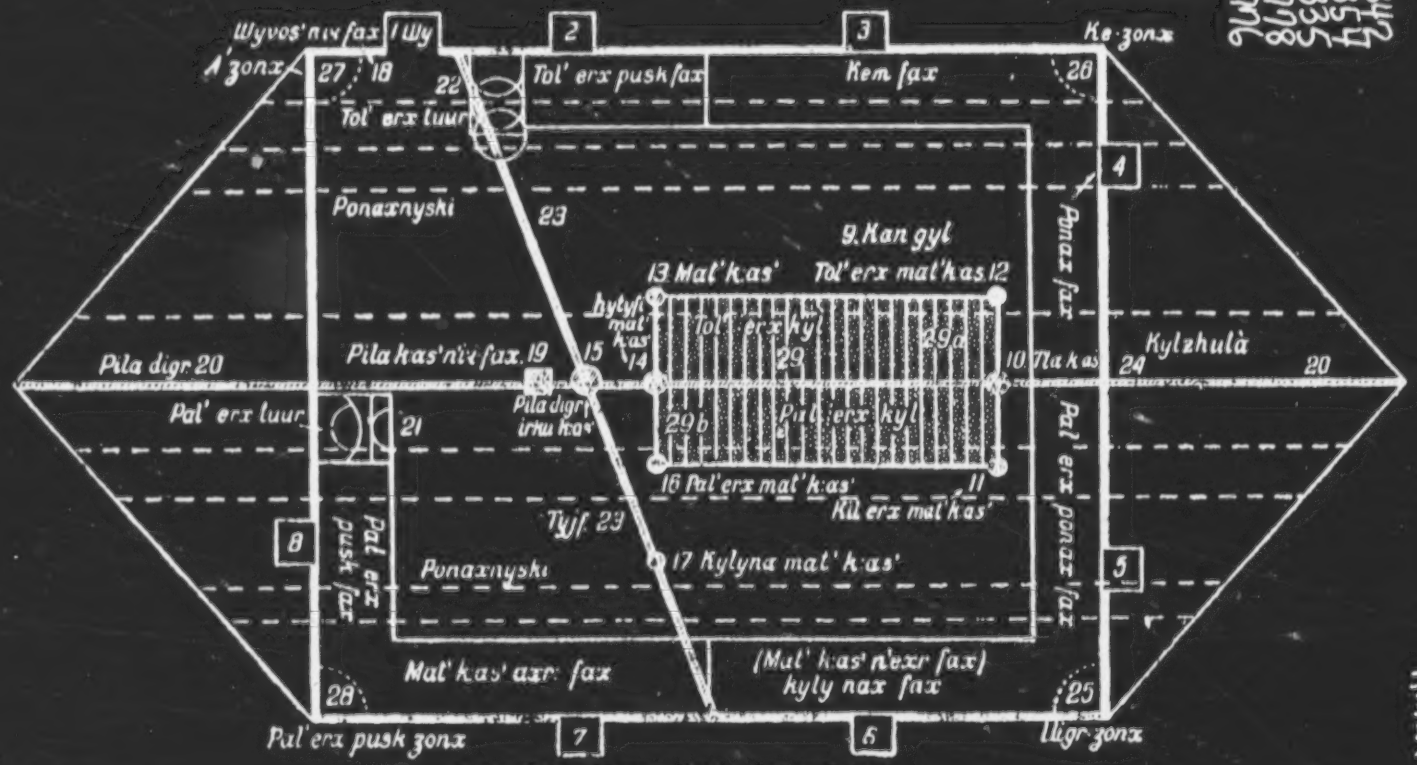
[356] [782] In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed: the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back (of the house), and on a thread stretched between them are hung images of the sun (keng) and the moon (long chakh). They are not renewed later.

342 782 When the house is completed, sacrifices are made: They prepare mos' 1) alys -- berries, 2) rak: -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four corners (chonkh), four posts (mon'-nakh) and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, amkhas', and the rear one, kemkhas', in which the master lives; they also feed the crossbeam -- tyjf (edz:). Here the old man says: "Urla dyf muja' nolagu kýnynguch: humguja', ta sikhydz kh:olaf ta humguja'" -- be a good house (sit firmly). Make it felicitous for my children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." In autumn the [356] house is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv arnydz:.

342 778 776 Tyv yz' bakh -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who guards against the entry of the milk'.

342 782 776 Lym yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the ground, they place different foods (chyudz:) -- for the earth -- the master and the tol fynydz:.



Plan of the House of the Amur Gilyak

/Three letters in the terms above have been changed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix)./

/352 cont./

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8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

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Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uïtsch, uïtsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

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[177]

G /353 cont./
352 running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet th
354 for the head. There is another justification for this custom
513 the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his
516 head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats,
171 which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which
[136] ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over
G face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak ref
[184] to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their 'kan
[199] if superstition did not demand strict observance of the tradi-
tional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter
G whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.
342 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be deter-
171 mined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on
Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the
earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea o
G Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports o
[175] Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilya
at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1
45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which w

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at
342 time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam
177 chadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappea
175 before an imported, foreign type of house construction with
the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheni
and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the
Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described al
Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the la
third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the
peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherez

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4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/324 cont./

(417) origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
(417) beard, and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is
(418) shown on Plate XXX[illegible] in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time
(419) the Gilyak lived entirely on human food, with a short, somewhat
(420) sloping handle and a little more than a pit's few feet deep in the
(421) snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread
(422) a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck
(423) obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over
(424) which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and
(425) in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was
(426) inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a
(427) camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug
(428) a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming
(429) together conically at the top, and spread several fish-skin
(430) covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top
(431) was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could
(432) be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
(433) ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
(434) spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take
(435) with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
(436) hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
(437) the base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over
(438) the snow, it would soon degrade into a pit and could no longer
(439) warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat
(440) pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another
(441) as possible, framed on all four sides by other, thicker and set on
(442) edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs.
(443) In this manner a rectangular cavity was obtained for the
(444) hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-
(445) tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high em-
(446) bankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which
(447) they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure
(448) the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
(449) filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
(450) must mention that the axes commonly used for housebuilding
(451) and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my
(452) stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/324 cont./

(453) Tyrmy Gilyak and one from the village
(454) of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next
(455) to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
(456) snowfall. The Gilyak dug out a pit a few feet deep in the
(457) snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread
(458) a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck
(459) obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over
(460) which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and
(461) in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was
(462) inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a
(463) camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug
(464) a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming
(465) together conically at the top, and spread several fish-skin
(466) covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top
(467) was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could
(468) be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
(469) ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
(470) spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take
(471) with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
(472) hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
(473) the base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over
(474) the snow, it would soon degrade into a pit and could no longer
(475) warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat
(476) pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another
(477) as possible, framed on all four sides by other, thicker and set on
(478) edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs.
(479) In this manner a rectangular cavity was obtained for the
(480) hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-
(481) tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high em-
(482) bankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which
(483) they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure
(484) the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
(485) filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
(486) must mention that the axes commonly used for housebuilding
(487) and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my
(488) stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/325 cont./

(489) in front of the door, but in no way eliminated, and if the door
(490) remains open, such a strong draft is produced between it and the
(491) smoke vent, that even in the middle of the day, when the latter
(492) is deprived of all its warmth in no time and comes close to having
(493) the temperature of the air outside. And yet this experiment must
(494) often be repeated several times a day precisely during very cold
(495) and stormy weather, because then it frequently happens that a
(496) man of cold air sinks down through the smoke vent, or an eddy
(497) of wind gets into it, forces back the smoke, and temporarily
(498) blocks it from getting out. In the shortest time the small room
(499) is then filled with suffocating smoke affecting the eyes, throat,
(500) and lungs, and there is nothing left to do but quickly open the
(501) door, clearing the air again. This is why all the beams in
(502) the yurt are blackened by smoke and covered with a more or less
(503) thick layer of soot near the smoke vent. The temperature in
(504) the earth yurt is even more perceptible at night, for after the fire,
(505) beside which one has fallen asleep, goes out, the yurt is soon
(506) filled with cold air coming down through the smoke vent. It is be-
(507) sure, it is said that this can be closed, but I have never seen it
(508) done, though I spent many a night among the Gilyak. And to be
(509) sure, the air inside is all the worse the smaller the yurt is and the
(510) lower the smoke vent is over the hearth and the sleeping benches.
(511) At night in the small tent-yurt of Tafiz-wo, where one could
(512) reach the smoke vent with the hand and where so big and lasting
(513) fire was therefore possible, /286/ we soon had the temperature
(514) of the outside air, which, in addition, set in accompanied by a
(515) noticeable difference between the temperature in the yurt, and so
(516) preferred in a night's rest in the open air with a steadily burning
(517) fire, even if it should be very cold, as long as there is no snow-
(518) storm!

342 (519) The winter yurt built after the Chinese pattern tschadyf of
342 (520) the Gilyak, is completely different in character. It always has
(521) the appearance of a house provided with walls and a roof. It is
(522) an approximately square structure, though, as a rule, somewhat
(523) longer than it is wide, about 6-7 fathoms long and about 5-6
(524) fathoms wide, with low walls and a large roof sloping down finally
(525) toward the two longitudinal sides (see Pl. XI) (1). The walls

/326 cont./

342 (526) of the walls, horizontal beams, which are not joined at their
(527) ends, but are pointed and fitted into the lateral grooves of a few
(528) thicker, upright beams. On the transverse walls, which rise
(529) higher, and especially in the middle of them, these vertical
(530) beams are of a considerable thickness. The gaps between the
(531) vertical and horizontal beams are chinked with moss and caulked
(532) with clay. The rafters, rather flat roof, which in winter has to carry
342 (533) a considerable burden of snow, requires very complicated timber-
(534) work for its construction and support. The construction appears here
(535) It has a regular roof framework made up of longitudinal beams
(536) and crossbeams. The ridge is supported, in addition to the cen-
(537) tral, upright post of the two transverse walls (see Pl. XI), also
(538) by two thick, towering posts in the interior of the house (a) on
(539) the accompanying plan). Sometimes, instead of one post, two
(540) are used, and the latter is placed in the middle. Similar, but much
(541) smaller and thinner posts (b) sometimes rise up here and there
(542) at the sides and, together with the two nearest vertical beams of
(543) the transverse wall, serve as supports for the middle part of the
(544) roof, and in the lower part it is supported by the longitudinal
(545) walls of the yurt. Longitudinal beams and crossbeams in turn
(546) rest here and there between the towering posts in the middle and
(547) similarly to the upper edges of the longitudinal walls -- a framework
(548) that /327/ serves to connect the walls to one another and thus to
342 (549) steady the walls and keep them from plain. In addition, the lower
342 (550) part of it, up to a little above the height of a man, is used for
(551) the storage of various articles and for hanging up clothing, and so
(552) forth. On our Plate XI one sees the ends of the aforementioned
(553) longitudinal beams at the transverse wall, as well as at the ridge
(554) and the side edges of the roof, project out quite far, whereby the
(555) ends of the latter intersect each other far out at the gable
(556) ¾ [See Category 116, p. 491 - Analysis]

/327 cont./

342 (557) and with the ridge. The remaining finer latticework of the
342 (558) roof is made up of thin poles and sticks put crosswise and then
(559) covered with mats (c) or the large reeds, which, finally with
(560) a layer of dry grass or Calamogromis straw, etc., which is
(561) pressed down and held in place by a series of poles placed para-
(562) llel to the ridge of the roof. The entrance is found in one corner
(563) of the house, and, to be sure, if one stands in front of one of
(564) its long sides, always to the right, in the transverse wall or in
(565) the longitudinal wall, with an ordinary door (d), which consists
(566) of several boards held together by a few cross-strips, and also
(567) always with a high threshold by means of which the influx of
(568) cold air into the house is, at least, somewhat lessened. In the single
(569) pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as outlet
(570) for the smoke there is one of the most frequently used open sa-
(571) far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (e,
342 (572) Gilyak: kin) usually higher than the house. The benches are
(573) covered with mats usually put up by the Gilyak themselves out
(574) of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered,
(575) and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in
(576) place. In the center of the house, between the two posts sup-
(577) porting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (f), about two
(578) fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
(579) which, I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Russian: [illegible]).
(580) The top of it, which, along its longitudinal edges usually projects
(581) out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continua-
(582) tion, rests upon four posts, and only rarely stands on four posts
(583) and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, dur-
(584) ing the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
(585) Above the two ends of the dogs' table there hangs down from
(586) the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole
(587) can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during
(588) the feeding. Our Plate XII shows the feeding of the dogs,
(589) to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of
(590) the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, however,
(591) that the dogs' table as it is there shown is little too small and, on the
(592) other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide.
(593) Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and
(594) the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate
¾ [See Category 116, p. 492 - Analysis]

/327 cont./

342 (595) reduced as much as possible. The house is provided with windows
342 (596) (g) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two
(597) longitudinal walls and the one transverse wall on the side of the dogs
(598) and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are
(599) prepared. Directly adjacent to the benches and the sitting and
(600) lying-down benches of plank bed with their high edges, which are in
(601) very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high
(602) and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief
(603) characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of
(604) wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both
(605) hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the
(606) house diagonally across from the entrance, and in this single
(607) pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as outlet
(608) for the smoke there is one of the most frequently used open sa-
(609) far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (e,
342 (610) Gilyak: kin) usually higher than the house. The benches are
(611) covered with mats usually put up by the Gilyak themselves out
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(616) fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
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(619) out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continua-
(620) tion, rests upon four posts, and only rarely stands on four posts
(621) and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, dur-
(622) ing the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
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(629) that the dogs' table as it is there shown is little too small and, on the
(630) other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide.
(631) Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and
(632) the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate
¾ [See Category 116, p. 492 - Analysis]

/328 cont./

(633) proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pe-
(634) culiarity discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
(635) ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In contrast to the summer-house
(636) I make mention that along the walls (h), immediately to the right
(637) and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards
(638) for storing household utensils, and, to be sure, there are also
(639) one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for
(640) drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various
(641) cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
(642) the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
(643) wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which
(644) can be closed with a similarly-shaped, round board and serves for
(645) ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during
(646) the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke
(647) of the bear's fat, in the middle of the house, and when the window in
(648) the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows
(649) in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even these, because
(650) of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficient-
(651) ly. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size,
(652) sometimes somewhat wider than high, or vice versa. They have no
(653) glass panes, but instead only a number of little sticks or sticks
(654) distant from one another, and fish skin take the place of glass
(655) between them. In particular there are skins from Salmo
(656) [illegible]ghalian Gilyak: [illegible]-tscho, or, on Sakhalin, [illegible]-tscho (7).

(192) 2. Known by the Russian throughout Siberia
under the name [illegible]

the most common kind of salmon in the Amur River, made at
this and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and
then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many
longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag.
The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole
frame. The floor inside the house consists of stamped clayey
earth. To the right and left of the entrance are the two benches
(Gilyak: [illegible]) made of clay. They are fed through square

/329 cont./

(657) same time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
(658) [illegible] and along the walls of the house are placed the sleeping
(659) benches, the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
(516) The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually
(517) sleep on the plank bed with their feet stretched out toward the
(518) fire and are convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
(519) these can become, when in January, 1896, I attended the bear
(520) festival in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
(521) ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both
(522) hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank
(523) beds rose so much that some nearby stories on hand in my leather
(524) suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heat
(525) during the bear festival, however, is an exceptional case and great
(526) things that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of
(527) vermin. Under them, in inaccessible hidden spots, along the
(528) pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their home and
(529) ravage at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had
(530) gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see
(531) rats come out from their hiding places and go about the house
(532) not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the un-
(533) [illegible] beam of the house; when I once, in order to escape other
(534) vermin, had a hammock put up between two posts, the great rats
(535) the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would
(536) fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection
(537) are more annoying: the water bugs (Blattidae) and bedbugs
(538) which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In
(539) summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is
(540) literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that
(541) it is advise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, or the
(542) surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /326/ the
(543) vermin that makes why the Gilyak leave their winter-houses
(544) spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings
(545) in the hot months of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well
(546) as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank bed in summer

1. The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The area east of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt. (In the west coast of Sakhalin,

2. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jalkun and Pryngan from the village of Dobongi, and Tamkin from the village of Ngaur-wo on the Limun.

A FEW YEARS LATER (1863) Dybovski through a section of this coast and made a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of little value and lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glebov's, in which the names are scrap, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list shows significantly greater a larger number of yurts than Glebov's. This depopulation which took place after my time is fully explained by the decimation of the native population by epidemic which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely, and in Sakhalin generally almost since in 1856 and 1858 I was at this place no less than four times

along the Limun and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages containing sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayevsk post in the company of Tschebarbach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

Nikolaevsk. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three villages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the north of Pogbobi. In Dabong, consisting of four yurts, one stood earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulbij (1).

1. In Gleben it is called Jordört-tigr-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tymi-mula-wo, in my large sketch-map is referred to in pedantry population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

2. Gleben found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlamch, or tamlamch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

tschebrs' villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, in Pontyr-wo in Tymi-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glebs did not go northward beyond that village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small interval village, Mainb-wo (in Gleben, Maiyb), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more, tschabiyf villages, Tumi-wo and Ngyw-wo (in Gleben, Ngyb), the latter of which is made up of four yurts (and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the Mif-yurt, as the Gilyak designated it to me). According to its location on the small bay which Krusenstern called Nadezhda Bay, Ngyw-wo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

2) Schrenck—669 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX2.

description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tatarem") at the time — it was August 15/27 — lived in their summer yurts. Somewhat farther, Ngyw-wo, larger, by other, apparently larger houses, provided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) — evidently the above-described winter

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 185.

houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschabiyf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

4. In order to supplement and verify my above data and at the same time to make it possible to compare them more accurately with Glebov's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Pogbobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the name of the village exactly the same, but it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glebs, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pontyr-wo, where Glebs himself visited most of the points and counted their yurts. The following villages lie north of Pogbobi:

Ngamuyf	-	earth yurt	
Wanj - - -	-	1 (4)	"
Ngynb - - -	-	1 (4)	"
Tschebrs - -	-	1 (1)	Chinese yurt
Lolntsch - -	-	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jigdanna - -	-	1 (1)	"
Pyrki - - -	-	1 (1)	"

4. (cont.)

Tschegdagi - - with		1 (1)	earth yurt
Jordört-tigr-wo -		1 (1)	and 1 Chinese yurt
Tulbij - - -		2 (3)	Chinese yurts
Langri (summer village of Tulbij)			
Mainbo-wo -	-	2	"
Mangai-wo -	-	1 (1)	"
Ngaiy-wo -	-	1 (4)	"
Tylent-tigr-wo -	-	1 (1)	"
Mateu-tigr-wo -	-	1 (1)	"
Tymi-mula-wo	-	over 12 (8)	"
Lytke-wo - -	-	4	"
Wmb-wo - -	-	2 (3)	"
Ngyl-wo - -	-	1 (1)	"
Ngamb-wo -	-	2 (3)	"
Mulnb-wo - -	-	1 (2)	earth yurt
Pilja-wo - -	-	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tumi-wo - -	-	2 Chinese yurts (1 earth yurt)	
Ngyw-wo - -	-	1 (4)	"

/331/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left, which presumably has since disappeared. It was the small earth yurt of Pjtnach, directly on the Limun just north of the mouth of the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856. It was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was constructed exactly like the smaller earth-yurts on Sakhalin. It could be maintained with some ease that it was almost accordingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, in the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Palaeo-Asiatic peoples.

there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tugur and Ulban, where Sakhalin approaches most closely the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his handwritten notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Limun and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kuli and Ulban Bay, the only search for which so far has yielded no ethnographic accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pjtnach.

In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present represents the only form of winter dwelling: on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Limun, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only the latter form is found. Form this distribution of two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling particular to the Gilyakh, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and Ajtkh has been preserved only among the Gilyak of Sakhalin. Perhaps, I am bringing in favor of this view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, that it is the only one that is constructed accordingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, in the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Palaeo-Asiatic peoples.

1. Ventsmirnof, op. cit., p. 201.

After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications in the original winter dwelling of all the Palaeo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth yurt, the tanf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tschabiyf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside. Into contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glebs (2),

2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 133 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mitnl (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

3. "Ilimo. Ber.," etc. — Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 139.

4. "Ethnol" u. Sachalina, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (3), as I believe it to be, then it can be

3. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed their way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese. That is reached the Gilyak from the south, down the Amur, in Bowsi, as was mentioned above, by the distribution of the earth yurt and the Chinese winter-yurt in their area, in particular by the fact that on Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the island facing the Chinese mainland. Moreover, the type of construction of the winter house can be followed continuously from the south to the north of the Amur region lying upstream from the Gilyak, up to the Chinese along the Unori and Sungari. There is a prevalent everywhere among the Manchu, Chinese and Dwar (2). For example, the Chinese

1. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

Korea (3), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, they

2. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przhevalskiy, Puteb. v Ussuriisk. krae, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

clearly in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of architectural and decorative elements borrowed from the Chinese, but as in the rest of the construction, for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of people in the family.

7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing lüeh-chi," Fuchsier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1845, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor of the side rooms separating the rooms (8), etc.

8. Van Braam, Gesandtschaftsreise der Engl. Gesandtschaft nach Peking, Leipzig, 1798, p. 364, among others.

more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Grenée (Reise durch Sibirien vo. dem Ural bis zum Amur, Berlin, 1858, Vol. II, p. 44b, Pallas (Reise durch verschi. Provinzen des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Manzhouzhou opposite Kjachta. In Dybowski (Dwa. d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, in Tissot et le Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 170), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, they

6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przhevalskiy, Puteb. v Ussuriisk. krae, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of pipes carrying the heat underneath, under the sleeping benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house, is by no means of Chinese provenance, but rather is a product of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (6) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part only incidental, in part more discussion or descriptions of it: for example, in Du Halde (Description de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Gesandtschaftsreise in Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales nach Peking, Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 364), Grenée (Reise durch Sibirien, Berlin, 1858, Vol. II, p. 44b), by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 340, Davis (La Chine, traduit de l'anglais, Paris, 1844, Vol. I, p. 120), Fortune (Reise durch China, transl. from Eng. by Fischer, Paris, 1857, Vol. I, p. 301), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 187-190 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage du Prince de Joinville dans l'Asie Ch. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Grand-Jean (Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans l'Asie orientale, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

5. Von Wellemitof-Urbaf (Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wellemitof-Urbaf, Anthropol. Part,

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of architectural and decorative elements borrowed from the Chinese, but as in the rest of the construction, for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of people in the family.

7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing lüeh-chi," Fuchsier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1845, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor of the side rooms separating the rooms (8), etc.

8. Van Braam, Gesandtschaftsreise der Engl. Gesandtschaft nach Peking, Leipzig, 1798, p. 364, among others.

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shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Saatyschof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, plaited huts) had been built everywhere, only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are like-wise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

1. Sarychev*, Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinof on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur, too. Coming from the territory of the S'ksma (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smienouhar (Gilyak) at Horo (Chipere), he noticed that from there on people, clothing, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found the earth dwelling prevalent among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinof was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region were too different to have produced an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

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permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way (as already mentioned, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the commonly use house throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As we discussed above in detail (3),

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants who, in a few places, during the year have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese trader entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt replaced the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading along the Ussuri and the Amur from people to people, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

/355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts move out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level ground, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

/355 cont./

the low threshold and soaks the floor when the snow melts quickly or when there are heavy rains. Even these dwellings, however, become uninhabitable in summer because of the warm sleeping benches, which inevitably are heated each time food is cooked, and because of the above-mentioned vermin, and, finally, the crowding of fish carried on in this season of the year requires the move into the summer dwellings, which are more favorably and conveniently located for it.

The summer dwelling of the Gilyak is of the same type everywhere, on the continent as well as on Sakhalin, and bears the same designation in both places *kŷ-f*. The most striking exterior feature is that it rests on piles which rise four to five feet above the ground. Only at isolated points on the east coast of Sakhalin, south of the Amur, especially in Tangi, Choji, Arkai, and Dui, did I see summer houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, as those resting on piles (1). The aim that the Gilyak have in

1. The large village on Nadezhda Bay at the northernmost tip of Sakhalin (map, see p. 467 above), which was visited by Krusenstern, had summer houses resting on piles. See his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 182.

mind with this construction on piles is a twofold one: first, to protect their dwellings against inundations, since the Amur, as a result of prolonged rainfall, often rises considerably and floods the lower stretches of its basin, and then also to make the houses airier and drier by setting them not directly upon the damp ground but somewhat above it, with a constant flow of air under them and penetrating even into the house through the crevices in the floor, this is all the more necessary since part of the fish supply is stored in them. Both may also be necessary for the Gilyak living on the Amur itself, for there, too, depending on the locality, a sudden rise of the waters as a result of stormy winds must be reckoned with, and

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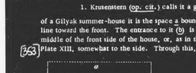
one might call a narrow balcony (1). On the accompanying plan of a Gilyak summer-house it is the space a bounded with a dotted line toward the front. The entrance to it (b) is precisely in the middle of the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one



a = Sill or narrow balcony along the front side of the yurt. b, c = Doors. d = Anteroom for the storage of implements and supplies. e = Actual living quarters. f = Sleeping benches. g = Hearth. h = Stone triangle for the big kettle. i = Corners for odds and ends.

Plan of a Gilyak Summer-Yurt (Ailyŷ).

first enters a good-sized front space (d), which is used for the storage of various implements, as well as for storing supplies of fish and the like, and only behind it is the living room proper (e) found (2). This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

1. Krusenstern (op. cit.) calls it a gallery.

2. Krusenstern found this room locked and though that it was the room for this women, which fitted in with his general conception of a Mohammedan Gilyak population consisting of "Tatars," which, however, does not at all correspond with reality.

/357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts, in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along the sides of the room, on both sides and the entrance, leaving a passage door (g), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one

/357 cont./

yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable shelter under the same protective roof.

The above description also applies, apart from the specific reference to the pile-construction, to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak on the Amur and in addition to those on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the domed line is on the plan a-f-a, poles are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a shelter is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter, one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, upon racks for vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Sibi at the time it was set up, usually, another dwelling, usually one, to be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the pole-supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing up the poles to get into the yurt. The sled are hung under the

/358/ merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (1). The interior of the store-

1. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, large and small, or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

/359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings mentioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original, peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to Krasheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on top of pillars, and the pile hutsgen by the Russians (1). The Eskimos of the American Northwest along

1. Krasheninnikow*, "Opis. semli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. pusch. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 87). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 318. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "dry dwellings" on Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar dwellings can be found also in other parts of the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

/359 cont./ the Eskimos of the American Northwest also the Kwikpak, Norton Sound, and the Arctic Ocean erect their storehouses on high piles above the ground in order to safeguard the supplies of fish, dried meat, and the like against the dampening the summer both against the humidity and against attacks by mice, foxes, wolves, and especially the dogs, which are always hungry during the summer (2).

2. Zagoskin*, Pechehlioch. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v' Rossiskoi Amerikie, Moscow, 1847, Pt. I, p. 56. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, Hannover, 1858, p. 62. In Dall (op. cit.), p. 13 and 40 there is a description of such "dovecote-like" buildings, as Seemann aptly calls them. The designation comes from the Russian (Sagoskin, op. cit.), which Dall also uses for the summer and winter dwellings of the Eskimo (op. cit., p. 20, 40), and according to Steller (op. cit., p. 318, for him), through the correspondence of the word "pasapar," by which, however, the Kamchadal refer to a last made out of long grass for an overnight stay.

Thus, the Gilyak, where they have kept their original Gilyak and construction, and many another Paleo-Asiatic people can to a certain extent be called cave-dwellers or troglodytes in winter and pile-dwellers in summer. In this respect they stand at a point which on Europe, according to far distant, prehistoric period. From this point of view, too, the pile huts of Paleo-Asiatic peoples, which I have proposed for those remnants of an ancient population formerly more widespread on Asiatic soil, is in a certain sense justified.

/359 cont./

Before I leave the Gilyak, I must come back to the question touched on above about an approximate determination of their total number according to the number of their winter dwellings. Such an estimate can only be undertaken on the basis of the winter dwelling, not the summer one, if only because the number of the former is far easier to ascertain. Although summer population is that of the latter. If the large winter houses with their separate chimney-cowls, with smoke nonetheless pouring out, more readily strike the eye of the traveler at any time, this is especially the case in winter, since on the journey then from village to village or dog-drawn /360/ sled brings him directly in front of one of the winter houses, whereas the summer houses off to one side and sometimes at a considerable distance from them, without a road to them, and so, for overlooked, or even confused with the storehouses, which are of very similar construction. Moreover, the statements of the Gilyak themselves, when asked about the number of houses in that or that place, always refer only to the winter dwellings, for it is in these solid, spacious winter dwellings, erected with a great expenditure of labor and energy, that the life of the Gilyak is concentrated during the greater part of the year, from about the middle of October to the middle of May, that is, seven months. Everyone of them has a hospitable reception there on his winter travels and journeys, shelter and food for himself and his dogs, the best festivals are celebrated there amid a confluence from near and far, etc.; yet, the warm dwellings are the true permanent dwellings of the Gilyak, whereas in summer the fishing and the gathering of all kinds of provisions puts the whole population in a more or less fluctuating movement and scattered over a broad area, and in addition the mild season makes a house less necessary. For this reason, incidentally, winter is also the most suitable time of the year for ethnographic investigations among the Gilyak. The number of winter dwellings in the individual Gilyak villages is of interest for still another reason, for it gives an immediate criterion for their size and importance and indicates that principal and central points of Gilyak life note.

/360 cont./

in general and in the individual areas. Such principal and central points are of special importance for the ethnographer, because here the national character of a people as a rule appears more sharply and precisely stamped and the peculiar usage and customs remain preserved longer against foreign influences, whereas in smaller villages it more readily happens that, as a result or support in isolation, the mixed marriages of the few residents with members of a neighboring tribe, etc., many a national characteristic is obliterated. Indeed, in the course of time many a foreign idea or custom finds entry, for which I shall have more than one opportunity to cite examples in the following.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the number of winter dwellings in the whole Gilyak area. In those parts through which I traveled, such as along the Amur River and the Limun on the mainland, on Sakhalin along the west coast from Pogibshi to Dué and in the interior along the entire Tymve River to somewhat north of its mouth, I have been able to ascertain it owing to my own count, and in other adjacent parts such as on the west coast of Sakhalin north of Pogibshi and south of Dué, by means of many inquiries among the Gilyak. For the east coast of Sakhalin a few statements by Glehn are available (1); these on the parts of the Gilyak territory along

1. "Reisebericht, von der Insel Sachalin" (Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences, St. Petersbourg, Vol. XXV, p. 220).

the sea of Okhotsk do not have /361/ any data at all, except for the small stretch between Kalj and the Amur Limun likewise visited by me (1).

1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there were four large Gilyak villages between Cape Uschlongin (Ushtelegin), the point of the east

/361/

List of the Gilyak Villages and the Number of Their Winter Dwellings (1)

MAINLAND

Amur River Upstream from the Mouth of the Chibchi Chiver Yuma		Amur-Limun Area from N to S.		Tymve River Downstream from Its Sources. Purely Gilyak Yuma		East Coast from N to S. Purely Gilyak Yuma	
Left bank	Right bank	Left bank	Right bank	Left bank	Right bank	Left bank	Right bank
Tschachtschi	1	Sgolo-ma	1	Pagi	1	Kolpakowa	1
Tschachtschi	1	Sgolo-ma	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Tschachtschi	1	Pagi	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Tschachtschi	1	Pagi	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Wor-Mun	1	Pagi	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Wor-Mun	1	Pagi	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Tymkan

2: Schrenck--999 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

III.

Gilyak in winter clothing.

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2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Sacrificial trip of the Gilyak in connection with the opening of the river.

Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear fes

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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ival. Entertainment in front of them.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

2. Schrenck--885 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilya

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

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dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

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In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are

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predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

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reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ an

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

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Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern Am along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

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1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

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At various places in the foregoing, mention has been of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the of which we have come across, especially among the latte specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the ma of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance tha

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Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior constr of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join th individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect the be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance sugge conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistical worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of

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foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previ

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435 The value of the kettle embedded in the hearth and
439 the portable kettle is reckoned in part, on the basis of size, but in part and chiefly on the basis of their origin, because the Manchurian (Chinese) kettles are far inferior in quality to those of Japanese: the former easily crack over the fire if they contain no water, but the latter will not. Accordingly, it costs for:

A large Manchurian hearth-kettle (tsch) (ormoz-wunj)	4 ja
/598/	
A smaller Manchurian hearth-kettle	3 "
" Manchurian portable kettle (matsch-wunj) with handles, depending on the size	3-7 "
A small Japanese kettle (Gilyak kughi-wunj, i.e., Ainu kettle)	7-8 "
A large kettle of the same kind	20 "
" " Japanese kettle with three handles . . .	30 "

435 The evaluation used among the Gilyak for
342 their houses is very peculiar, inasmuch as it
343 costs for:

A winter yurt (tschadryf) with two hearths only . .	4 ja
" summer yurt (käryf) only	2-4 "
A storehouse(njö), on the other hand, depending on the number of compartments	10 " and more.

435 A number of conclusions concerning the trade of the Gilyak,
439 as well as telling numerical evidence of certain of their customs and beliefs, can be drawn from this table, some of which have already been discussed in the previous sections and some will be discussed in the following. For the moment it will suffice to draw attention only to the following points:

1) Furs, the most important barter item of the Gilyak in their trade with the Chinese, have a relatively low price, which

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G 435 342 343 7) At first glance the evaluation of their various kinds of housing on the part of the Gilyak as given in the table seems very irrational, for one can scarcely believe that a structure as large and relatively complicated as their winter dwelling, built on the Chinese pattern and provided with two hearths, four wide sleeping benches heated by pipelines, and large windows, is worth only about half as much as a /600/ storehouse lacking all of these accessories. Nevertheless I must stand by the above figures, repeatedly confirmed for me by the Gilyak and hope to be able to give an adequate explanation for them in the following while discussing the social relations of the Gilyak and their socio-communistic attitude coming to light in the construction and utilization of their houses, as well as in other things, as I learned from them themselves.

G G1 435 8) Finally, if I compare the table of prices of the Gilyak with that drawn up by Maximowicz (1) in a similar way among the

1. In his handwritten notes put at my disposal.

Goldi, I find an almost complete correspondence in most things, obviously because the prices prevailing among the Sungari Chinese are decisive for both. Nevertheless, some differences, which are characteristic of region and people, can be recognized in them. Among the Goldi, for example, all fur seems to have a higher price than among the Gilyak (a good sable, for example, is valued by them at 4-5 ja, a red fox at 3 ja, a black one even at 30-60 ja), undoubtedly because the animals involved are less frequent in their territory than in the abundantly forested north, and perhaps also because the Gilyak accumulate a greater quantity of them through their industrious trade as middlemen, with the neighboring peoples. In this connection, too, among the Goldi attention is paid to the smaller animals, such as squirrels, ermine, Mustela sibirica, and the like (ten specimens of the former, for example, cost

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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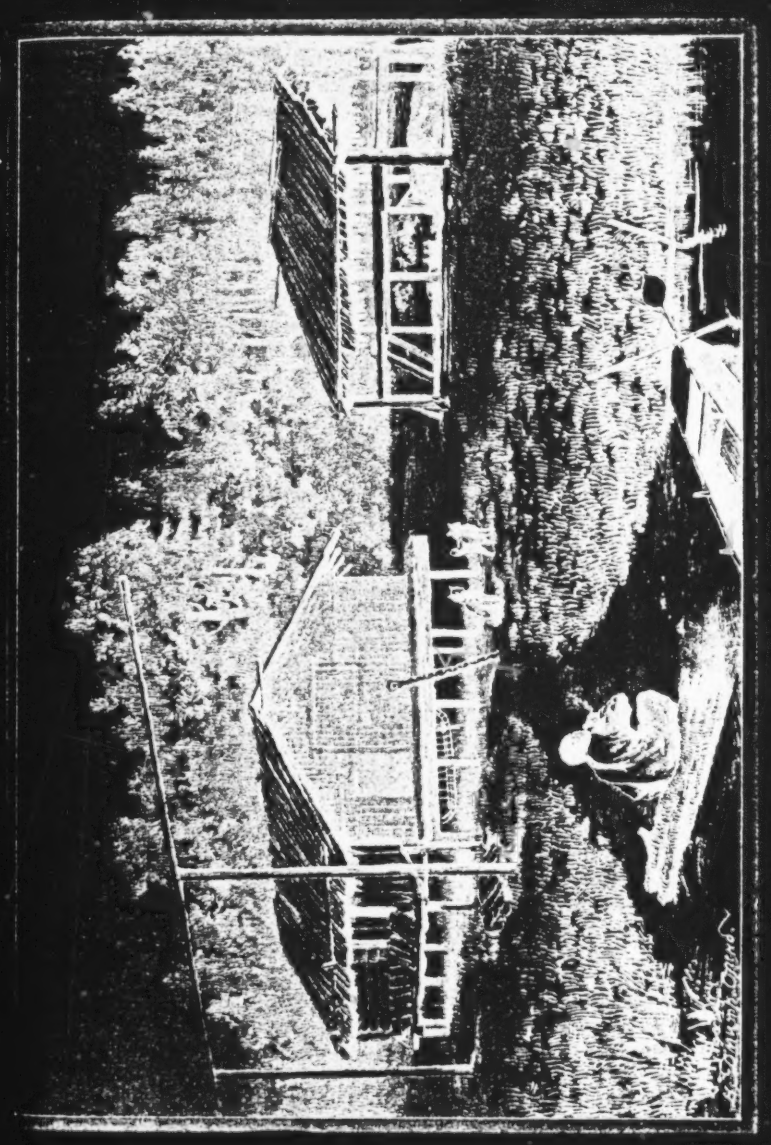

Gilyak summer yurt.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[P.776]

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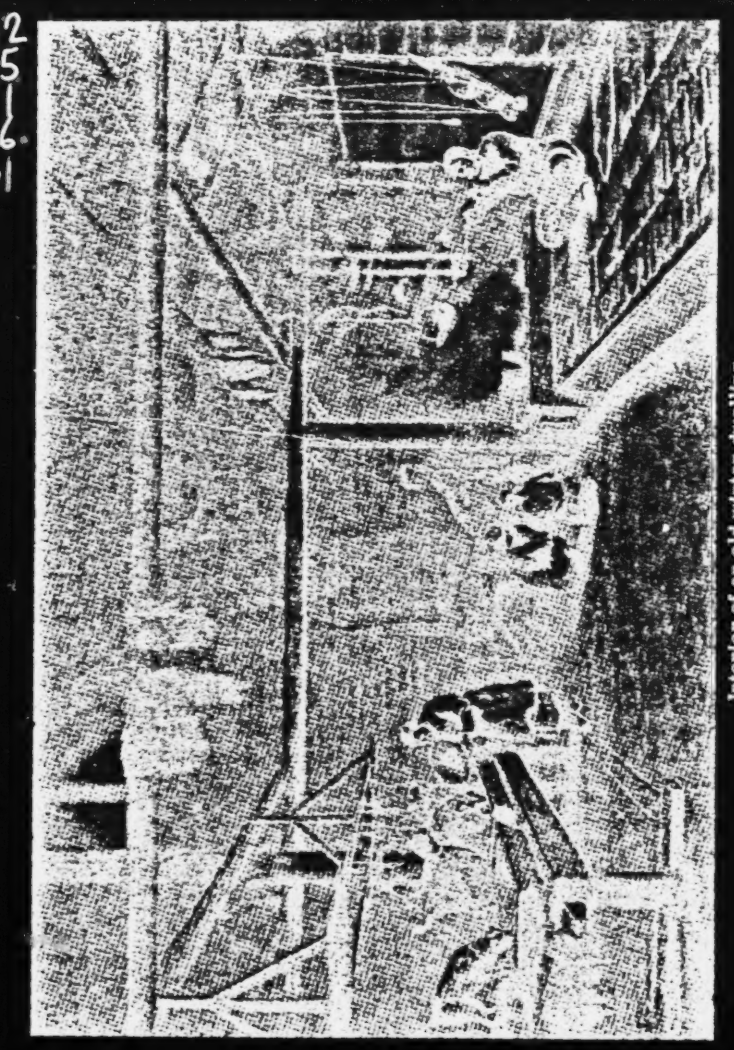

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

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585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier [556] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

591 592 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 592 the central room used by all the members of the household, with • 342 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

577 171 As little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, 577 Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

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735 421 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely [182] active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

• 342 421 423 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

/668 cont./

and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated construction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

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which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites, of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (zach) hanging down from their crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Duĭ, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

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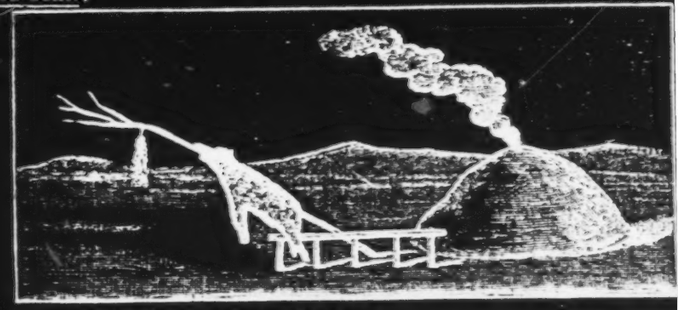

Bearskin hung up near the yurt.

the head and leg pieces of the skin have already been cut off to be used as bowls at the bear-festival feasts, they are sewed back on the rump section on such an occasion, in order to make the skin look whole.

The narrow, low, and dark passageway leading into the earth yurt and the small entrance often closed only with a board that can be pushed in a horizontal direction instead of a door make it impossible to lead the bear in and out here, and in the interior of the yurt, taken up almost entirely by the hearth and the three sleeping-benches, there is no room for temporarily displaying even one bear, much less two or three (1). Thus this principal pleasure of the Amur

1. See the plan and the arrangement of a Gilyak earth-yurt, p. 452 of this work.

Gilyak during a bear festival must be renounced by their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin, in so far as there are only earth yurts there. The opportunity for this was first offered to the Gilyak when the earth yurts (toryf), originally customary among them even on the mainland, were replaced by houses built in the Chinese fashion (tschadryf) which in my day had already taken place throughout on the mainland except for one earth yurt in Pättach, and to a large extent along the Liman coast of Sakhalin (2). At first, the conservative spirit which

2. See p. 469 above.

2: Schrenck--940 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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7) At first glance the evaluation of their various kinds of housing on the part of the Gilyak as given in the table seems very irrational, for one can scarcely believe that a structure as large and relatively complicated as their winter dwelling, built on the Chinese pattern and provided with two hearths, four wide sleeping benches heated by pipelines, and large windows, is worth only about half as much as a /600/ storehouse lacking all of these accessories. Nevertheless I must stand by the above figures, repeatedly confirmed for me by the Gilyak and hope to be able to give an adequate explanation for them in the following while discussing the social relations of the Gilyak and their socio-communistic attitude coming to light in the construction and utilization of their houses, as well as in other things, as I learned from them themselves.

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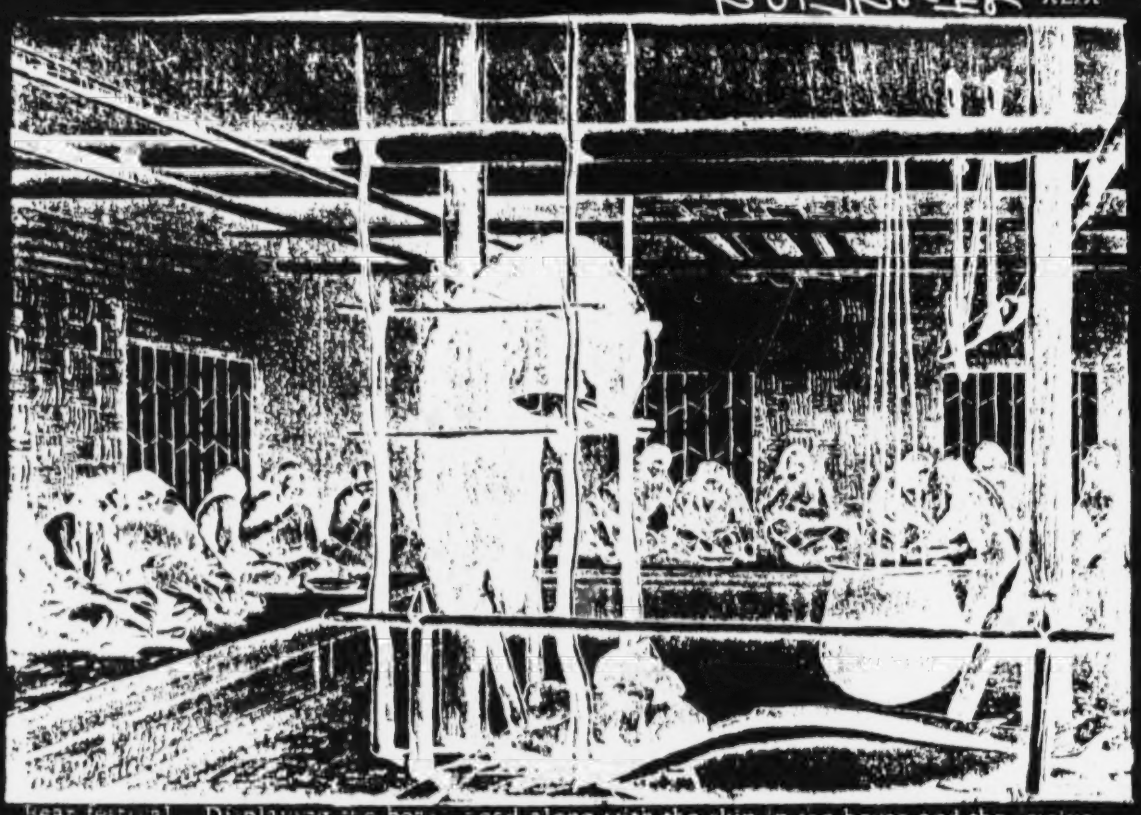

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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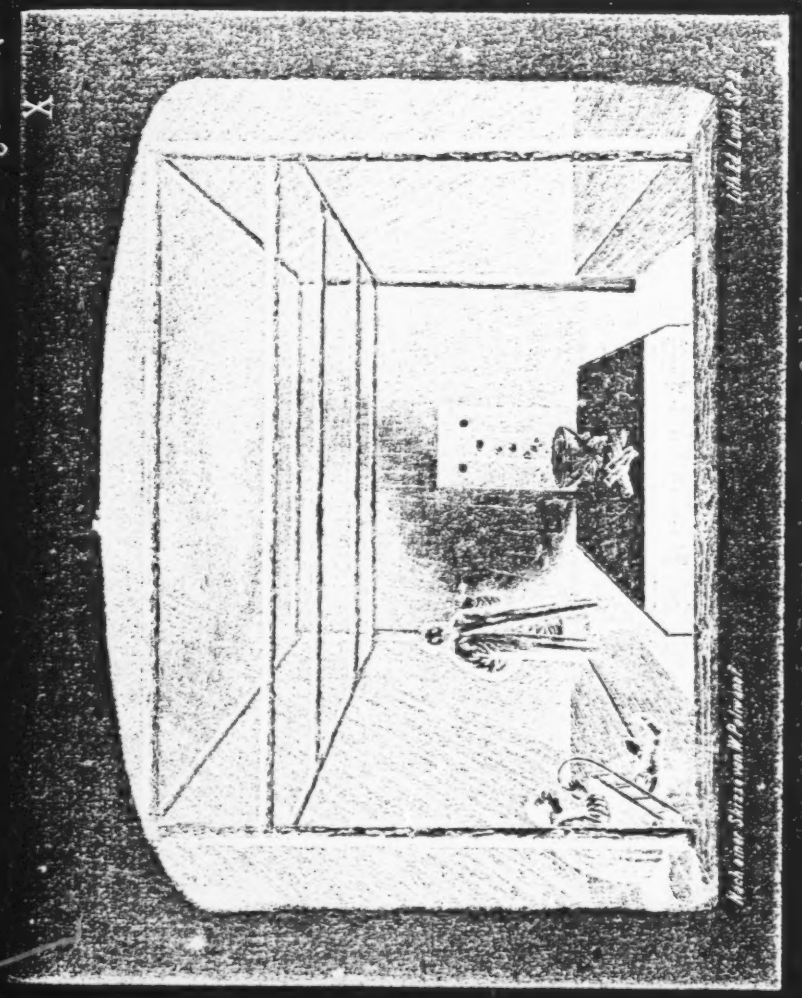
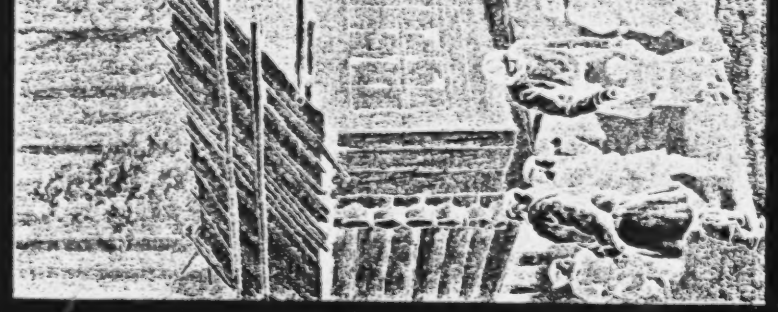


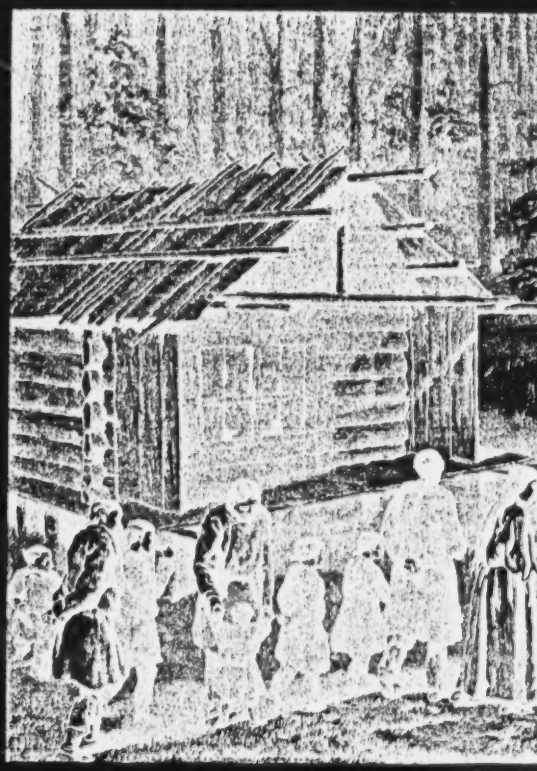
Gilyak winter hut on Sakhalin.



2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.



Gilyak

2: Schrenck--1263 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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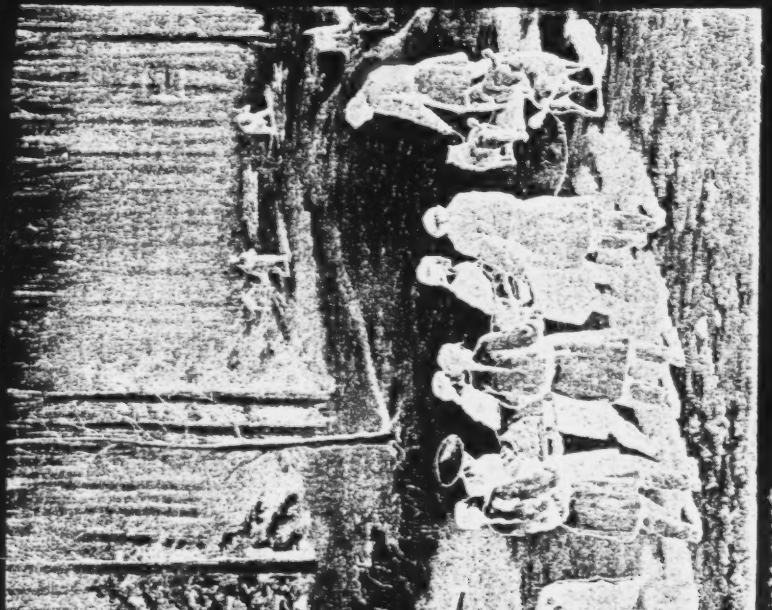

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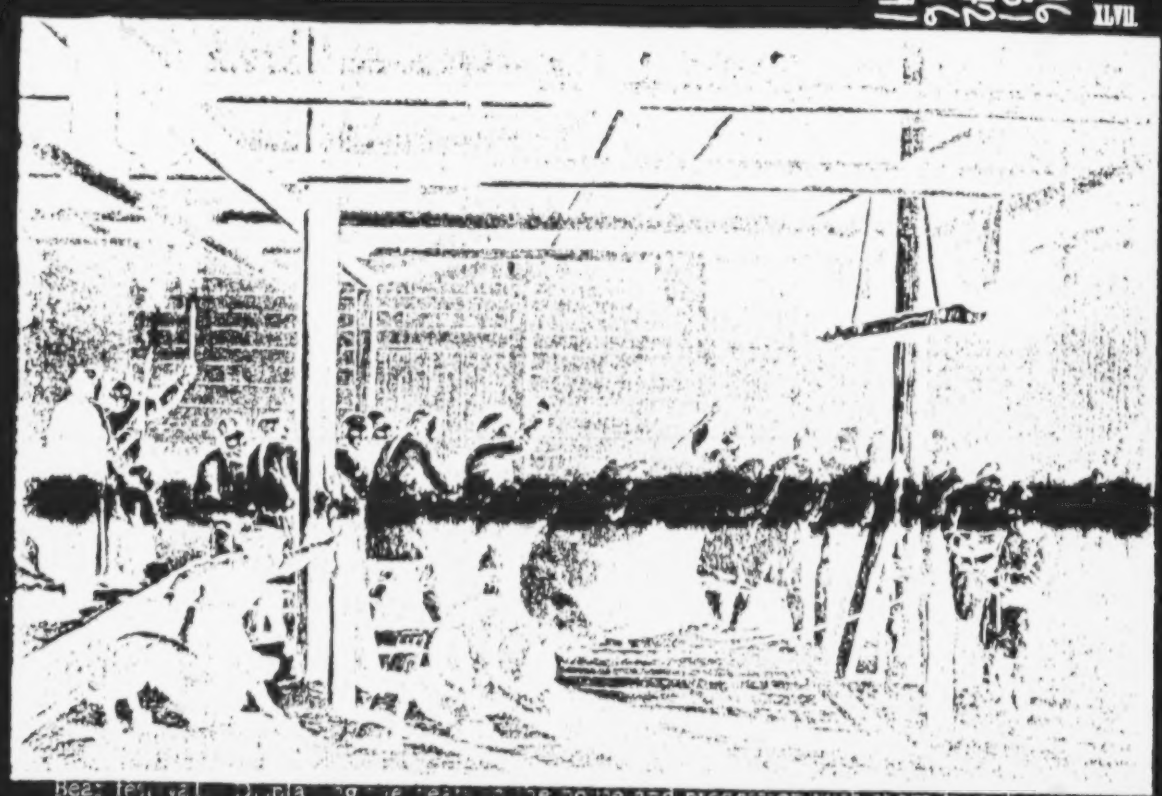
2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible] :895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Bear festival. Displaying the bear in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

9: Hawes--192 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 182, 342

"The possession of two houses for the different seasons is also found to be an advantage from the point of view of their occupations. In winter it is convenient to be in the forest to pursue the hunting of the bear, fox, etc., while in the summer fishing points to the river bank or sea-coast as the most handy. In shape the summer hut resembles a rudely constructed Swiss châlet. Some were built on piles, but these were few, and this was apparently a doomed fashion."

116, 342, 361

"The yelping of sledge-dogs, and
just visible at the bend of the river
village, if I may so dignify a colle
finished canoes lay in their beds of
village, were women cleaning fish

Huts of larch or pine planks, rec
and doors about three feet high, a f
piles, for storing the winter provis
village of Ukavo."

the smell from strings of fish drying in the sun,
, aroused us to the contemplation of another Gilya
ction of half a dozen huts with that name. Two un-
fragrant chips; and beyond, on the 'floor' of the
preparatory to stringing it.
tangular in shape, with obliquely sloping bark roo
ew similarly shaped but quite small erections on
ions of dried fish, and three bear cages made up

116, 182, 342

"The Gilyaks boast of two kinds of hut
tuf, and the other for winter residence
contact with their neighbours have led
times, probably as late as the beginni
later on the island, the winter hut was
Protection against the wind and cold
site is chosen in the forest, [191] whic
winter's hunting. A quadrangular pit i
corners of a smaller quadrangle withi
united at the tops by four other poles.
the level ground, i.e. three feet abov
of larch, are rested against the frame
erection with its conical top cut off. T
earth dug out of the pit, saving only a
or tunnel, likewise composed of timbe
approach to the dwelling. This is on t
it, finds the end blocked, but slipping
panel, a little earthen stairway is rev
hut."

s, destined the one for summer and called tol
named torif. The extremes of climate, and
to the adoption of dual dwellings, but until re
ng of the nineteenth century on the mainland,
the only style of dwelling.
l being the chief requisites of a winter abode,
h has the added advantage of being handy for t
s dug to the depth of about three feet. At the
n this pit are erected four stout poles, which
This forms the main framework of the hut. F
e the floor of the hut, smaller poles, generall
work all round, thus forming a tent-shaped
he whole of the structure is covered up with t
hole in the top for chimney. A covered entran
r supports covered in with earth, forms the
e level ground, and the stranger having penet
aside a sliding door, or, more accurately, a
ealed, by which he descends to the floor of the

/732 cont./

animates all primitive peoples may have resisted any change in the traditional custom, but gradually there must have been greater utilization of the advantages which the new housing offered to them by its position on level ground and its greater spaciousness also for the celebration of the bear festival and this could not have taken long for a people with such practical talents as the Gilyak. If one sees the Amur Gilyak lead their bears, temporarily displayed in the houses, out through the door and immediately back in again many times, apparently without any purpose whatsoever, and stroll around with them in this fashion from house to house throughout the entire village, it gives the impression as though, with their traditional memory, so to speak, of the limitation that was formerly imposed on them in this respect and within which their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin still find themselves today they revel in the enjoyment offered to them by their present /733/ dwellings, which are more suitable for the bear festival. As a matter of fact, this custom seems to be only the manifestation of joy and satisfaction gradually becoming customary among the continental Gilyak over the change in the construction of their dwellings which has taken place in the course of time.

Another difference in the bear-festival practices determined by the different construction of the dwellings among the continental Gilyak and the Sakhalin Gilyak pertains to the transfer of the bear's head from the läsng into the yurt. Among the former this is done, not through the door, but always through one of the windows of the house. The earth yurt, however, has no windows and gets daylight only through the smoke vent, which, aside from the door, is generally the only opening in it leading to the outside. I therefore suspect that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, this transfer taken place, not through the door, but through the smoke vent, which would scarcely be possible in the Gilyak houses built in the Chinese fashion, and therefore the continental Gilyak are obliged to use the window opening instead of the smoke vent, which is also much easier. I think that confirmation of this conjecture of mine with regard to the Sakhalin Gilyak is to be found in the fact that over a yurt in which a bear has been eaten the skin of the animal consumed, immediately after the meal is finished, is spread over a pole jutting

/733 cont./

796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
798 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
353 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt.
[171] In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

with the Chinese. A
the Nivkhi began to
The immemoria
Nivkhi was the do
clothing and meat
and played an impo
of dogs in a househ
kept 30-40 dogs, wh
fish and seal-fat;
were used most as
The old sled of
the middle of the
it, resting his feet
this position on skis
and in front. The
either side, rather
the dog pulled with
Until quite rece
these, the Nivkhi us
and the sled which
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so-called Eastern
equipped with a ver
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The developmen
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valuable dog was
directions to this
brake pole. Dogs
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The horse as a
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skis—bare skis wi
were used for shor
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Nanays and Oroch
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The Nivkhi vill
ing-rivers, and se
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Sakhalin Nivkhi s
ging a pit some 1
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served as a win
plank beds were

ter the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
l, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the g. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur or food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange rtant part in religious ideas and rituals. The number old was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household ich demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly eed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs draught animals.
the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in ast century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in . The runners of this sled were curved both in the back dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the neck.
ntly, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in ed the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th derably different from the old type. They were of the Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and tical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in gs pulled with the chest.
t of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. d stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg ually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his log. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer

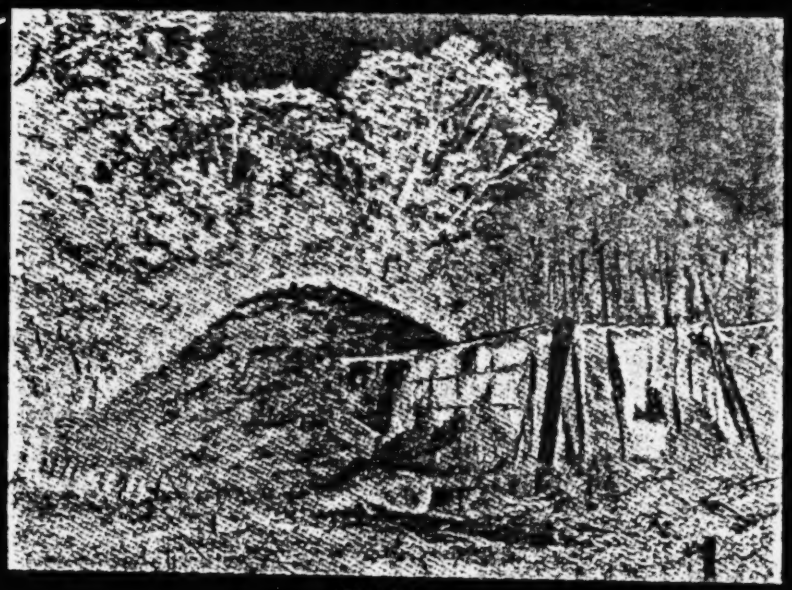
draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively

dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by thout fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former t trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur- e Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips

e rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed lar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried rriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled s (usually employed for upstream travel). For long- e Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, i. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which s bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the

ages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn- ldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell- were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the till widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig- .25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent dow as well; the hearth was built in the center, and set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

342



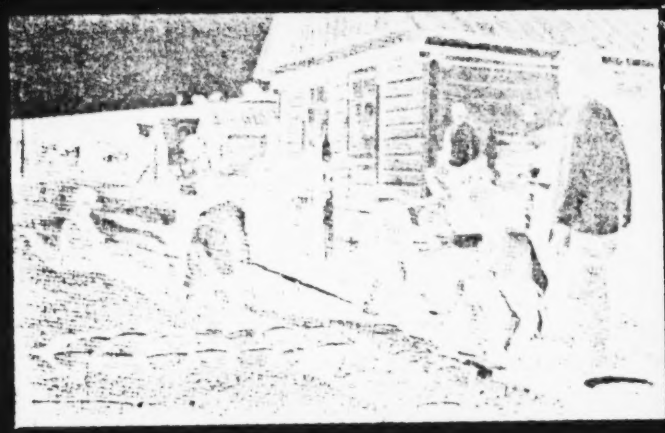
Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
[171] rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
[531] was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).
[439] Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2



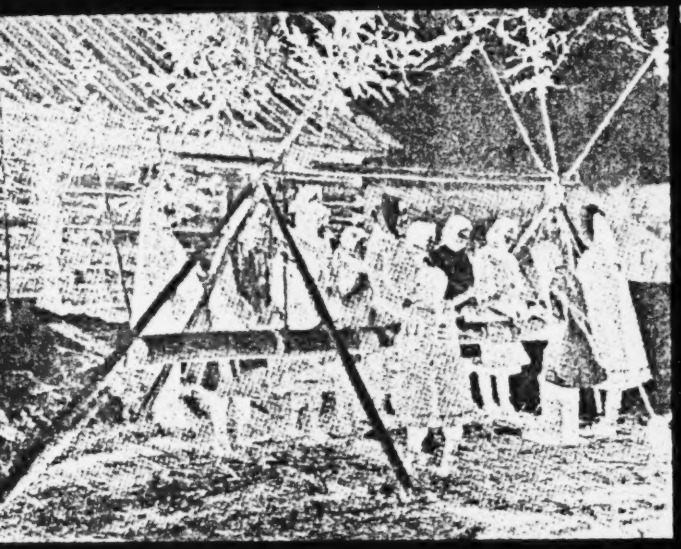
Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-lekherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2



534 291 342

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

e wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they ted by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt ared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so

532 322 [191]

e musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a ive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ry log, which the women struck with sticks.

534 [196]

ucation was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu- The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, d'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

871 [212]

1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

mporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 648

1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Cast, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be- the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized nt the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted l years.

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

[241] [433]

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

[231]

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

177 648 474 361

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 648 474 36 [342]

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

177 648 474 342 353

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 291 [294] [292]

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

177 262 758 [043]

9: Hawes--259-260 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 342, 361, 622

"We drew up in front of the 'great city' of Nivo
dwellings which would be reckoned miserable b
the usual signal, twelve pair of stalwart hands
strode up the sands to meet the headman of the
him, the 'Lord Mayor of the city of Nivo.'

The 'Mansion House' of the 'Lord Mayor of N
humble fashion, was rather larger than those w
exactly similar. Outside, on either side of the
shelves sheltered by an extension of the roof, a
manner of tackle not required until later in the
some score, of Gilyaks, who were to be our sl
prised the starosta, his two wives, his childre
Armunka, who was a distant cousin."

, consisting of less than two dozen huts,
y the occupants of Irish [260] hovels. At
were ready to haul up our canoe, and we
village, or, as my interpreter called

Nivo,' which I now entered in the usual
ve had seen hitherto, but in other respects
three-foot doorway, were two broad
and containing winter sledges and all
year. Inside was a goodly gathering,
eeping companions that night. These com-
n and relatives, the latter including our

9: Hawes--192-193 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 342, 352

"The one [LSS: A Gilyak summer hut] which w
large—about 16 feet long and 13 feet wide; the
feet 6 inches, and from these sprang the obliq
slips of bark for tiles. Stooping low, we advan
assuming a half-erect position, and unsuccess
heads. Accustoming our eyes to the darkness,
window and chimney, we made out in the centr
and 2½ feet broad, on the smouldering logs of
above depended a cauldron. Around the two si
bench or dais (nakh), 15 inches from the groun
narrow gangway between it and the fire (tur).
a mother with a baby, a girl smoking, and thr
articles, from [193] a baby's cradle to a rude
wood, shaped like a scoop without the handle,
seal-hide. On the bench and hanging above we
water or seal-oil (p. 203), dried fish-skins, d
stomachs, etc."

e now entered, in Kamavo, was not
side timbers rose to a height of about 4
uely sloping roof of poles for rafters, and
ced to the 3 feet doorway, cautiously
fully attempting to avoid knocking our
for there was but a hole in the roof for
e a large earth and ash box, 4 feet long
vhich was a kettle, and from a rafter
les and further end of the hut ran a rude
d and about 4 feet in width, leaving a
On the nakh were seated several Gilyaks,
ee or four men. Above hung a mêlée of
axe for hewing out canoes. The cradle, of
was strung to a cross-pole by thongs of
e fishing-nets, birch-bark bowls for
g-skins, winter clothes, seal-oil in seal's

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

843 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was
.85 a crime unknown.

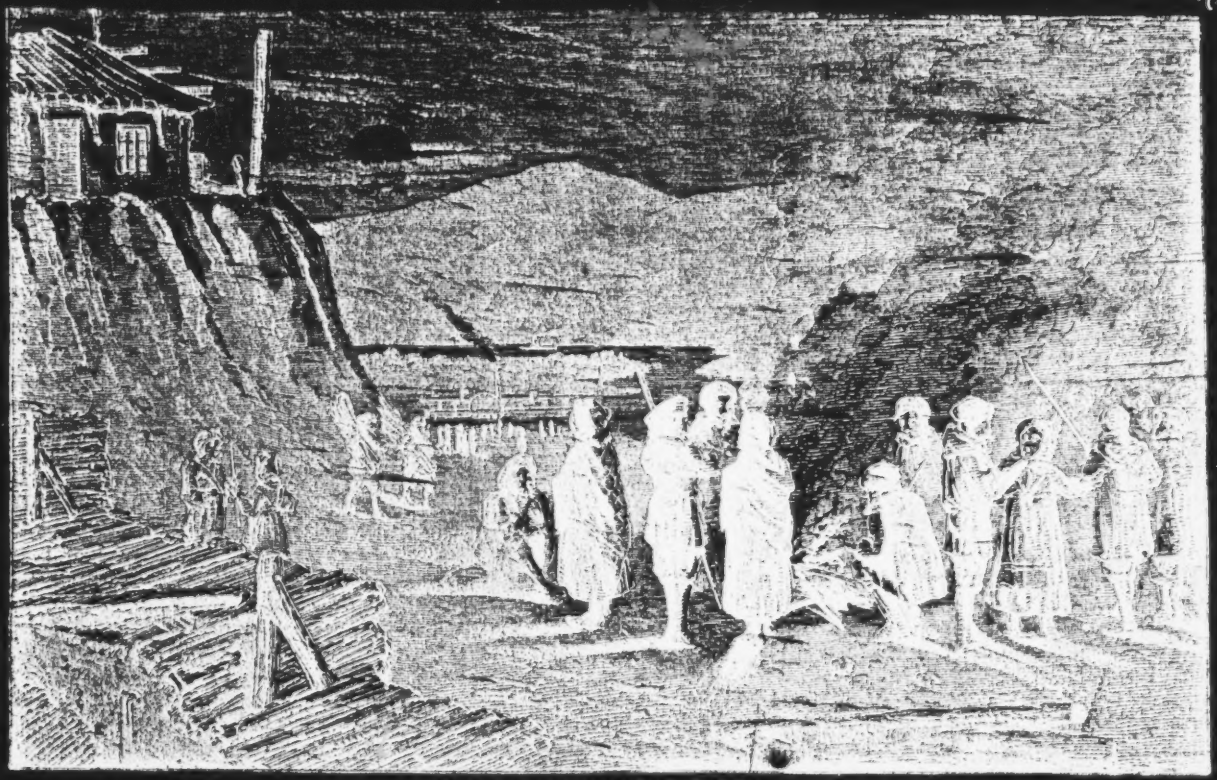
342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping
415 goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles,
777 knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

251 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

.31 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves

342
291



NIGHT SCENE—GROUP OF PEASANTS.

heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

VII. Transportation Methods, Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

164 The Gilyaks
563 Russians suffe
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E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
r from it more than in Europe. I have
her connection (1) of the fact that I believe

Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3.

n be traced to earth miasmas, and particular-
ones rising up from the extensive marshes
well as house miasmas. The fact that the
mune [248] may be attributed partly to habit,
s suffer most from it when they first arrive)
to the functional construction of the houses.
cks and private houses stand on frame work
s. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood
h which does not freeze even in winter. The
dly ventilated and frequently have a definite
The Gilyak house has a solid floor of
which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate;
lated and is often filled with smoke whose
alities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems
mited factor in this question.
emic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal
s among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom
pears. It is usually accompanied by unbear-
his catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.
he constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers
m. Among Russians, too, it seems to come
ork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.
tarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia
t frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the
children of the Gilyak villages also suffered
ng cough epidemic that was prevalent during
olayevsk-na-Amure.
s occur more seldom than one would expect,
tribes that live in smoky houses frequently
em and present many one-eyed and blind
lyak houses are not always full of smoke, to
o frequently that the relative absence of these
be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the
ctually, everyone who has been inside a
ill be convinced that the natives can remain
in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
ne finds among them people with chronic

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

116, 174, 342

"The winter huts, when covered with snow and l
cosy. Dr. Schrenck and Mr. Sternberg have sur
the survival of a custom in the bear festival indi
originally only by the chimney, that the Gilyaks'
words used for entering and leaving the hut, kus
emerge, also witness to the use of the chimney
are not lightly to be differed from, but it should
this kind have been used over wide areas by diff
has not been attested, e.g. in Yezo, the Primor
surrounding regions; and what is also importan
of Manchuria, the Yih-len, are described in the
(A. D. 25-219) as [192] 'Troglodytes living in cav
their dwellings, the most honourable having a d
chronicles) the 'entrance being at the summit.'

Whatever may have been the origin of the win
summer dwelling is traceable to Northern China
how it would have appealed to the Gilyak. The m
hut damp and wet, and the increasing heat of the

it up by a blazing fire inside, are very
mised from this pattern of hut, and from
cating that their entrance and exit was
ancestors came from the North. The
ind and jigind, implying to sink and to
as entrance and exit. Such authorities
be remembered that pit-dwellings of
ering peoples, whose northern origin
sk, and Manchuria, to mention only the
in this connexion, the early inhabitants
Chinese annals of the After Han dynasty
es, their rank marked by the depth of
escent of nine steps,' and (later

ter hut, it is fairly certain that the Gilyak
through Manchuria. It is easy to see
elting snow in spring renders his winter
sun makes it stuffy and hot."

110, 232, 272, 342

"Our tent, being new and of very thin m
could keep nearly as dry, and certainly m
fire within, but in a few moments the smo
refuge Swartz and myself fled to our Gilak
birch-bark, sewed together in long narrow
spread over a frame of light poles sloping
open in front and at each end. This was er
bank, which served as a protection from t

As we came up, one of the women was
a small fire in front of the camp. A small
was hanging a good-sized copper tea-kettl
as a general thing, unable to indulge in tea
exchange for fish. [123]

Beneath the shed several deer-skins we
upon which half a dozen humans and about
every conceivable shape. The group prese
I will endeavor to portray in a few words,
the internal workings of a Gilak domicil,

naterial, leaked badly--so much so that we
uch warmer, walking outside. We tried a small
ke became unbearable, and for want of better
neighbors. Their only shelter consisted of
v strips about two feet in length, and
to the ground and forming a shed-like covering,
ected upon the beach, facing the high wooded
he wind.

in the act of preparing the noonday meal over
pot contained several fine trout, near which
e (a rare article among the Gilaks, who are,
a). On this occasion we furnished them, in

ere spread over a thick layer of green boughs,
as many dogs lay twisted and coiled into almost
nted a curious, if not interesting tableau, which
as it conveyed to us a very complete idea of
as well as some of their occupations."

161 lages with about two thousand
361 on both banks from the mout
out of the reach of all inundat
ment to the view of their hou
inspection.

592 Some of the houses might c
361 ordinary size, and were well a
we took wood at a Gilyak vill
342

A GILYA

to visit the aboriginals. The
ings and several fish-houses.
poles, split in halves or use
poles covered with a thatch c
cold. Some of the dwelling
floors, while others had floor

343 The store houses were ele
American 'corn barn,' and
dwellings. Each storehouse
canoes, fishing nets, and othe

inhabitants. The villages are
n of the river to Mariensk, and
ions. Distance lends enchant-
ses, which will not bear close

ontain a half dozen families of
adapted to the climate. While
age I embraced the opportunity

AK VILLAGE.

e village contained a dozen dwell-
. The buildings were of logs or
ed whole, and were roofed with
of long grass to exclude rain and
g houses had the solid earth for
ings of hewn planks.
vated on posts like those of an
were wider and lower than the
had a platform in front where
er portable property were stowed.

The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters. The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 2 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened!

Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

354 hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.

231 The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
352 hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special
354 occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
373 tive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.

513 In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

2: Schrenck

343 /For information on the raff, a small b
see category 764./

RX2 Gilyak RX2

urial hut erected at a grave site,

/358 cont. /For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer, there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njö, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, indeed,

2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, d -- rear section. e -- Door between them. f to g -- The eleven wall surfaces.

Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njö, njo).

with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

2: Schrenck--530 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Kamchadal RX3

G 343 /358 cont. /

merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (3). The interior of the store-

3. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, larger or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

G 342 343 171 /359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings mentioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original, peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to K 175 [342] Krascheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on high piles, which are called balagan 000 by the Russians (1). The Eskimo of the American Northwest along

K [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, K [132] Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 215. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "airy dwellings" on K [198] Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar [199] dwellings continued to be retained after the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

2: Schrenck--531 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Eskimo ND2

G 343 171 E 343 /359 cont. /The Eskimo of the American Northwest along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, and the Arctic Ocean erect their storehouses on high piles above the ground in order to safeguard the supplies of fish, skins, furs, and the like stored in them during the summer both against the humidity and against attacks by mice, foxes, wolves, and especially the dogs, which are always hungry during the summer (2).

2. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, St. Petersburg, 1847, Pt. I, p. 56. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, Hannover, 1858, p. 62. In Dall (op. cit., pp. 13 and 65) there are also illustrations of such "dovecote-like" buildings, as Seemann aptly calls them. E [192] The designation barabora for them (Sagoskin, op. cit.), which Dall also uses for the summer and winter dwellings of the Eskimo (op. cit., pp. 39, 65), arose according to Steller (op. cit., p. 218; for him, "barabara"), through the corruption on the part of the Russian Cossacks in Kamchatka of the word "pasapar," by which, however, the Kamchadal refer to a hut made out of long grass for an overnight stay.

G 342 174 Thus, the Gilyak, where they have kept their original dwellings and constructions, and many another Paleo-Asiatic people can to a certain extent be called cave-dwellers or troglodytes in winter and pilework-dwellers in summer. In this respect they stand at a point which on European soil belongs to a far distant, prehistoric period. From this point of view, too, the designation of Paleo-Asiatic peoples, which I have proposed for these remnants of an ancient population formerly more widespread on Asiatic soil, is in a certain sense justified.

2: Schrenck--937 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/597 cont. /

435 439 The value of the kettle embedded in the hearth and the portable kettle is reckoned in part, on the basis of size, but in part and chiefly on the basis of their origin, because the Manchurian (Chinese) kettles are far inferior in quality to those of Japanese: the former easily crack over the fire if they contain no water, but the latter will not. Accordingly, it costs for:

A large Manchurian hearth-kettle (tsch) (ormoz-wunj)	4 ja
/598/	
A smaller Manchurian hearth-kettle	3 "
" Manchurian portable kettle (matsch-wunj) with handles, depending on the size	3-7 "
A small Japanese kettle (Gilyak kughi-wunj, i.e., Ainu kettle)	7-8 "
A large kettle of the same kind	20 "
" " Japanese kettle with three handles . . .	30 "

435 342 343 The evaluation used among the Gilyak for their houses is very peculiar, inasmuch as it costs for:

A winter yurt (tschadryf) with two hearths only . .	4 ja
" summer yurt (käryf) only	2-4 "
A storehouse (njö), on the other hand, depending on the number of compartments	10 " and more.

435 439 A number of conclusions concerning the trade of the Gilyak, as well as telling numerical evidence of certain of their customs and beliefs, can be drawn from this table, some of which have already been discussed in the previous sections and some will be discussed in the following. For the moment it will suffice to draw attention only to the following points:

1) Furs, the most important barter item of the Gilyak in their trade with the Chinese, have a relatively low price, which

2: Schrenck--940 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3

/599 cont. /

G 435 342 343 7) At first glance the evaluation of their various kinds of housing on the part of the Gilyak as given in the table seems very irrational, for one can scarcely believe that a structure as large and relatively complicated as their winter dwelling, built on the Chinese pattern and provided with two hearths, four wide sleeping benches heated by pipelines, and large windows, is worth only about half as much as a /600/ storehouse lacking all of these accessories. Nevertheless I must stand by the above figures, repeatedly confirmed for me by the Gilyak and hope to be able to give an adequate explanation for them in the following while discussing the social relations of the Gilyak and their socio-communistic attitude coming to light in the construction and utilization of their houses, as well as in other things, as I learned from them themselves.

G 435 8) Finally, if I compare the table of prices of the Gilyak with that drawn up by Maximowicz (1) in a similar way among th

1. In his handwritten notes put at my disposal.

Goldi, I find an almost complete correspondence in most things, obviously because the prices prevailing among the Sungari Chinese are decisive for both. Nevertheless, some differences, which are characteristic of region and people, can be recognized in them. Among the Goldi, for example, all fur seems to have a higher price than among the Gilyak (a good sable, for example, is valued by them at 4-5 ja, a red fox at 3 ja, a black one even at 30-60 ja), undoubtedly because the animals involved are less frequent in their territory than in the abundantly forested north, and perhaps also because the Gilyak accumulate a greater quantity of them through their industrious trade, as middlemen, with the neighboring peoples. In this connection, too, among the Goldi attention is paid to the smaller animals, such as squirrels, ermine, Mustela sibirica, and the like (ten specimens of the former, for example, cost

/641 cont./

593 842 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A
[595] sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the hus-
[586] band will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstitiotion gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a
[825] [789] woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to
844 114 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive.
[132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery
● 343 does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/641 cont./

844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
● [343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[132] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[763] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated construction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can
[476] the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on
[574] it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
[427] and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

● 343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is
[427] arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

10 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of
[361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating
[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives
802 have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants.
174 There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to
[361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
● [241] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[731] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[822]
[429]

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

● 343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
● 343

> 1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
● 343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

161 lages with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are
361 on both banks from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and out of the reach of all inundations. Distance lends enchantment to the view of their houses, which will not bear close inspection.

592 Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of
361 ordinary size, and were well adapted to the climate. While
342 we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

to visit the aboriginals. The village contained a dozen dwellings and several fish-houses. The buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thatch of long grass to exclude rain and cold. Some of the dwelling houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

● 343 The store houses were elevated on posts like those of an American 'corn barn,' and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each storehouse had a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles, knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

34

346 RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES-
temples, churches, libraries, museums, school
educational structures; special characteristics o
tion; etc. See also:
Administration of schools and colleges . . . . 87 Administrati
Administration of libraries and museums . . . 217 Administrati

P.Sitemberg--452 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/313 cont./

778 782 224 225 to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

778 688 The customary takhej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or 782 a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

796 346 782 When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzig.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

6

--description of shrines, s, and other religious and of each; mode of construc-

on of sacred places 778
on and functioning of churches . . 794

34

3

"We came upon an old Gilyak and his wife, who sat slicing and cleaning kita. With a long rakish knife, which is the men's hunting and 'general-purposes' knife (dzhakho), the fish was split open, a nd with a short-bladed and curved edition of the former—the woman's fish and domestic knife (ungu dzhakho)—the kita was cleaned. Two slices were cut from each side, leaving for remainder the head and tail and backbone, with some flesh adhering. All these were then hung up to dry in the sun, this drying-ground being the 'village green,' or 'market-place,' of the Gilyaks. The slices were for human consumption, and woe betide the Gilyaks if August (O.S.) [LSS: The old style calendar is 13 days earlier than the Gregorian calendar.] which is the chief season of fish-drying, prove a rainy month, for then only a small quantity of their staple food will be prepared against the winter, and stores will give out early, and many will die of starvation. Fortunately, sunny weather [174] had this year attended their efforts, and goodly quantities of sun-dried fish were hanging in rows upon rows, to be eventually consigned to those strange-looking coffin erections, consisting of a short log hollowed out and perched on forked stakes. These stakes were, in 'well-regulated establishments,' encircled with pieces of bark, umbrella-shaped, to prevent the ravages of rats and other vermin."

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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291
516
415
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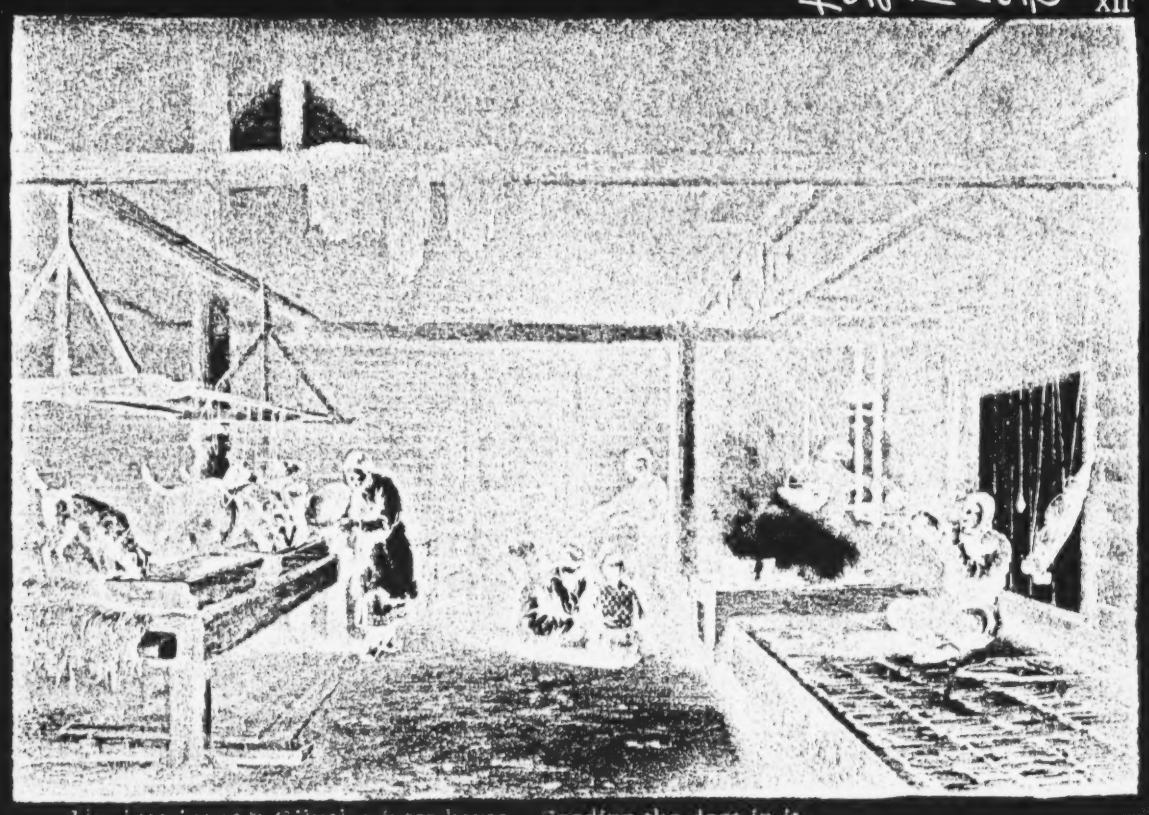


The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

352

FURNITURE--pegs, racks, shelves, and cupboards; description of furni
(e.g., chairs, tables, chests, beds, hammocks, head-rests); floor cove
ing (e.g., mats, rugs); special uses of furniture; etc. See also:

Mat making . . . . . 285 Hardware 4
Furniture manufacture . . . . . 322 Bedding 6

Amoor line is closed up, the telegraph circuit around the globe will be complete.

The telegraph is operated on the Morse system with instruments of Prussian manufacture. Compared to our American instruments the Prussian ones are quite clumsy, though they did not appear so in the hands of the operators. The signal key was at least four times as large as ours, and could endure any amount of rough handling. The other machinery was on a corresponding scale.

A merchant who knew Mr. Borasdine invited us to his house, where he brought a lunch of bread, cheese, butter, and milk for our entertainment. Salted cucumbers were added, and the repast ended with tea. In the principal room there was a Connecticut clock in one corner. and the windows were filled with flowers, among which were the morning glory, aster, and verbena. Several engravings adorned the walls, most of them printed at Berlin. We purchased a loaf of sugar, and were shown a bear-skin seven feet long without ears and tail. The original and first legitimate owner of the skin was killed within a mile of town.

In addition to his commerce and farming, this merchant was superintendent of a school where several Gilyak boys were educated. It was then vacation, and the boys were engaged in catching their winter supply of fish. At the merchant's invitation we visited the school buildings.

The study room was much like a backwoods schoolroom in America, having rude benches and desks, but with everything clean and well made. The copy-books exhibited fair specimens of penmanship. On a desk lay a well worn reading book containing a dozen of Æsop's fables translated into Russian and profusely illustrated. It corresponded to an American 'Second Reader.'

There was a dormitory containing eight beds, and there was a wash-room, a dining-room, and a kitchen, the latter separate from the main building. Close at hand was a forge where the boys learned to work in iron, and a carpenter shop with a full set of tools and a turning lathe. The superinten-

346 dent showed me severa
wooden spoons, forks,
souvenir a seal cut in
in Russian letters, and

The school is in ope
superintendent said th
could attend if they wis
871 was a subordinate pries
of the establishment
sign of making the bo

771 The Gilyaks of the
825 tempts to Christianize
964 thus far. Their religi
766 animals, and their pr
'medicine man' of the
they revere the tiger,
of their killing one.
are buried without cere

sons the Gilyaks follo
bear is also sacred,
from being killed.

825 In hunting this bea
once taken and secur

NG A WILD BEAR.

l articles made by the pupils, including
bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a
pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm'
having a neatly turned handle.
ration ten months of each year. The
e children of the Russian peasants
hed, but very few did so. The teacher
t of the Eastern church. The expense
vas paid by Government, with the de-
s useful in educating the Gilyaks.
lower Amoor are pagans, and the at-
them have not been very successful
on consists in the worship of idols and
iests or *shamans* correspond to the
American Indians. Among animals
and I was told no instance was known
The remains of a man killed by a tiger
emony, but in the funerals of other per-

EAR IN PROCESSION.

v very nearly the Chinese custom. The
ut his sanctity does not preserve him

st they endeavor to capture him alive;
ly bound he is placed in a cage in the

349

349. MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURES--description of structures not classifiable above (e.g., monuments, radio towers, lighthouses, hangars, railway stations); special characteristics of each; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Radio and television 207
Commemorative statues and monuments . . . 211
Railway terminal facilities 498
Adjuncts to navigation 502
Airport facilities 508
Funerary monuments 764

2

description of furniture
ad-rests); floor cover-
c. See also:
. 414
. 513

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [197] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/28 cont./

352 [516] roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed
are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive
spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn oc-
casions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent
off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a
daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's
house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance,
or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother,
and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the
ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already be-
ginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip
and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of
late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In
addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon
for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional
shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting.
Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in
height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/
a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift
them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time
they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a
ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-
sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened
segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its
surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very
light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places,
and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and
lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/31 cont./

601 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they
191 have influenced one another, they basically belong, spea
174 [595] the language of geology, to different formations. It is su
[835] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse wi
individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for exam
the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the
this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage doe
581 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally bu
[583] rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan a
garded before the world as his personal wives and the mot
[851] his children. The children belong exclusively to the fath
[611] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a f
[551] is no longer called by his former name, but is called the
of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives e
[684] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the
[614] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle o
[582] tion, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gily
601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long tim
not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their fami
[592] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds
[352] families, each living in relation to its own particular inte
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among hu
wife, and their children. That is not all. One may freq
[765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between
When one of them dies, the other frequently lays ha
or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are
with the type of family which is generally called patriarc
Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck b
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women
whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latt
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of m
a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of me
fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/328 cont./

764 To be burned is better than to be buried.

766 The one made the first mos' for a drowned man is not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagn'" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

764 349 A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is made in a month, or in two, three, or four months, when there is time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

[784] [614] On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members. It is prohibited to fish, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a k:khak:, a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyz' (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The k:khak: is wrapped in a piece of drel' of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the k:khak: remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

/329 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A hontkh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the raf mu nig:yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning,
[231] brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu n'igyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the kikhal.

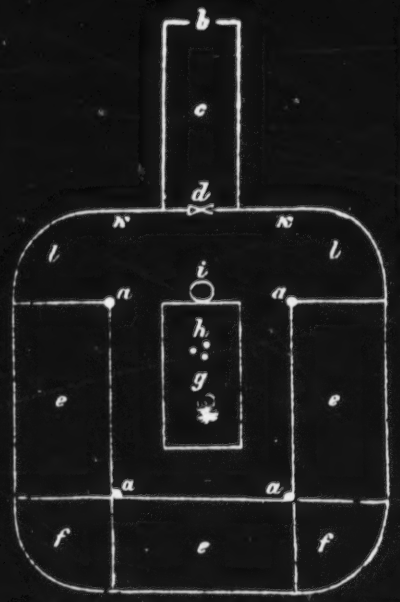
766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp.4[illegible]-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

765 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
[761] killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[766] is afraid and hides with Pal-n'igyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to that of men.

35

ENT AND MAINTENANCE OF BUILDINGS--general statements cover-
al aspects of the material equipment, care, and upkeep of dwellings
esidential buildings. For descriptions of other machines, appliances,
nsils, hardware, and apparatus used in buildings see 40 and 41.

2



a -- Supporting posts. b -- Entrance. c -- Low passage. d -- Door. e -- Plank bed. f -- Rear corners, without plank beds. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the large kettle. i -- Water container. k -- Front wall. l -- Front corners of the yurt.

Plan of a Gilyak Earth Yurt (toryf).

found. At the end of this passageway one reaches the door (d), which is either vertically hinged, as is customary, or is formed by a board placed horizontally, which can be pushed aside (Pl. X) (1). Directly behind it, or below it, a few steps

1. On this plate, showing the interior of a Gilyak earth-yurt, the door, through which one can pass only in a extremely stooped position, is too high. 1 n

lead down to the floor of the hut, which consists of stamped earth. 2L In the yurt, along both sides and in the rear, between the supporting posts and the earth wall, runs a sitting and sleeping bench or plank bed (e), which is about one and a
5
n [See Category 116, P. 990 -- Analyst)

/322 cont./

342 half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
35 the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually rounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away various utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This creates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, between the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, there are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet from each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, twice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame put together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped earth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, the are several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the rear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be-
[417] tween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles over the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which the kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the front part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a triangle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the large kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts there are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for human use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the large yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several days, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is made in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in the center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for
[415] illuminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or
[312] more large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with drinking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of the entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt, a supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top, exactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form of a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

/323 cont./

342 35 and crosswise diameters corresponding to the hearth or crosswise to it.

The smaller earth-yurts of the Gilyak are quite similar in nature, except that in these all the dimensions are more or less considerably smaller. In some cases, for instance, the hole dug in the ground for building the yurt is so shallow that there is nothing to be seen of any wall behind the plank beds, but rather the timber of the roof begins immediately. In order to gain space in such small yurts, the two rear corners are also equipped with plank beds, so that, with the exception of the front wall and the two front corners, one continuous sitting or sleeping bench extends all around. If the dimensions of the yurt are reduced even more, it finally becomes quite shallow, and hearth and plank beds, framed by narrow, upright boards, just rise above the ground, the latter only as much as the thickness of the layer of branches serving as a bed; the smoke vent is not very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the door has disappeared or shrunk to a few sheltering projections -- in short, the yurt has become a tent made of thin wooden beams.

342 [122] Such was the small yurt of Tafiz-wo in the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856, and found the mercury in the thermometer frozen the next morning. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary structure, at any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with children, and their summer yurt stood next to it. This winter yurt of Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and its larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usually erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surprise

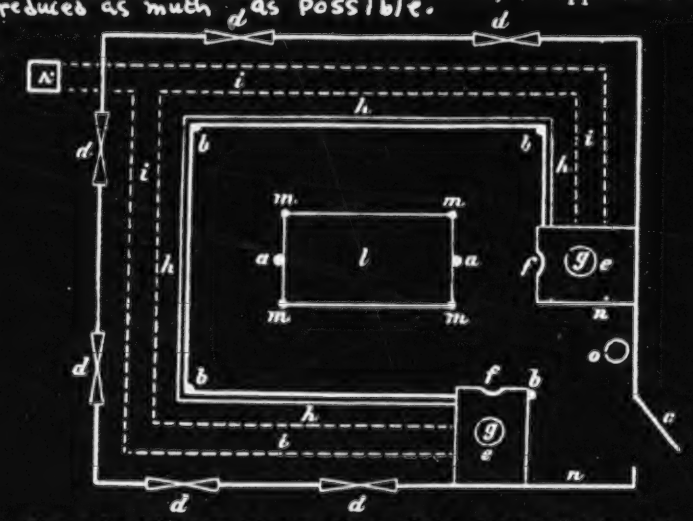
[122] by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855 I was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on the high seashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (1) on the west

[192] 1. The Gilyak call this cape "Pilja-Wangi," i.e., Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly promontory, where we were, "Matsch-Wangi" -- Little Wangi.

/327 cont./

342 [824] and with the ridge. The remaining finer latticework of the roof is made up of thin poles and sticks put crosswise and then covered with tree bark, in particular fir bark, and finally with a layer of dry grass or Calamogrostis straw, etc., which is pressed down and held in place by a series of poles placed parallel to the ridge of the roof. The entrance is found in one corner of the house, and, to be sure, if one stands in front of one of its long sides, always to the right, in the transverse wall or in the longitudinal wall, with an ordinary door (c), which consists of several boards held together by a few cross-strips, and also always with a high threshold by means of which the influx of cold air over the floor, as well as the penetration of drifting snow and running rainwater into the house, is supposed to be reduced as much as possible.

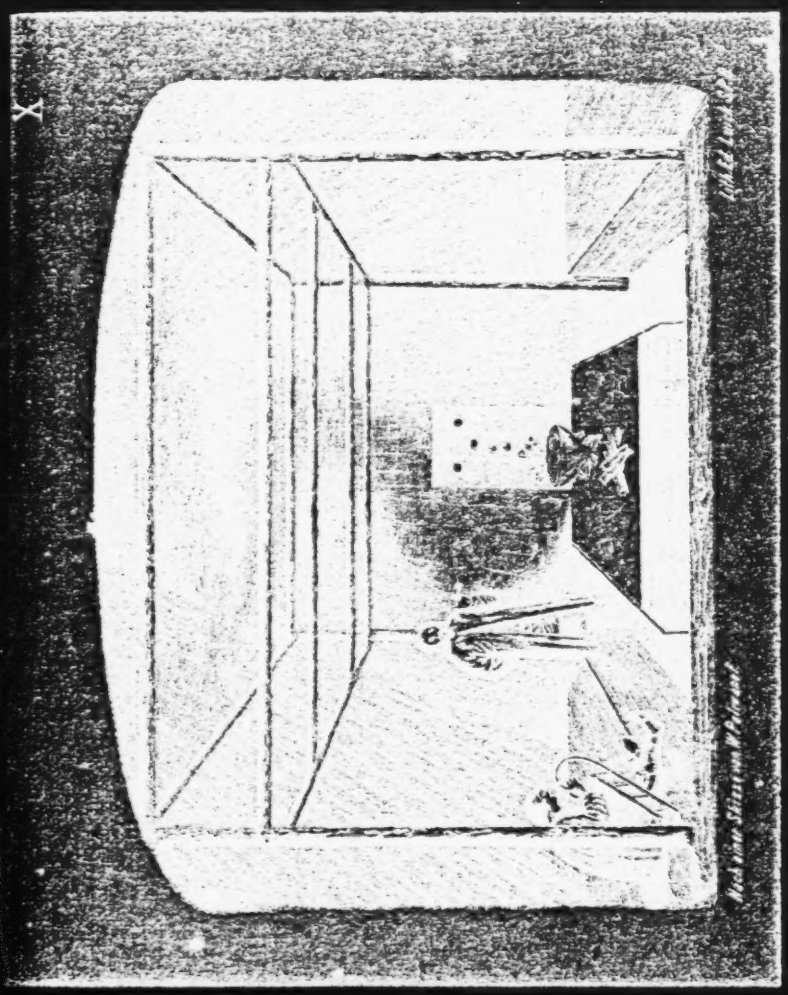
342 35



Plan of a Chinese Winter-Yurt of the Gilyak (tschadryf).

a -- Large supporting posts of the roof framework, b -- smaller supporting posts for it. c -- Door. d -- Window. e -- Hearth. f -- Opening for feeding the fire. g -- Hole for the large kettle. h -- Sitting and sleeping benches. i -- Pipes used for heating same. k -- Chimney. l -- Dogs' table. m -- Posts on which the table top rests. n -- Places for storing household equipment. o -- Water container.

2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Inneres eines Gilyak winter yurt on Sakhalin.

85 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier 56 people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

91 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the 92 husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 92 the central room used by all the members of the household, with 42 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

77 As little as such living together by all the members of the 71 household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi,

/636 cont./

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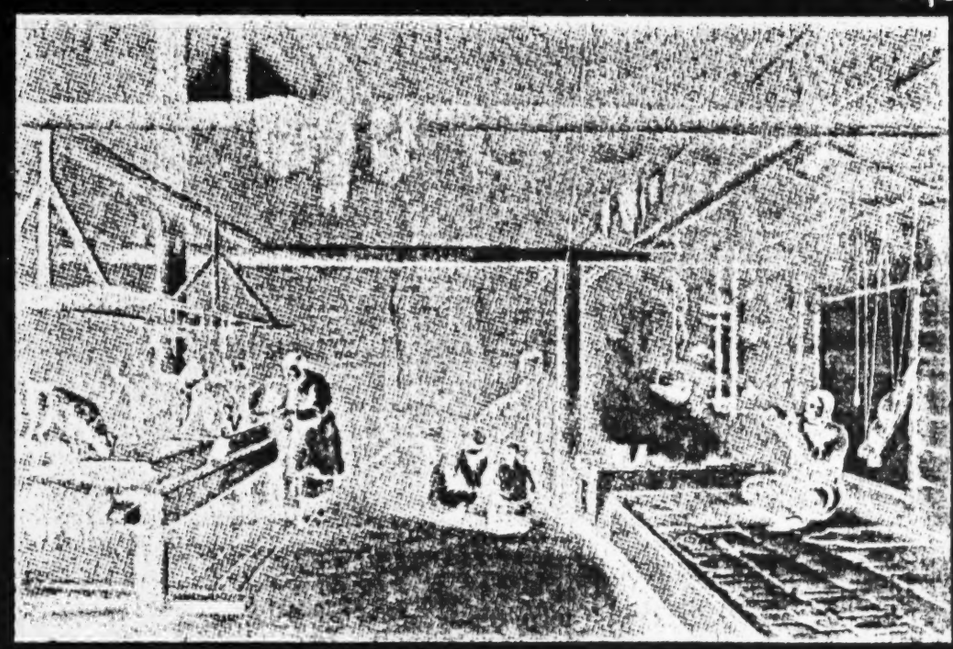
342 ● 35 291 516 231

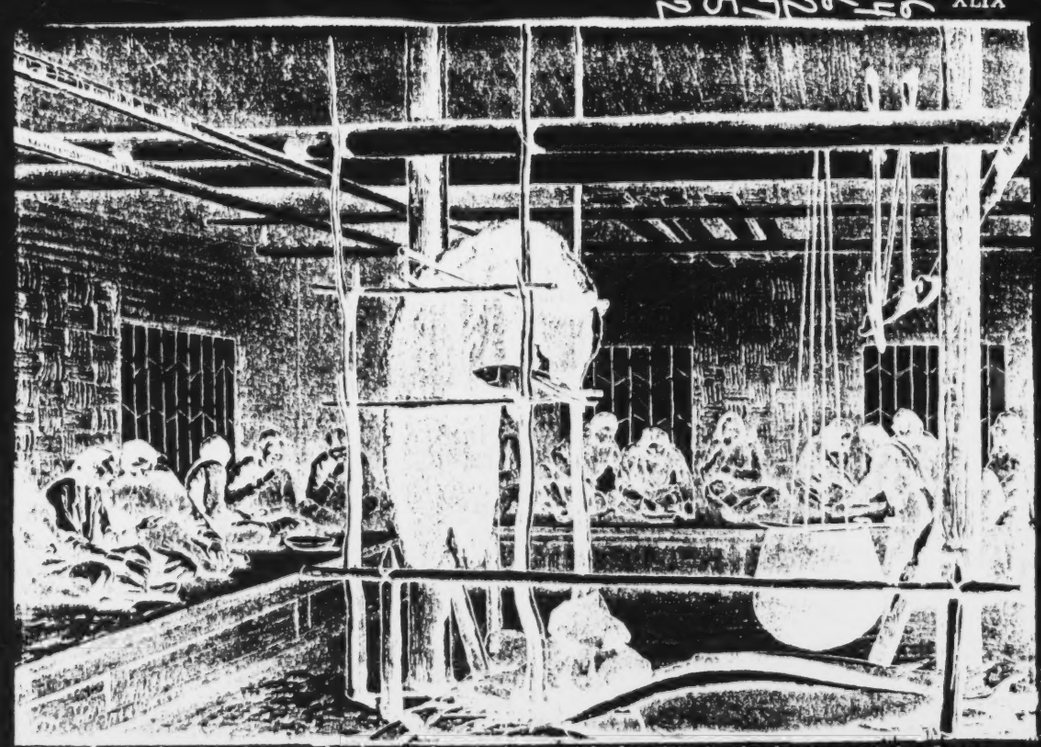
4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2 [P.096]



Interior of an old winter dwelling.

● 796 544 516 352 411 415 342 XLIX

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1261 E-5 (1854-1856)

756 ← 778 782 → 778 415 ←

756 755 291 292 516 ● 352

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shan
burning incense by the shaman
before a sick wo

/324 cont./
origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
(77) handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is
shown on Plate XXX[a] in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time
there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat
sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered
the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form
and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like
the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to
insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this
was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among
the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these
emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks
for their quite primitive character.
342 As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
351 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
52 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the
carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of
snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give
the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry
into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed,
and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
352 lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same
time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified
character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire
which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another,
all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adven-
(76) tures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak
sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the
night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The
most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of
temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened,
a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and blows among the
floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway
& [See Category 116, P. 1010--Analyst]

342 /327 cont./ They are fed through square
354 openings (f) on their front side and on top have /328/ a round
(415) hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dogs
and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are
342 prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearths are the sitting and
354 sleeping benches or plank beds (h, Gilyak: tikky) which bend in
very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high
and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief
characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of
wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both
hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the
house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the single
pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet
for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not
far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (k,
Gilyak: kin) usually higher than the house. The benches are
342 covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves out
354 of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered,
(286) and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in
places. In the center of the house, between the two posts sup-
342 porting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (q), about two
354 fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed and
(23) which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: kyll).
The top of it, which along its longitudinal edges usually projects
out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continua-
tions, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground
and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, dur-
ing the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
Above the two ends of the dogs' table two cross-sticks hang down
from the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole
can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during
the feeding. Our Plate XII, which shows the feeding of the dogs,
to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of
the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, however,
that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the
other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide.
Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and
the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate
& [See Category 116, P. 992 ~ Analyst]

/328 cont./
342 proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pre-
354 viously discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
(23) ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I
(353) must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right
and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards
for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one
or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for
drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various
cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
342 the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
354 wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which
can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for
ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam dur-
ing the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke
when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost
always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of
(574) this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse
(437) wall is very drafty, it is regarded as the worst place in the house
and usually faces the straw mats, whereas the bench along the
front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear
transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a
guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is some-
times also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking
342 [illegible] As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is
(190) over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter,
354 and, in general, due to the place under the plank beds, also
warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature,
nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some
that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same
degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer
sufficient resistance to the heavy fronts and violent snowstorms.
There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered
snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even
stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly
to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the
earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/329 cont./
342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
(352) draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here
since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
(516) The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually
342 sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
(78) came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
138 these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear
(114) festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both
hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank
beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather
suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heat-
able sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvan-
tage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of
vermin. Under them, in inaccessible, hidden spots, along the
pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and
emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had
gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see
them come out from their hiding places and go about their business
not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the in-
terior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other
vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that
the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would
fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection
is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas,
which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In
summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is
literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that
it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the
surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the
principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when
spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings
lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well
as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/351 cont./
030 winter houses from the Chinese. That it reached the Gilyak
342 from the south, along the Amur, is shown, as was mentioned
141 above, by the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese
(194) winter-yurts in their area, in particular by the fact that on
Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the
island facing the mouth of the Amur. Actually, this type of
construction of the winter house can be followed continuously
among all the peoples of the lower Amur region living up-
stream from Gilyak, as far as the Chinese along the Usuri
and Sungari. There it is prevalent everywhere among the
342 Manchu, Chinese and Daur (6). For example, the Chinese
354
354
191

6. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

U-tschen, in the description of his birthplace, Ninguta, written by him in 1722, mentions that the houses there have three kang, i.e., sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds running along the walls and heated by pipes running under them (7).

7. According to U-tschen, the kang, about six feet wide and two fathoms, five to six feet long, were put along the north, west, and south walls of the houses; along the east wall, separated by a partition from the rest of the room, was the women's room, which had two kang, along the north and along the south wall. The kang are covered with reed or straw mats, over which a red felt carpet is frequently spread. Cf. U-tschen's writing in the translation by Klaproth: "Zapiski o Manchzhurii" (Zap. Rusk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. XII, 1857, p. 98).

/351 cont./
342 The French missionary Venault (8) and the Korean Kimal-
17 (8) 2
113

8. "Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Vol. XXX, 1852, Vol. II, p. 208).

Kim (9) likewise mention the kang in the houses of Ninguta,

9. "Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évêque de Belline, 1844" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., 1847, Vol. I, p. 71).

Girin, Sian-Sin, and other places which they touched on their travels through Manchuria, /352/ and later travelers, such as Williamson (1), Barabasch (2), and others found it in general

1. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.

2. "Sungariiskaia eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sbornik., Vol. XVII, 1874, No. 2, p. 332).

use along the Sungari, Nonni, Churcha or Mutuan-ho, etc. (3).

3. In the middle of the house, where among the Gilyak the dogs' table stands, there is an elevation made of clay or bricks with a cavity the size of an ordinary tub. Wood and charcoal are kept burning in it, so that it is always full of hot ashes; kettles with hot water stand there for replenishing the tea cups, brandy and beer are warmed there in tin containers, etc. Williamson, op. cit.

/352 cont./
342 Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of
354 pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping
17 benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house,
354 is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather
of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from
the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies.
For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in
North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, ar
113

4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it: for example, in Du Halde (Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. géngr., des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 331), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Girard (France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

/352 cont./

342 352 364 17 [113]

more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, p. 448), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kjachta. In the (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 13), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, espe-

[113]

6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifications and complications in the heating of the houses, just as in the rest of the construction; for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pipes

[113]

7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc.,

[113]

8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part,

/352 cont./

342 352 364 17 [113]

8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are

352 364 517 17 [126] 513 [199]

used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the

[123] 184 [197]

head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is arouse warth because of the pipe

/353 cont./

G 352 364 517 513 516 17 [126] 184 [199]

running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom in the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse to allow even a stranger to approach this position on their kang, if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by

G 342 17

whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the

G [195]

earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K 342 197 195

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krasheninnikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the

342 825

peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K [113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

342 /354/ 352 364 354

This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts, in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (e), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.

[117] [353]

Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing.

In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply

342 354

of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mäo at the time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to

342 825

be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible

[251]

to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing

342

up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/479 cont./

23 [136]

The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, consists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in the rivers in shoals at certain seasons on which the existence of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially lyghi-tscho and tengi-tcho (Salmo lagocephalus and Salmo proteus), and in winter along the seacoast the kanji fish (Gadus wachnja), which, however, on account of its smallness, stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (2),

2. See p. 646.

so-called chark in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head and backbone with a little flesh attached to it (3). Only if there is no

3. The Russians in the Amur region and throughout Siberia very aptly call it kosti, that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it available is the nikola intended for the people used as dog food. Next to this, seal and whitewhale meat, and along the seacoast not infrequently the meat and blubber of stranded whales, serves the same purpose. With the exception of the latter, which, as was mentioned above, may not be brought into the yurt, according to Gilyak superstition, /480/ food is never given to the dogs in the raw state, as the Russian do, but rather cooked to a soup. Also, the feeding does not take place outside, but always in

[462] 352

the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In the tuchadrif, the table found in the center or in a corner (Gilyak

[512]

kylli) (1) is used by the women, in the toryf, the platform of the

1. See pp. 458, 462, 546 above.

[462] [512]

hearth. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned materials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is always one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a couple of

/642 cont./

553 852

Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him or the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving.

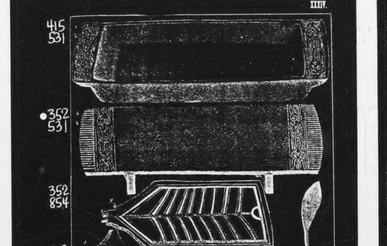
[852] [656]

In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villagers and friends.

When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle

854 [192] [352]

(Gilyak tuchjakli). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head, can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually painted, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttock is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle an



Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop; 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

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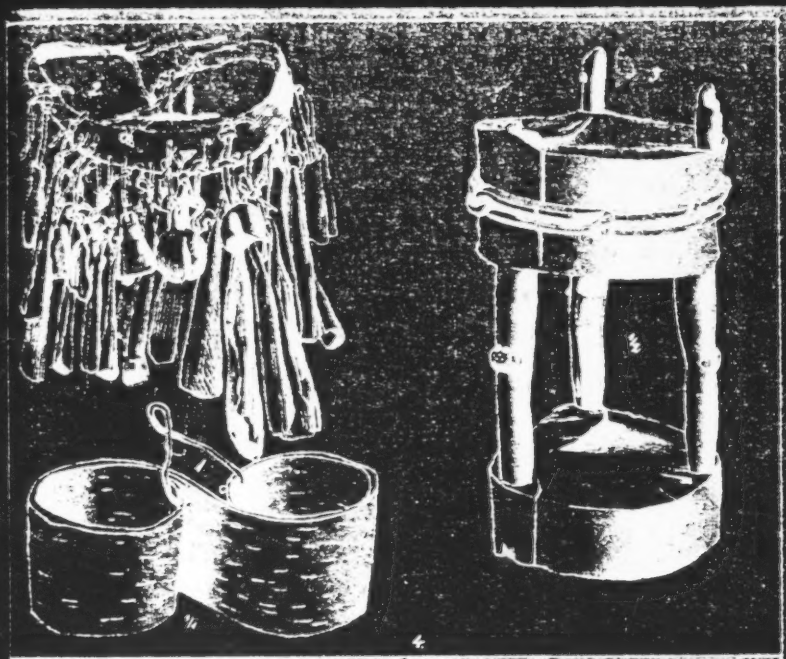

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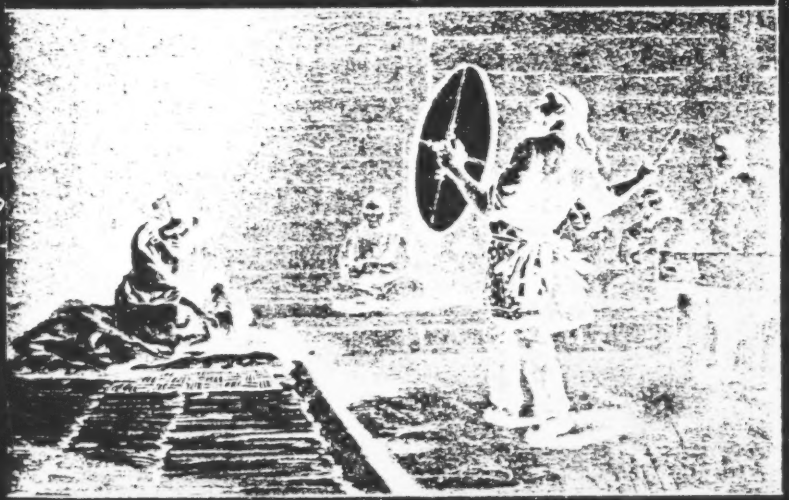

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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417
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A Gilyak corpse in the yurt.

439 with the Chines
262 the Nivkhi bega
[263] The immen
231 Nivkhi was th
clothing and m
and played an
[556] of dogs in a h
[422] kept 30-40 dog
fish and seal-
were used mos
493 The old sl
[175] the middle of
it, resting his
this position o
492 and in front.
either side, ra
the dog pulled
492 Until quite
493 these, the Nivk
and the sled
[526] century were
[171] so-called Eas
equipped with
yokes, which t
177 The develo
492 its greater si
493 of goods. It w
valuable dog
directions to
brake pole.
tow strap.
492 The horse
177 recently.
In additio
281 skis—bare sk
were used for
hunting seaso
nailed over th
501 Travel al
[824] boats made
by hand acro
with oars o
[171] distance trav
Nanays and
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rowed with
left ones.
361 The Nivk
ing-rivers,
ings of kin
342 Sakhalin Niv
175 ging a pit s
built of thin
[354] served as

se. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, n to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
norial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the e dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur neat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number ousehold was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household s, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs st as draught animals.
ed of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in n skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on ther than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that with the neck.
recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in khi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th considerably different from the old type. They were of the stern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in he dogs pulled with the chest.
pment of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. ze and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg as usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer

as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively

n to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by is without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur- n. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips e fur.
ong the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed f poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried ss barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long- el, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which he was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the

hi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn- nd seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell- smen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the khi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig- ome 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

16, 342, 352

"The one [LSS: A Gilyak summer hut] which w
arge—about 16 feet long and 13 feet wide; the
eet 6 inches, and from these sprang the obliq
lips of bark for tiles. Stooping low, we advan
ssuming a half-erect position, and unsuccess
eads. Accustoming our eyes to the darkness,
vindow and chimney, we made out in the centr
nd 2½ feet broad, on the smouldering logs of
bove depended a cauldron. Around the two sid
ench or daïs (nakh), 15 inches from the groun
arrow gangway between it and the fire (tur).
mother with a baby, a girl smoking, and thr
rticles, from [193] a baby's cradle to a rude
vood, shaped like a scoop without the handle,
eal-hide. On the bench and hanging above wer
vater or seal-oil (p. 203), dried fish-skins, do
tomachs, etc."

e now entered, in Kamavo, was not
side timbers rose to a height of about 4
uely sloping roof of poles for rafters, and
ced to the 3 feet doorway, cautiously
fully attempting to avoid knocking our
for there was but a hole in the roof for
e a large earth and ash box, 4 feet long
which was a kettle, and from a rafter
les and further end of the hut ran a rude
d and about 4 feet in width, leaving a
On the nakh were seated several Gilyaks,
ee or four men. Above hung a mêlée of
axe for hewing out canoes. The cradle, of
was strung to a cross-pole by thongs of
e fishing-nets, birch-bark bowls for
og-skins, winter clothes, seal-oil in seal's

353

INTERIOR DECORATION AND ARRANGEMENT--painting, carving, and incising of walls and woodwork; screens and draperies; color schemes; furniture arrangement; use of pictures and prints; shrines and sacred objects; bric-a-brac and objets d'art, flower arrangement; specialization in interior decoration (e.g., interior decorators); storage of household items; etc.

See also:

Storage of food	331	Decorative art	831
Storage of clothing	296		

/326 cont./

342 1. This plate is to serve at the same time to illustrate the house decorations customary during the bear festival and some of the entertainment going on in front of it, which will be discussed later.

[335] The walls consist of thin, horizontal beams, which are not joined at their ends, but are pointed and fitted into the lateral grooves of a few thicker, upright beams. On the transverse walls, which rise higher, and especially in the middle of them, these vertical beams are of a considerable thickness. The gaps between the beams are plugged with moss and daubed with mud on the out-
342 side. The large, rather flat roof, which in winter has to carry
335 a considerable burden of snow, requires very complicated timber-work for its construction and support. /Illustration appears here./ It has a regular roof framework made up of longitudinal beams and crossbeams. The ridge is supported, in addition to the central, upright beams of the two transverse walls (see Pl. XI), also by two thick, towering posts in the interior of the house (a) on the accompanying plan). Sometimes, instead of one post, two standing not far apart rise in each place. Similar, but much smaller and thinner posts (b) sometimes rise up here and there at the sides and, together with the two nearest vertical beams of the transverse wall, serve as supports for the middle part of the roof, and in the lower part it is supported by the longitudinal walls of the yurt. Longitudinal beams and crossbeams in turn run here and there between the towering posts in the interior, and similarly to the upper edges of the longitudinal walls -- a framework
342 that /327/ serves to connect the walls to one another and thus to
[353] steady the walls and keep them upright. In addition, the lower part of it, up to a little above the height of a man, is used for the storage of various articles and for hanging up clothing, and so forth. On our Plate XI one sees the ends of the aforementioned longitudinal beams at the transverse wall, as well as at the ridge and the side edges of the roof, project out quite far, whereby the side beams of the latter intersect each other far out at the gable [See Category 116, p. 991 -- Analyst]

/328 cont./

342 proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pre-
352 viously discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
[231] ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I
[353] must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
342 the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
354 wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of
[504] this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse
[439] wall is very drafty, it is regarded as the worst place in the house and usually lacks the straw mats, whereas the bench along the front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is sometimes also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

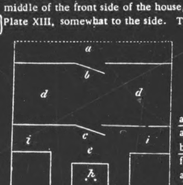
342 As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is
[197] over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter,
[354] and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature, nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms. There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/356 cont./

342 one might call a narrow balcony (1). On the accompanying plan

1. Krusenstern (op. cit.) calls it a gallery.

of a Gilyak summer-house it is the space a bounded with a dotted line toward the front. The entrance to it (b) is precisely in the middle of the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on
[353] Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one



a -- Sill or narrow balcony along the front side of the yurt. b, c -- Doors. d -- Anteroom for the storage of implements and supplies. e -- Actual living room. f -- Sleeping benches. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the big kettle. i -- Corners for odds and ends.

Plan of a Gilyak Summer-Yurt (käryf).

first enters a good-sized front space (d), which is used for the storage of various implements, as well as for storing supplies of fish and the like, and only behind it is the living room proper (e) found (2). This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

[114] 2. Krusenstern found this room locked and though that it was the room for the women, which fitted in with his general conception of a northern Sakhalin population consisting of "Tatars," which, however, does not at all correspond with reality.

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
[357] in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
[354] three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.

[417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mäo at the
342 time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
825 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction
[251] of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/733 cont./

*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

*796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and a at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
178 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
*353 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conic roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yu In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of
[171] them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supportin posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau

/743 cont./

778 down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
532 back and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fas-
tened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate
LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols
stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose
grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols
were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tubyn. The Gilyak
Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression
tyf-ÿžigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard
the word ÿžigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and
I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand.
I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house,
the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since
the latter bears the name kánigs. I must relate it to the yurt of the
Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part
of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

778 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
532 human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
171 of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which
seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I
inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kägn
like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but
not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to
me: three large, wooden human-figures with old, smoky zach
around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood
there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --
778 In the village of Kuik, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
532 same place as in Patt. This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
184 cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
(353) keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may
therefore have contained idols, while seeming to me not to have
any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered
in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one
goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously
revered the idols are. (I W. R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

(241) **In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of**
(243) **potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949**
(251) **to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.**

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

177 **An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly**
448 **scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often**
477 **consisted of no more than 3-5 households, But even in the larger villages,**
361 **the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.**

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log
64 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds,
474 etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a
school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings
36 devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable
storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a
(342) bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are
64 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages
64 have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti-
471 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered
with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and
34 flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the
(353) walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

177 Today, the Nivkhi wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They
also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the
29 continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and
fur caps (edges of silver seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made
of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok
collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the
(234) traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing
of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages.
Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays,
(242) the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented.
Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued,
as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater
26 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products.
The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been
759 widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions.
(243) Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical
and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational
work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical
aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

354

154 HEATING AND LIGHTING EQUIPMENT--systems for the lighting, heating, insulation, ventilating and air-conditioning of buildings; hearths and fireplaces, special lighting equipment (e.g., candles, oil lamps, gas lights, electric lights), special heating appliances (e.g., wood, coal, oil, gas, and electric stoves and furnaces); air-conditioning installations; insulating materials, etc. See also

Heat, light, and power	27
Cooking	325
Electrical installations	337
Manufacture of fuel oil and illuminating oils	395
Manufacture of candles	398
Manufacture of heating and lighting appliances	394
Refrigerators, incubators, and portable lights	416

/27 cont./

In
22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses up-
stream to spawn, the koryushka, herring. the Gilyak is again re-
vived. and in the course of the summer months in the expectation
of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far
niente.

In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar
574 festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are
252 treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth
of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition
of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled.
Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is
added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish
skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak
women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first
ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple.
342 Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted
(354) the Manchu type of winter dwellings. which, by the way, are also
352 very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles
(197) and spars. in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared
with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid
on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank
beds. which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The
smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a
high vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the
ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factor-
ies, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high
rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when
they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is
half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with
clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is
through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the
middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank
(192) beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the
yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in
the thermometer freezes. and with the least wind the yurt becomes
352 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward
516 the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/313 cont./

796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
787 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh
descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature
of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a
"risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught some-
thing while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing.
What is the reason for this?"

731 During a tahh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
787 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
165 and berries. First the 120-year-old man Żyvavun from the vil-
lage of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chêdzigr.
This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn
787 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made
to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are
not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently
seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a con-
versation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal --
mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a
white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur.
(372) If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil
(354) bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two
stoves.

Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtäs',
787 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are
787 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie,
except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to kikhork
n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz:
only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi
(kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence
of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the
Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will
occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, agia (akhydz') --
a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come
out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/315 cont./

X.

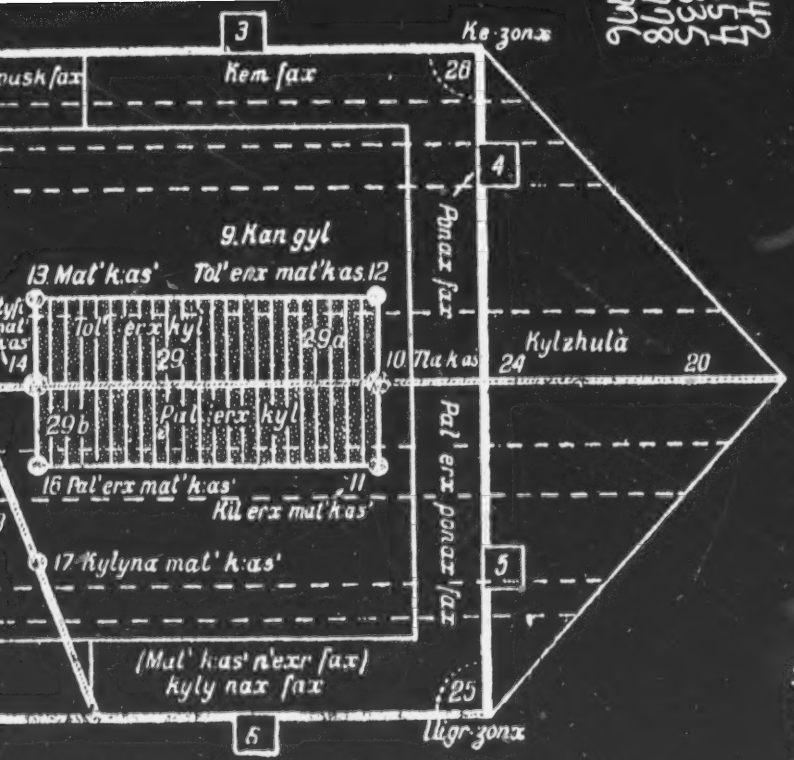
The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling
(287) flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this
is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then
they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this
is also good.

342 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy -
354 door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the
"master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left
of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-
bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of
the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'kas' n'ekh fakh) -- windo
alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' kas' akhr fakh -- window
near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side
342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly
kas' -- large post. 11. Kil-erkh mat' kas' -- small post. 12. T
erkh mat' kas' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat kas' -
small post. 14. Hytyfi mat kas' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la
digr-irku kas' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal
erkh' mat kas' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17.
Kylynä mat' kas' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos
n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la kas' nir
fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor.
20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of
(354) the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the
(355) master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house
24. Kylzhutä -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a pe
son who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- taboo
(178) corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper
corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk
dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things.
29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b)
(176) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do wi
the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.

Plan of the Ho

/Three letters in the terms above have been chang
letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table



ouse of the Amur Gilyak

ed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other
on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix). /

1: Shternberg--456 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

windows have fish skin stretched over them instead of glass panes. The simple, low door has leather straps instead of hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.

The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primitive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.

In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the other hand, there were far fewer villages.

139 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
133 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their primary occupations they spend their summers on the river banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
71 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be situated right by the river. One might conclude from this, perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the river in summer because of the partically marshy and therefore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller, for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close contact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that, in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
36 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

"Having turned our horses over to the s
straw-thatched shelter close by, followed b
our [78] way into a smoke-blackened apartm
small aperture in the log-walls. A large b
dirt floor of the room, upon the top of whic
fish and wood drying for fuel. In two of the
rags, very repulsive in appearance, and i
and a couple of stools."

oldiers, who fastened them beneath a small
y the Gilaks and several chickens, we found
nent, lighted by a piece of fish-skin set in a
rick 'peachka' covered three fourths of the
h was stored away a good supply of dried
corners were narrow bunks covered with
n another corner was a small rude table

/350 cont./

125 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. T
169 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from t
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects whi
could not produce themselves.

174 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that
they first appeared there they must have been in possession
entire economic inventory which they possess at the present
(with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to sa
the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds
and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools
His first cultural products must have been made in areas whi
were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing.
be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the contin
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fello
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes mad
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron an
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. Th
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremen
292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they p
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear ro
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink
and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They h
finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may
haps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighb
On what did they stop in their own independent cultural deve
ment?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of i
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remo
from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to th
in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know
to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Lat
ently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their bo
and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilya

/365 (cont.)

This it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his classmen, the tombs of his clan. In matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he first returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find in absolutely nothing to constitute a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshun on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a bed and a lamp; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The invaluable utilization of every thing in the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, on his intellectual development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, the settlement of disputes and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity of constantly living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, hospitable, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

Most one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening, and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stove, which has formed in it a completely dark, but you will hear the notable conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged men, the laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place.

/323 (cont.)

2. (cont.).

Finnish Language(, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 160). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the dwellings of some, of whatever kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Russ. izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts relating to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the translation of this work.

house or Chinese winter yurt. The earth yurt, tavif of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent built into the ground. Instead of a tent cloth, a roof of bark is used. It is be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug, and the walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with tin beams. Around it is erected a pentahedral /292/ roof starting upwards on all sides. Instead of a tent, it would seem better to use a horizontal roses plus which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank bed were easily to hold house latter, the smoke gas through a subterranean passage and a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly rocky tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the forests, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pronsk the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Mus'vo, it strikingly

/324 (cont.)

coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village of Tyk, who were returning along the same route, camped near us. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and its walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, then, using sticks and cords, they tied together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top was left for the smoke to escape. The edge of the cover should be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the conical tent were covered with fish skins, and there it is so much a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug, and the walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with tin beams. Around it is erected a pentahedral /292/ roof starting upwards on all sides. Instead of a tent, it would seem better to use a horizontal roses plus which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank bed were easily to hold house latter, the smoke gas through a subterranean passage and a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

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/304 (cont.)

origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as in the Tymy Gilyak, who were trading along the same route, camped near us. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and its walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, then, using sticks and cords, they tied together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top was left for the smoke to escape. The edge of the cover should be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the conical tent, which, as it were, carried out the pit, were covered with fish skins, and there it is so much a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug, and the walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with tin beams. Around it is erected a pentahedral /292/ roof starting upwards on all sides. Instead of a tent, it would seem better to use a horizontal roses plus which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank bed were easily to hold house latter, the smoke gas through a subterranean passage and a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

/327 (cont.)

/292/ roof such as possible. The house is provided with windows (3) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two longitudinal walls and the one transverse wall have each four, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1). very often,

(1) I did encounter this among other Amur peoples, but I shall speak about that later.

however, the window in the Tebach house standing in the foreground on Plate XI, and not employed in the other transverse wall and the longitudinal wall but only on one side, is unique. Usually it is then always placed unsymmetrically closer to one or the other corner of the yurt, and, in the latter case, the remaining wall is covered with a more or less thick layer of soot near the top. The change of temperature in the earth yurt is even more perceptible in the Amur Gilyak, for the latter, besides which one has fallen asleep, goes out, the yurt is soon filled with cold air coming down from the smoke vent, and, if there is no one in the house, the smoke vent is closed, but I have never seen it done, though I spent many a night among the Gilyak. And to be sure this should be done, for the smoke vent is very large, and the lower the smoke vent is over the hearth and the sleeping benches. At night in the usual fire place and in the hearth, the smoke reaches the smoke vent with the heat and where no big and lasting fire was therefore possible, /292/ we soon had the temperature of the outside air, which, in Sakhalin, in December, is not a noticeable draft. Under these circumstances how greatly to be pitied are the natives, who, in the open air with a notably burning fire, even if it should be very cold, as long as there is no snow-storm!

The winter yurt built after the Chinese pattern tchadyr of the Gilyak, is completely different in character. It always has the appearance of a house rather than a yurt, since it is built on an approximately square structure, though, as a rule, somewhat longer than it is wide, about 6-7 fathoms long and about 5-6 fathoms wide, with the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/327 (cont.)

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/328 (cont.)

proportion in this respect and at the large time they offer precisely detailed details in the construction and interior arrangement of the Gilyak dwelling. In concluding this description I must mention that along the walls (3), immediately to the right of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or supports for storing household utensils, and here, too, in the place for one or more large receptacles which serve for storing the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind the stove, and, finally, it should be mentioned that in the interior of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which serves as a chimney for the smoke, and, in the place for the stove, a hole for letting the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke and steam in the winter, when the door, which generally (2) always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of the smoke, the /292/ roof of the yurt, which, as a rule, consists of a kind of roof, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered, stood out infrequently the walls of the house, which are covered with bark or the /292/ roof, the place of the house, between the two pair supporting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (3), about two fathoms long and about one fathom in the form of a bench, temporarily placed in the middle of the house, and, finally, there is also a large table (4) for the dogs, which, in contrast to the other dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, later by tinge and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /292/ has been preserved only among the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of this view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction and arrangement, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

/328 (cont.)

there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tugur and Ulbi, which, according to information given me by the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his hand-written notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

(1) In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, St. Petersb., 1857, Bd. XXIX, p. 58) he mentions the "fractional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak

Limas and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kuli and Ulbas Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, have adopted the Chinese tchadyr. They, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to the other than the above-mentioned Russian peasants.

In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as far as their distribution extends, the earth yurt is the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, and, finally, on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, being that there it is found in the form of a bench, temporarily, and, finally, also in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only the latter, however, in a modified form. In contrast to the other Gilyak dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, later by tinge and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /292/ has been preserved only among the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of this view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction and arrangement, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

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in more ancient times (1).

1. Wenkämindof, op. cit., p. 201.

After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth yurt, the kapi, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tukahrf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.),

Schmidt (3), Mitul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

3. "Tiutsr. Ber.," etc. -- Beiz. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ochota -- Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (3), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

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winter houses from the Chinese. That it reached the Gilyak from the south, down the Amur, is shown, in the manner mentioned above, by the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts in their areas, in particular by the fact that on Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the island facing the mouth of the Amur. Actually, this type of construction of the winter house can be followed continuously among all the peoples of the lower Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, up to the Chinese along the Usuri and Sungari. There it is prevalent everywhere among the Manchu, Chinese and Dsai (6). For example, the Chinese

6. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

U-tschen, in the description of his birthplace, Ninguta, written by him in 1722, mentions that the houses there have three kang, i.e., sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds running along the walls and heated by pipes running under them (7).

7. According to U-tschen, the kang, about six feet wide and two fathoms, five to six feet long, were put along the north, west, and south walls of the houses, along the east wall, separated by a partition from the rest of the room, was the women's room, which had two kang, along the north and along the south wall. The kang are covered with reed or straw mats, over which a red felt carpet is frequently spread. U-tschen's writing in the translation by Wassiljef; "Zapiski o Ningutse" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obsch., Bk. XII, 1857, p. 98).

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Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house, is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the mainland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it; for example, de Du Halde (Description géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et ligue. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VIII, 1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. géogr. des mœurs et des coutumes etc., de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 301), Hue (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 300), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1865, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 54), and Girard (France et Chine, sur poih. et priste des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

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more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, p. 449), Pallas (Reise durch verschi. Provinzen des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kiachta. In the latter, Van Braam, Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 19, there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, sign-

6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Pashuski, Poesch, "Deutsch-Korea", St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifications and complications in the heating of the house, just as in the rest of the construction, for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pipes

7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Ting hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc.,

8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the world under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part.

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8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materialien bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1858, p. 138. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur people.

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98:

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleep in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uhsch, uhsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

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running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom in the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rays, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse his allow even a stranger to assume their position on their kang. If superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

Now, as the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Poyarkof and Nagibin, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1646 (2), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

2. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadals, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before a imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krashenninikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadali still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamtschatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Petar-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolschereck (4),

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts, in that low and wide plank-bed or sleeping benches (1) run along the walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (2), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole. Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden block is hung on them to hold the kettle over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the contact between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (g) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for in walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as has been done in the case of the yurt at hand at the time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies associated, the hunting dogs are put over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

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Thus the procession sways along, sometimes forward, sometimes backward, but always closer and closer to the house, right around the local oaken of cage of the bear being tugged back and forth in which the other two animals jump, and around the wild, intermittent shouts of jubilation of the bear leaders as well as the bystanders. The few oil-lamps do not sufficiently illuminate the large space of the yurt with its dark sooty beams so that all those who are busy with the bear can clearly see its movements, and yet this is absolutely essential for the prompt intervention of one or the other man in them. Hence a number of boys leap onto the sleeping benches and there illuminate the turbulent proceedings, following the procession back and forth with improvised torches, which consist of strips of birch-bark and sometimes flare up brightly and then again spread only dark smoke. Truly a strange picture (see Plate XLVII /p.1247/).

The bear's feet were then /357/ led out of the house in the same manner as the small bear. The first one was decidedly the good-natured and attractable of all, which the Gilyak ascribed to the fact that it had broken a leg while being caught and consequently was still limping. It was remarkable how differently the three bears expressed their rage and defended themselves: whereas the small bear and the large one straightened themselves up and tried to claw the man goading them, the third bear behaved quite differently: it did not try to get up at all, but attempted to ward off the thrusts of the stick by holding its paw in front of its face and reaching out for the legs of the one goading it, as it would lie down on its back and defend itself with its paws. It was also the only one of the three which in its fury, tried to scratch up the stamped-earth floor of the yurt, which, however, the Gilyak stopped it from doing each time.

The purpose of the procession with the bears was to lead them through all the houses in the village, of which there were seven in Tebarki; the procession with the three bears turned into each of them, and everywhere they were arranged in the same order, the large bear in the middle, the two others at the sides, and treated with many foot-stamps as a sign that they are held in esteem and are welcome guests in each house.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/708 cont./

*796 house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
292 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been mentioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-
[354]

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall
of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area
*796 and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore
[824] call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quan-
tities of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisky)
are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this
last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festi-
val, which may be one of the arrangements of homage which are given
to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them.
Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of
burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.
*796 On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
23 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their
last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place
of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak,
and arranged carefully bound there between the stakes standing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again
the same so that the small bear was closest to the building, in the
back of the kadhra, the lässgn, the large one in the middle, and
*796 the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody
went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had
set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round
wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the
central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood
The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench
[804] along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such
an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule,
it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

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*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the road carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is
lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of
the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has
been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench
of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one
occupied in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.
*796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the
yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir
[192] are burned.

1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern
Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also
at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular
fragrance.

The wooden curls (zacht), being regarded as a symbol of
*796 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
708 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
353 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical
184 roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased
by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt.
[177] In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of
them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting
posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
*796 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[823] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur
clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange
[55] and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[420] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
kept six to eight dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly
fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs
were used most in drought animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
the middle of the last century, was so narrow that it could be carried outside
[177] by a single person. Resting his feet on small skis, sometimes he raised himself and ran in
this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the runners by fixed loops
492 either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that
the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
*796 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
184 and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi at the beginning of the 20th
354 century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[824] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[192] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness; not in collars but in
yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
179 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
182 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most
183 valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his
directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and
brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer
tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
184 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skin-share skis without fur lining, or by bulls lined with seal fur. The former
were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-
hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips
nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
50 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled
with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide outer boards, of which
[824] the bottom was a bent board in front, projecting like a spade. It was
rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the
left oars.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
342 ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
175 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[824] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[192] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
354 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and
put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries,
cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then
cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of
wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They
eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry
food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat
together; they sit crossleged on benches on which also the
bowls and little trays stand.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
366 which, however, are always free from floods by flood water.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom
12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less
hidden by the high scaffolding, on which the fish are dried.
The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither
stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen
gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a
village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the
dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have
separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where
a bear is kept and fattened!
333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has
no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It
consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir
beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over
with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of
birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurea)
on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes
weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 I like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
431 only now and then they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I saw them in the winter with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that [164] they do not fit
in groups of people. The Gilyak in the last few years
frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.
231 The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
352 hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the
entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one
511 continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie
515 diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of
arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog
table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on
the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out
again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively
decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few
stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the
cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish,
clothing, etc., above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows,
and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually
kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special
354 occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
373 tive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp,
or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.
513 In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear
skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical
cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

20: Bush--103 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 251, 354

"Many of their houses are heated by a fire in the centre of the room, the bunks for sleeping ranged around the sides, and a square hole in the roof for the smoke to escape through, while others have the fire in a kind of oven in one corner, the smoke and heat being conducted entirely around the room, under the bunks, before escaping from the chimney. This is in order to heat their beds during the winter. Suspended to the rafters overhead they frequently have hundreds of salmon curing in the dense smoke. This is called 'ukale' by the Russians, and, when carefully prepared--'and you know the woman as made 'em,' as Sam Weller said of veal pies--are quite palatable."

356

356 HOUSEKEEPING--upkeep of dwelling and outbuildings (e.g., painting, repairs); routine indoor chores (e.g., housecleaning, bed-making); use and care of household implements and appliances; etc. See also:

Household tools and appliances	41	Furniture and paraphernalia	338
Food preparation	351	Household machines	444
Cleaning of cooking and eating utensils	354	Daily routine	615
Laundering	356		

1: Shternberg--455 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/315 cont./

342 782 Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chmfun) are placed on the appropriate half; if there is not enough space, then on the appropriate nau (tol or par). /316/ Sketch of the house-plan appears here./

342 [700] /317/ Tyvyz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erkh nuik; if the family is large then also the kemfaih (9) and ponakhfaih (4). The bear's head is placed in the middle (23).

• [356] 782 In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed: the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back (of the house), and on a thread stretched between them are hung images of the sun (keng) and the moon (long chakh). They are not renewed later.

342 782 When the house is completed, sacrifices are made: They prepare mos' 1) alya -- berries, 2) rak; -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four corners (chonkh), four posts (mon'-nakh), and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, amkhas', and the rear one, kemkhas', in which the master lives; they also feed the crossbeam -- tyif (edzz). Here the old man says: "Uria dyf' muiz' nolagu kynynguch: humguja', ta sikhydz khoiaf ta fum guiz'" -- be a good house (sit firmly). Make it felicitous for my children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." In autumn the 356 house is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv arnydzz.

342 778 776 Tyv yz' bakh -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who guards against the entry of the milk'.

Lym yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the 342 782 776 ground, they place different foods (chyudzz) -- for the earth -- the master and the tol (vyydzz.

357

2: Schrenck--1051 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/646 cont./

595 presence of several women around one man in the same room and in a common household if, in the long run, scarcely con-
595 ceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by
567 vanity to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of
[556] polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the work for their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be able to favor one or another of them. This means is to keep slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex, for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house.

595 These, however, are by no means to be thought of as lone Gilyak
567 men or women who attach themselves to a family and, in ex-
357 change for free food and lodging, assume the obligation to per-
• form the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water, felling and splitting firewood, etc. There are such domestic persons, who are hired, so to speak, among the Gilyak, but the situation that they are in is entered into by them voluntarily, it can be dissolved at will, and it in no way deprives them of the esteem of their countrymen, nor does it injure their social position with equal rights among them.

567 The situation is entirely different, however, with regard to the slaves. The Gilyak have a special term for them: kryghryu, or, with a statement of the sex, kryghryu-umgu -- female slave, and kr.-uzgu -- slave of the male sex. It is to be stressed, first of all, that they are never and under no circumstances Gilyak, but are always individuals bought from the neighboring tribes, Ainu or Goldi. The Ainu (Kughi) supply the most slaves, and especially female slaves, to the Gilyak, the Goldi supply them in smaller numbers, and, to be sure, the "Jant" as well as the "Tycholdok," that is, the lower as well as the upper Goldi. The Gilyak were unable to name for me any other tribes furnishing them with slaves. Thus, significantly enough, the shameful sale of girls and boys of their own tribe into slavery is practiced only by the two peoples of the Amur region who are the immediate neighbors of the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Japanese and Chinese, and who are the most dominated and oppressed by them. It is certainly no mere accident that the

2: Schrenck--1057 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/649 cont./

114 176 595 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the

114 176 592 595 Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tōtats (on the opposite mainland), which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without any provision, Mamia Rinso found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time,

• [359] then, he entered the ranks of person obligated to perform do-
[560] mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged

[515] custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the "Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 176 595 567 435 Even though Mamia Rinsō avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

361

361 SETTLEMENT PATTERNS--location and distribution of settlements; types and descriptions of settlements and the incidence of each (e.g., rary camp, set'led hamlet or village, town, city, urban metropolis); permanence or impermanence; settlement plan; urban ecology (e.g., dential, business, and industrial areas); satellite areas (e.g., suburb terns of urban growth; zoning; city planning; etc. See also:

Demography 16
Place names 103
Social planning 185
Land use . . . . . .
Community organization . . . . . .

/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

/110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the composition of the population is mixed. In the above-mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

/110 cont./

in its original site that the indigenous village can no longer feed everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it to other places, selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points involves an actual division of the "fire" and branching out of the clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ moving to the clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.

The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to property, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin 50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordial territories of the Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest against this, although the Tungus came in small groups and could hardly have withstood the numerous aborigines with force.

Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. In the mass of primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the clan name is one of the very sharpest external signs of the unity of a clan. A totemistic name is a real object of nature, animal or plant, which is represented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.

Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this sort. In some clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for example, a clan living in the settlement of Tangakh considers itself kindred with the bear on the grounds that a woman of that clan had given birth to a monstrosity with features resembling those of a bear. Similar legends exist in other clans. Nevertheless, not only typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan names in the proper sense are absent. There are only territorial names. If a Gilyak wants to name the people of such and such a clan, he says "the dwellers of such and such a settlement," which sometimes corresponds with the actual place of habitation of the clan, but most frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial abode of one or another clan.

*835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
878 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
●[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
*835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
*835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/286 cont./
117 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:,
103 Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/
173 notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing
[173] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyr

117 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal
103 Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhajl. 3) Khal N'askhajl.
●361 Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty y of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from
[162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the
582 Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chédzigr (see belo and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

117 Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally
103 the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They
173 all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en-
[539] campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, bu could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. The

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/391 cont./

II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements; two on Sakhalin, one Khez'-Pilavo and Tky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There, was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

/384 cont./

128 (121) resulting(1)ly, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the numerical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marik (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtera (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

(a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settlements between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyryo, Yamy, Mangiuay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyvde (1), Noksy,

/387 cont./

114 / 103 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven verst from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In continuation with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyro, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Ernogr. Obozr."

361 / 321 / 162 / 417 / 163 / 165 / 231 / 232 / 417 / 166 / 167 / 168 / 169 / 170 / 171 / 172 / 173 / 174 / 175 / 176 / 177 / 178 / 179 / 180 / 181 / 182 / 183 / 184 / 185 /

131 /14 cont./
(361) 50° north latitude and therefore located almost precisely at half the length of this island which stretches in the direction of the meridian. The Gilyak population on the east coast of the island
131 extends somewhat less far south. According to the information
361 that I gathered from the Gilyak in the Tymy /Tym'/ valley and in the village of Nyi on the east coast, south of this village and of the mouth of the Tymy River there are four additional Gilyak villages (3), of which the southernmost and last, three days'

[114] 3. Cf. the map accompanying Vol. I of this work. The map drawn up by Schebunin on the basis of the material from the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society shows a few additional place names among them. Therefore, the number of these Gilyak villages is perhaps greater than the one given to me, but perhaps the added names only refer to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak belonging to the winter villages named, or to overnight camping places and other such localities.

journey from Nyi, is the village of Tschamr-wo, beyond which
[115] the coast is said to be uninhabited for a great distance. This information was later confirmed by the mining engineer Lopatin, who in 1868 made a wearisome journey on foot along this deserted coast; coming from the south, he found the first Gilyak village (Tschamr-wo) (4), according to Kropotkin's translation of his

[103] 4. "Tscham-wo," as Lopatin calls the village, or "Tschamr-wo," as I heard and believe to be correct, has a name in Gilyak meaning "eagle village."

131 /14 cont./ 4. (cont.)
361 I cannot accept the version "Tschamg-
[103] wo," as given on the Schebunin map
[114] of Sakhalin.

report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de

[113] 5. Izvestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the

[113] 6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the
131 name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin

[103] 7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschaharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

G 101 179 G 103 113 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)
den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

G 131 361 103 115 119 103 361 The Negda
live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, as well as along the river branch connecting them, although there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This information, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

[103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu. On the former lie the villages of Pfypri-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomok and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

G 113 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk. posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolayev Post on the Amur River to Udskii

G 131 113 /16 cont./ 2. (cont.)
Ostrog/," in Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. III. 1857, Miscellany, p. 11.

G 103 3. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 148. Schmidt mentions only the Negda village Nemorchon on the river branch that connects the two lakes, Orel and Tschlja (op. cit., p. 142). This name is probably Negda, at any rate not Gilyak.

Lake Orel "Negda Lake" on a map in part based upon Chinese information and still unpublished ("Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanovoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer, zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade nördl. Br. /First Attempt at a Hydrographic Map of the Stanovoi Mountain Range and Its Spurs, between 45° and 62° North Latitude/."

G 101 G 101 103 361 In the territory of the Gilyak, their Amur neighbors, the Olcha, have penetrated more deeply than the Negda. To begin there, too, as mentioned above, with the village of Chjare, there lie far to the north of it, on the right bank of the river and surrounded by purely Gilyak villages, two villages, Tschylwi and Tyt, which are inhabited only by Olcha, the former with six, the latter with two winter yurts. And still farther to the north, on the same bank, there is the place Kaberazbach, consisting of only one winter yurt besides accessories, in which at the time of my journey an Olcha, who had married a Gilyak wife, governed as head of the household. On the other hand, deep within Olcha territory
G 361 one comes across isolated permanent Gilyak sites. For example, of the six winter yurts that make up the village of Aure located only slightly north of Kidsi, I found that three had been occupied by Gilyak for many years. Everywhere these scattered members of an alien people have clung as much as possible to their respective mother tongues and native customs.

G 101 /16 cont./
It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
G 131 A 101 separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A 101 the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
A 101 162 mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
G 361 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duf, Adogi was still purely
103 Gilyak, Sthdus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chograni again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A 103 361 inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthêm, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chograni an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Krasui," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

G 361 A 113 place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113 /17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizui's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skhozyaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Poro-
A 114 kotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G 361 439 2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Stiranusi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent in-
G 101 G 101 103 361 habitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G 101 361 /17 cont./
on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A G 101 361 Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok
114 113 settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Aïnos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructive for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

Amur

/287 cont./

they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept, six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in different directions, Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma. Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1) The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /2887 (from chozmudz: -- to peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:ná? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

Amur

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbifing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

• [361] Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 Settlement of Karki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
103 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
731 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
[361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

117 Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
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Goldi RX3
Orok
Orochi
Ainu AB6

Gi 174 167 /21 cont./

words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

Gi Gi A 101 If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G. Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G. Gi 101 361 Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

G. Gi [487]

Goldi RX3
Orochi
Olcha

G Gi 361 101 [487] /21 cont./

by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak, which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

G [114] [113]

1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

Gi 101 361 It is different with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

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S.S.
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/95 cont./

1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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[113]

/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/(1). In this connection several, often

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1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

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2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

/96 cont./

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114
361
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elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as

3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

[103]

6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bar of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

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from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amu

2. Schrenck--231 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2.

/111 cont.

2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

Kyakhta, Kyakhta Kyo 6.

Pallas, Reise, etc., Vol. I. p. 171. Schmidt obtained this information from traditions and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, or even near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which does not exactly serve to increase its credibility. Kosmin's statement in the northeastern part of Large Shantar Island not far from Lake Kolbinsche he had seen dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (2) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 46.

even with respect to this report, in that the traditions that Schmidt discovered in Ishkin Cape (Ishkinskoe Nos) behind Chine yurts to Russian fur trappers (4). In spite of these few and

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV. p. 108, note 1. Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

uncertain reports, I do not doubt but that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungu, which carries with the very first report concerning these islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk are essentially hunters and come to the sea only temporarily to fish, the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better seafarers than the former, as Müller has already correctly noticed (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

5. Samml. Russ. Geneh., Vol. III.

2. Schrenck--242 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/116 cont.)

vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most both and most highly. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Geneh., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Nahrem, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atchansen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

The last, and still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the Tr'ate from the Amur region published by Spafarii (4) and by Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and to be sure, from quite different sources, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsō (Rinsō Mamiya), who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and also the Tatar Strait, the Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117 Cape Kakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinsō ("Tō-tan ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

2. Schrenck--243 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/117 cont.)

1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 147-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Takka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Ta and Ka (op. cit., p. 195, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, locating the Lakes in their maps as well as in well known, substitute an r for ts: Cape Takka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

coast southward to Cape Moshio (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, and sailed downstream to the Amur Estuary. He then sailed the large village of Kidni located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Kidni, having following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this trip he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbor on the Amur River, the Orochi. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally, from the former being prominent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Sajamami; the latter only as occasional traders crossing over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsō even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Notesto (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Orcha from Tyr, who

2. Schrenck--248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/119 cont.)

Apart from along the Amur River, we also learn from Mamia Rinsō the southern boundary of the Gilyak along the seacoast at that time. In the Amur-Liman he visited the village of Tyjemen, which consisted of large dwellings of the Jennemkur, scattered along a small river of the same name (4).

"Tō-tan ki ko," op. cit., p. 178.

Today's Tchomi, the southernmost coastal village of the Gilyak, is arranged in precisely the same way, as I can confirm from experience. And that at that time, too, it was the last village in the Gilyak country, I can conclude from the fact that on the Amur to the seacoast directly south of Tyjemen and undoubtedly is supposed to designate the southern boundary of the Jennemkur along the coast. Mamia Rinsō then southward to beyond Taba Bay stretched at that time, too, only an uninhabited coast; as one likewise understands from Mamia Rinsō's statement: on his return trip to Sakhalin, he sailed around Cape Waubundi (Cape Lazarev/Lasarev), called Waibun by the Gilyak and into the channel which Sakhalin Island separated after him, but on his outbound voyage he had sailed along part of the coast north of Cape Waubundi and named on a series of place names, but with the express remark that the coast was uninhabited and these places were only anchorages (5). Thus, in

5. Op. cit., pp. 170, 178.

"Tō-tan ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 179).

Chjore, the first Gilyak village going downstream. As further proof of this there is also the fact that directly above Horo on Rinsō's map is shown the village of Fum, which one easily recognizes as today's next to last Gilyak village of Fulo. Thus, in Rinsō's time (1810) the boundary between the Gilyak and the Chika was exactly where I found it 45 years later (3).

3. See above, pp. 20, 27, 51, and

2. Schrenck--254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/122 cont.)

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitoni region still inhabited by the Aina (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tō-tan ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokoran (2), and this

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'tai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Porokoran," which I have taken from a printing error or confusion between g and r on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinse 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokiran," Porokiran.

Ito, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Filja-wo of the

2. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Aina. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though the Japanese through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Aina can have taken place in the same manner as that of Mamia Rinsō's visit to these regions to note is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two had occurred, probably because even then some of the Aina fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

2. Schrenck--283 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/136 cont.) A Gilyak from Tkeyen in the Tatar Strait, very well versed in his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages in the mainland was acquainted with the Aina and Orcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kikai," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castrie /Ge-Kasuri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times where a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kikai-wo" (1). A conjecture as to what circumstances

10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the name of the Gilyak, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Orochi people there is also the same as among the Gilyak, with minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the Amur River, as far as the Ussuri and the Sungari, the Orochi and Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of connections and contacts with each other, and have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of land with the Aina. At the present time a mixed people can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interest of trade often come along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Sirammu, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown to them. The sea, too, becomes a barrier between both and also freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak. Hence they know them — and, of course, to a greater extent the Aina as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

2. Schrenck--290 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/140 cont.)

The Olcha are lumped together with all their neighbors in the vaguest manner by the old Jesuit missionaries, who used the collective name of "Yankinsky," "Kenchengs," or "Kenchingtatse" to designate all the peoples along the lower Amur River from Dondon down to its mouth, and on the west coast there are two villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village, the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, both are highly inhabited, and also today (3).

3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/," Bull. sur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 558), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other village he has been, of his own, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly large population on the Gulf of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out among the Gilyak, he has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the years 1854 and 1855, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tym'/Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harther climate is understandably much more sparsely inhabited.

/141/ I must content myself with these general remarks concerning the extent of the population of the Gilyak along the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find statements concerning the number of individuals for particular Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

2. Schrenck--445 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Southern Sakhalin Kiria AB

/318 cont.)

1. Gilyak	in 39 villages (28 on the right bank and 13 on the left)	1400 souls
2. Manguntsen (Olcha)	in 40 villages (36 on the right bank and 4 on the left)	1300 souls (2)
3. Goldi	in 12 villages (all on the right bank and 37 on the left)	2000 souls
Nomadic and dispersed tribes		2000 souls

3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, without giving any reliable data, gave the number of Gilyak as 1400, that of the Olcha ("Mangunsen") as 1300 persons.

Gilyak gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (3). These statements

4. Brykin, "Statist. o. upogr. Nachr. Ober

2. Schrenck--463 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Southern Sakhalin Kiria AB

/317 cont.) A move numerous Gilyak population on the island in former times is indicated, among other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village, the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, both are highly inhabited also today (3).

3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/," Bull. sur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 558), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other village he has been, of his own, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly large population on the Gulf of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out among the Gilyak, he has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the years 1854 and 1855, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

On the size of the Gilyak population in 1854 and completed in 1857, Budashkin reckoned the total population of the Amur on Sakhalin at 5,000 (5). In 1861,

5. Budashkin "Otcet" (Report) o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin" (Voenschoe Pontor'e, 1866, p. 99).

Brykin, "Statist. o. upogr. Nachr. Ober

/319 cont./ 3. (cont.)

not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaisenhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

55 56 114 116 36 [121]

Account of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found in the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a

55 56 114 116 36 [122]

description of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satisfaction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc., almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle

114 116 [125]

along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/320 cont./ respect and meets the requirements in winter and in summer, one always sees inhabited villages, even though the houses are different materials and construction depending on the season of the year. If, however, it offers considerable advantages in only one season and great disadvantages in the other one, the summer and the winter houses are erected at different places, and then there is a summer village and a winter village, and, accordingly, a change of location takes place twice a year. Often the affiliated summer and winter villages, or single houses, lie not very far apart; along the seacoast, for example, on the mainland as well as on Sakhalin, I have seen the summer dwellings as a rule close to the shore, but the winter dwellings lie somewhat inland, where mountain and forest offer more protection against the frequent snowstorms and where the necessary firewood is present more easily. Sometimes, however, there is a considerable distance between the corresponding summer and winter villages. Along the Amur, for instance, it may happen that one lies on one bank of the river, the other on the other bank. Also, for instance, located on the right bank, is nothing but the summer village of Kuik (or Kolgoi), at the Russian call it), which is on the left bank, or the latter is the winter village of the former. In summer all the inhabitants of Kulk move to Ildke, which has a better location for fishing, since it lies closer to the river channel that is followed by the salmon going up the Amur, the bank is higher there and more convenient for landings, etc. In the fall, however, they return to their winter dwellings lying diagonally opposite, where a bay in the bank and extensive forests give protection in winter against the prevailing bitingly cold west and northwest winds and snowstorms, and in addition there extends a larger, more convenient, and more productive tundra in winter and better fishing grounds in the spring

[113] 114 116 36 342 [123]

1. In the fall of 1854, this name of the Gilyak from Mão to Kulk took place in the second week of October (new style), shortly before the

/320 cont./ 1. (cont.)

Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of 1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of Sabach, the first above Nikolayevsk, already in their summer dwellings located beside the winter houses on May 16 (28). In the fall, the villages farther upstream, however, up to Tachi, they had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 342 114 116 342 [113]

Sometimes, when Gilyak live on the Amur, they find it necessary to go to different places for the summer, only to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wuik (or Wait, as the Russians call it), the village seems much larger and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all the houses are empty. Sometimes, however, there is a considerable distance between the corresponding summer and winter villages. Along the Amur, for instance, it may happen that one lies on one bank of the river, the other on the other bank. Also, for instance, located on the right bank, is nothing but the summer village of Kuik (or Kolgoi, as the Russians call it), which is on the left bank, or the latter is the winter village of the former. In summer all the inhabitants of Kulk move to Ildke, which has a better location for fishing, since it lies closer to the river channel that is followed by the salmon going up the Amur, the bank is higher there and more convenient for landings, etc. In the fall, however, they return to their winter dwellings lying diagonally opposite, where a bay in the bank and extensive forests give protection in winter against the prevailing bitingly cold west and northwest winds and snowstorms, and in addition there extends a larger, more convenient, and more productive tundra in winter and better fishing grounds in the spring

[113] 114 116 36 342 [123]

1. Kruzenstern (Reise um die Welt / Journey around the World), St. Petersburg, 1812, Vol. II, p. 167: counted 27 houses in one Gilyak (according to him, "tatarischen") village, which was located on the northern end of Sakhalin between the capes Elisabeth and Maria. For another village, on Nadezhda Bay, he given 16 or 18 houses, but the description of it clearly permits one to recognize summer and winter dwellings (the latter of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit., pp. 178, 182, 183). Orloff, on the occasion of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of houses in the village of Kuli as 46 (cf. Tikhmenev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-

/320 cont./ The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy River were fully only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin,

[113] 114 116 342 [123]

1. Mizuki's /Mizuki/ statement (Ochota" ont. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoz. otnosh. /Agricultural Outline of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 134),

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as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilitun to Ildyakan, it is necessary to go to Pogbohi, where also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward,

[113] 114 342 [123]

2. In 1861, Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Im. Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/," -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 236) found the village of Pogbohi a "large Manchurian" yurt (or two?), which, however, did not exist in my time, as I can definitely assert from the fall of 1856 I was at this place no less than four times.

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along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages consisting sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in the northern part of Sakhalin, but have collected information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tschchachach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

/320 cont./ 3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and Tamkun from the village of Ngani-wo on the Liman.

A few years later (1861) Glehn travelled through a section of this coast and made a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they

[113] 114 116 36 342

4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

/321 cont./ essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's. This depopulation which took place after my time is fully explained by the above-mentioned smallpox epidemic which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely, and many a village of many small settlements which numbered no more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /321/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could only report on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the intervening period I have collected information and view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself collected.

/321 cont./ collected. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three villages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay in the north of Popholi. In Dshongi, coming from the south, one encountered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the north of Talvant-tigr-wo, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulibi (1),

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1. In Glehn it is called Jardém-tigr-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamla-wo, in my time sometimes for its predatory population, in his part belonging to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

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2. Glehn found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlasch, or tamlamsch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

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Tschadrayf villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, in Pomyr-wo or Pomyr-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glehn did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small tsyr village, Mustih-wo (in Glehn, Mustyr), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more tschadrayf villages, Tumi-wo and Nigyr-wo (in Glehn, Tumi-wo), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island like Mif-tych, as the Gilyak designated it to me. According to an inscription on a cross which Lt. Kruzenstern called Nadeshda Bay, Ngyr-wo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

/321 cont./ 4. (cont.)

Tschagdagi-. . . . with	1 (4)	earth yurt
Talvant-tigr-wo . . .	1 (1)	"
		Chinese yurt
Tulibi	2 (3)	Chinese yurt
Langri (summer village of Tulibi)		
Ildtschu-wo	2	"
Mangal-wo	1 (1)	"
Ngani-wo	4 (3)	"
Tylent-tigr-wo	1 (3)	"
Matent-tigr-wo	3 (2)	"
Tamla-wo	over 12 (9)	"
Pilja-wo	1 (1)	"
Wiuk-wo	5 (3)	"
Ngyl-wo	1 (1)	"
Pomyr-wo	3 (3)	"
Mustih-wo	1 (2)	earth yurt
Pilja-wo	1 (1)	Chinese yurt
Tumi-wo	2	Chinese yurt (1 earth yurt)
Nigyr-wo	5	" (3 earth yurts)

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/322/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt appears to have spread to a much greater extent than the earth yurt

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Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth yurt of Pilitach, directly on the Liman just north of the mouth of the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856; it was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was continued exactly like the smaller earth yurts on Sakhalin. It can be maintained with some certainty that it was in fact the only one of its kind on the mainland. Elsewhere along the Liman on the Amur and in the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman to Kuik, the largest village on that coast, numbering 10 (7) winter yurts,

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th ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

n the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, g the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan. Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples Vitsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the vak and their region also reveal by their endings their unbtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both he individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his k, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

cont./

1. (cont.)
as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise ar to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

oast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost urther doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

ne basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any com- t of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, ã (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuã, obviously Gilyak, Orok, Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit ionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

nstance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to ea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

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dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

/384 cont./

most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes surrounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals, in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,

Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

/385 cont./

are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

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Section 5

External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our discussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and sealhunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only second place among them; furthermore they keep only one domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals; and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203 above.

Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, besides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak, possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

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campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not only eaten au naturel, but is also an important ingredient of many dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for the dog. In view of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. Thus, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers, some of the Liman Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tschomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, move to the Tymy /Tym'/ River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tscho (Gadus wachnja Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast of Sakhalin in order to feast for a while on these fish. In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of certain places, for example, between the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duf, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however, they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if there were not at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides those salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality in the Gilyak region is, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/429 cont./

Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the entire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than almost anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon, is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon, and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species generally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in

1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callaris Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

/429 cont./

226 2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

221 The
222 mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infre-
* 262 quently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

226 Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habita-
* 262 tion sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas
● [361] or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Dul', Arkai, Tangi, and other
252 places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is
* 227 always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins
[231] is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten
[264] without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the
ooo yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

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Section 7

ooo Means of Moving and Going from Place to Place by Land and Water: Ski, Sleds; Draft, Riding, and Pack Animals -- Dog, Reindeer; Horse; Boats and Canoes.

SS As has already been mentioned frequently, the three principal
433 occupations which provide the Amur peoples with clothing and
484 food, as well as the luxuries that have become necessities, are fishing, hunting, and trade -- occupations that cannot be pursued except with various and more or less considerable moving from
SS place to place. Hence, before I start considering these principal
121 occupations, I think that it is necessary to go into a special dis-
481 cussion of the manner and type of locomotion among the Amur peoples and the means used for it. This will naturally fall into two parts in that it has to deal, on the one hand, with locomotion by land or on the ice-cover of the water and, on the other hand, by water.

G A fishing people like the Gilyak, who always set up their
484 dwelling places in the closest proximity to the water, from which
● [361] they get their food almost exclusively, and, furthermore, before whom, on the Amur River as well as along the west coast of Sakhalin, direct waterways stretch out for trade and intercourse with the neighboring tribes and with the closest civilized peoples, the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari and the Japanese on southern Sakhalin, such a people must naturally spend a great part of their lives in moving and going from place to place on the water. But the climatic conditions of the Amur region are such that locomotion by water is possible only during about five months, from May to September -- during the remaining and longest part of the year it must be done by land. And when winter shackles the waters and covers the surface of the earth with a thick layer of snow, it makes it possible for the Gilyak to move and go from place to place by land, or on the ice cover of the water, and opens up new
ooo territories and routes of communication for them. The

G /494 cont./
114 He had no knowledge of the Orok migrations through the Tymy
492 Valley studded with Gilyak villages in which there are many
484 dogs. And on these migrations, which take place every winter
[221] for the purpose of trade with the Gilyak, Ainu, Chinese, and
[437] Japanese, and which have already been discussed above with regard to their direction and final aims (2), the Orok use, as

2. See p. 38 ff. above; also Vol. 1, pp. 169 and 170, of this work.

has just been described in detail, the reindeer for harnessing in front of the sleds.

G Although in the above I had to reject the idea that a change
492 in the way the reindeer was used could have taken place among
114 the Orok on Sakhalin since Mamia Rinsô's trip, on the other hand,
177 this seems to me quite undeniable much farther back in time.
648 Undoubtedly the Orok formerly, when they roamed on the mainland with their tribal relatives, the Olcha, used the reindeer, like other Tungusic tribes, only for burden-carrying and riding. It was not until they went to Sakhalin that they also learned to use it as an animal to harness to the sled. But how could this have happened? I think that it must be ascribed merely to the influence of their new homeland, especially the inevitable contact with the Gilyak surrounding them everywhere there. Even though the Orok, when they migrated from the mainland to northern Sakhalin with their reindeer, found favorable natural conditions for a continuation of their nomadic life in its coniferous forests rich in moss and lichen, they could nevertheless gain a permanent foothold on the island only if they established friendly relations with the peoples there and the latter
G also benefited from the newcomers. This was particularly neces-
● [361] sary with regard to the Gilyak, because they occupied both
[648] coasts in the northern part of the island and all of the Tymy Valley, and it always lay in their power, because of their greater numbers and energy, to deprive the encircled newcomers of all means of existence and to destroy them.

SS /500 cont./
494 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and
184 Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack
G animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a
T 492 harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

SS As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea
501 and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are
184 more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to
481 place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the
501 water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and
481 who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long
[226] river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined
G or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concen-
● [361] trated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers
[181] them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

/501 cont./

501 for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are
184 timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators.
G And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the
● [361] coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and
[181] trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft
501 boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p. 1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily
[192] consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put to-
[824] gether have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twisjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from
[192] above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/516/

Section 8

ooo Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed
[191] that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the
[433] peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importa
increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their e
tire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions an
aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descripti
of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples
to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequenc
● [361] of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fish
[221] exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast t
hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but
even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a ye
and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the
water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that
fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and o
necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kind
fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and be
the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out o
them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail.
[192] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn th
way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most in
portant fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the
times when it is done and some of the details connected wi

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, a
to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect
superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amu
is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profit
and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

/332 cont./
there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tugur and Ulban, where Middendorff became acquainted with the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his handwritten notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kulj and Ulban Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pättach.

In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present represents the only form of winter dwelling; on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Liman, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only this latter form is found. From this distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /333/ has been preserved only among the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of the view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from its above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

/355 cont./

342 the low threshold and soaks the floor when the snow melts quickly or when there are heavy rains. Even these dwellings, however, become impossible in summer because of the warm sleeping benches, which inevitably are heated each time food is cooked, and because of the above-mentioned vermin, and, finally, the catching of fish carried on in this season of the year requires the move into the summer dwellings, which are more favorably and conveniently located for it.

[184] The summer dwelling of the Gilyak is of the same type everywhere, on the continent as well as on Sakhalin, and bears the same designation in both places: käryf. The most striking exterior feature is that it rests on piles which rise four to five feet above the ground. Only at isolated points on the west coast of Sakhalin, south of the Amur-Liman, especially in Tangi, Choji, Arkai, and Dui, did I see summer houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, [251] as those resting on piles (1). The aim that the Gilyak have in

[36]

1. The large village on Nadeshda Bay at the northern tip of Sakhalin (Ngywr-wo, see p. 467 above), which was visited by Krusenstern, had summer houses resting on piles. See his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 182.

in mind with this construction on piles is a twofold one: first, to protect their dwellings against inundations, since the Amur, as a result of prolonged rainfall, often rises considerably and floods the lower stretches of its banks; and then also to make the houses airier and drier by setting them not directly upon the damp ground but somewhat above it, with a constant flow of air under them and penetrating even into the house itself through the crevices in the floor; this is all the more necessary since part of the fish supply is stored in them. Both may also [84] have been decisive for the Gilyak living along the seacoast, for there, too, depending on the locality, a sudden rise of the waters as a result of stormy winds must be reckoned with, and

/360 cont./

n general and in the individual areas. Such principal and entral points are of special importance for the ethnographer, ecause here the national character of a people as a rule appears nore sharply and precisely stamped and the peculiar usage and ustoms remain protected longer against foreign influences, hereas in smaller villages it more readily happens that, as a esult of personal intercourse, the mixed marriages of the few esidents with members of a neighboring tribe, etc., many a ational characteristic is obliterated; indeed, in the course of ime many a foreign idea or custom finds entry, for which I hall have more than one opportunity to cite examples in the ollowing.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the num- er of winter dwellings in the whole Gilyak area. In those arts through which I traveled, such as along the Amur River nd the Liman on the mainland, on Sakhalin along the west oast from Poghobi to Duĭ and in the interior along the entire Tymy River to somewhat north of its mouth, I have been able o ascertain it myself by my own count, and in other adjacent arts, such as on the west coast of Sakhalin north of Poghobi nd south of Duĭ, by means of many inquiries among the Gilyak. or the east coast of Sakhalin a few statements by Glehn are vailable (1). Only on the parts of the Gilyak territory along

1. "Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 235).

he Sea of Okhotsk do we not have /361/ any data at all, except or the small stretch between Kulj and the Amur Liman likewise isited by me (1).

1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there were four large Gilyak villages between Cape Umelongte (Muktelja), the point of this coast

/361 cont./

342 131 ● 361 113

1. (cont.) which projects farthest to the north, and the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

103 361 342 114 129

For the sake of clarity and because many of the individual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the number of their winter dwellings.

000 /The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

Goldi RX3 olcha

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G 103 ● 361 342

List of the Gilyak Villages and the Number of Their Winter Dwellings[1)]

MAINLAND

Amur River Upstream from the Mouth. Purely Chinese Yurts.

Left bank		Right bank	
Tschcharbach	3	Ngale-wo	3
Tschchyrkrach	2	Wassj	3
Patchi	1	Pyghu	1
Kulk (Kuzgri-wo)	2	Allof	3
Seabach	2	Kaki	3 (?)
Wair (Wait)	16	Erli	2
Kassiif	2	Tobach	7
Naghe	11	Chossj	3
Kalghe	3	Tschylin	3
Pali-wo	3 (?)	Tschi	6
Tschlja [2)]	1	Kaborzabach	1
Nyhki	1	Kok	3
Tlala	1 (?)	Anghalm	3
Total	49	Kahu	3
		Hekh [3)]	3
		Tauz-wo	2
		Tylm	2
		Achna	1
		Tschalmah	1
		Mchyl	3
		Palych	1
		Pait	2
		Chyfk	2
		Holm	1 (?)
		Pulmi	1
		Chjaro	1
		Auro [4)]	2
		Total	79

Amur-Liman form N to S. Purely Chin. Yurts[5)]

Langy	8
Pulr	3
Pittach	2
Prongo	2
Ngolu	1
Chusi	1
Tscheri	1
My	4
Warki	2
Tymi	1
Tschemi	21
Total	36

1 earth yurt among them

Coast of the Sea of Okhotsk from the Liman Westward. Purely Chin. Yurts

Ahki	1
Olgh-wo	1
Tagi	1
Kulj (Kolj)	10 [6)]

Further data lacking

Total on the Amur River 119.

Gi 103 361 342

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103 361 342 ● SAKHALIN ISLAND

West Coast from N to S. Chinese and Earth Yurts [7)].

Ngyr-wo	5 Chin. y.
Tumi-wo	2 "
Pilja-wo	1 " +1 ear.
Muinh-wo	– – 1 ear.
Pomyr-wo	3 Chin. y.
Ngyl-wo	1 "
Wiosh-wo	3 "
Lyrkr-wo	4 "
Tamb-wo	over 12 "
Nistent-tigr-wo	3 "
Tylent-tigr-wo	1 "
Ngauj-wo	4 "
Mangai-wo	1 "
Matsch-wo	2 "
Tulkaj	2 "
Talvant-tigr-wo	1 " +1 ear.
Tscheghagi	1 earth yurt
Pyrki	1 "
Jugdama	1 "
Lakitschi	1 "
Dshongi	1 Chin. y.
Ngylih	1 earth yurt
Waraj	1 "
Wismeryf	1 "
Poghobi	2 "
Tyk	6 "
Wjachin	1 "
Choji	2 "
Tangi	1 "
Myguai	1 "
Arkai	1 "
Dui	2 "
Adagi	1 "
Kiheust [1)]	2 "
Chograuj	1 "
Pilje-wo [1)] (Porokotan)	2 "
Total	48 Chin. y. + 31 ear.

Tymy River Downstre from Its Sources. Pu

Earth Yurts

Left bank		Right ba	
Ngachd-wo	1	Dajak-wo	1
Erling-wo	3	Ud-wo	
Pud-wo [9)]	3	Pad-wo	
Pahling-wo	1	Sili-wo	
Dawl-wo	1	Tschlo-wo	
Twlk	1	Gimk-wo	
Ytkym	2	Plab-wo	
Tchchar-wo [9)]	1	Tabs-wo	
Miwwach	1	Tschchar-wo	
Total	15	Total	

Total on the Tym River

...am ...rely	East Coast from N to S. Purely Earth Yurts
...k ... 1	Koihygr-wo[10] . . 1
... 1	Chankes 1
... 3	Ngod 1
... 3	Urdki 1
... 2	Eakr-wo 3
... 7	Charkr-wo . . . 7
... 1	Tschai-wo . . . 10
... 1	Laj-wo 3
... 1	Tyrmyx 7
... 19	Nyi 6
	Wenggi 2
	Kasengat-wo . . 1
	Mandshuhafd-wo 1
...y 32	Milk-wo } . . . 9
	Tagri [11] }
	Ngahi 3
	Lab-wo 7
	Lang-wo 7
	Pilugi 7
	Tschamr-wo . . 7
	Total without the villages with a questionable number of yurts. . . . 42
	with them, assuming the number of yurts to be two each (to be discussed later). . . 54

Goldi RX3
Olcha

G
361 /363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

G
361 164 4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

G
361 5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

G
114 7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in

G
161 128 the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

G
162 128 8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

G
114 10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

361 114 /363 cont./ Elisabeth and Maria, and believes that it is the same village that Krusenstern saw on "North Bay." Since the latter, however, was a very large village ("with 27 houses," among which some were certainly only storehouses), larger than the one later visited by him on Nadeshda Bay (Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 162 and 184), and this village, Ngywr-wo, still had five Chinese yurts in my time, it is inconceivable that only a few years later the village on North Bay should have been reduced to one small earth yurt, as Glehn thinks (op. cit., p. 232, note 1).

361 11) Presumably this is the same village that Glehn lists under the name of Takr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on the other side), in contrast to the above village of the latter name, which he calls Tukr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on this side). I must therefore apply the number of yurts given by Glehn for Takr-Nyi to this village of Tagri and the neighboring village to the north, Milk-wo, the first villages located to the south, or, proceeding from the north, on the other side of the Tymy mouth.

2: Schrenck--539 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

361 342 /364/ As may be seen from this list, very many Gilyak villages consist of only a single winter dwelling, be it a Chinese yurt or an earth yurt. Most Gilyak villages contain only two or three winter yurts. As one can see for himself from the above list, this is the average number of yurts in the Gilyak villages, and, to be sure, on the continent, along the Amur River and Liman, the average is three each, and on the island of Sakhalin, on the west coast and in the Tymy valley, two yurts to a village. For

128 this reason, in determining the total number of the winter yurts on the east coast of Sakhalin for the six villages whose number of yurts remained unknown to both Glehn and me, I reckoned two earth yurts for each village. Villages with four or five yurts belong among the large ones and are few in number in all the individual areas of the region occupied by the Gilyak; but in each of these areas there are individual places with a larger number of yurts, from six to ten and more, and they can be designated as the principal and central points of the individual areas, indeed, the largest among them as the principal and central points of the whole Gilyak region. The largest Gilyak village on the mainland is Wair, or Wait, as the Russians customarily call it. Located in the estuary part of the Amur River, nearly equidistant from the area extending above its last bend and the Amur-Liman, from North Sakhalin and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Wair lies at the center, as it were, of the entire habitation area of the Gilyak, continental as well as insular. With its 16 winter houses lying somewhat inland from the river in two rows, the many summer yurts rising close to the bank in front of them, the numerous large and small storehouses scattered alongside and in between, open or roofed drying racks, and the like give an impression of a large, heavily populated village, a metropolis of Gilyak life. Only a little above Wair there is another large Gilyak village, Mägho with eleven yurts, and diagonally across from it Tebach with seven yurts, which, located at the last bend of the river toward the east, belongs to both the estuary part of it and to the adjacent part upstream. In the latter part of the Gilyak habitation area the villages are closest together, though they are almost purely small villages with two or three yurts, and only the two Principal Points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number.

361 /364 cont./ principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the

113 103 1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

342 592 161 Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

/605 cont./

37 barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is con-
39 sidered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would
84 not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Ussuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would
87 pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

61 The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

SS /620 cont./

175 questioned them as to how they came to be tributary to the
648 Manchu, he received the following information from several
439 inhabitants of the island: "In former times," they said, "when
622 they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came to them every year in order to buy furs. The crews, however, behaved in an unfriendly and dissolute manner toward the inhabitants of the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke out between them, whereupon a great number of Manchu landed one day, inspected the island everywhere, and took possession of it. Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fear, but some of those who had remained on the coast were summoned by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointed one of them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took place on the west coast of the island near Itoi (Itoikotan, Itoje). Similarly, they invested two men from the northern part of the east coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they also

3. Mamia Rinsô also knows the names of these three harata who were the first to be named.

appointed kasinta, or second elders. A black sea-otter fur was agreed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders were to bring the Manchu, for which the Manchu gave them as a return gift a piece of silk fabric interwoven with gold and promised to sell them all the other trade commodities at a very cheap price."

SS G 175 That "Itoi, Itoikotan, or Itoje," which, according to the map
174 drawn by Siebold on the basis of the original notes by Mogami
361 Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô (4), is near Cape Otsisi (the southern
648

4. Atlas to Siebold's Nippon, Plate XXV.

tip of the Bay de la Jonquière), is undoubtedly the Gilyak village of Duĭ, and thus the whole of the above incident refers to the subjugation of the Sakhalin Gilyak, or making them tributary.

We were nearing Ado Tim, the last Russian penal settlement of all in the northern terior. The native village of that name was situated on the banks lower down, but the ttlement lay half a verst from the river.

We had no wish to arrest our progress here, the settlement had a very bad reputation, d we would rather camp in the open, or among the natives, from what we had heard; t the natives refused to take us further except at a prohibitive price, and we went hore, hoping that time would settle our difference.....[138]

n either side of the broad grass track of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy, iserably poor, out-of-repair log-huts, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards, hers with loose pieces of bark. Pigs, a foal or two, and a few children, miserably ad were indiscriminately scattered on the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

1. The East Siberian name for Salmo lagocephalus.

fire kindled beneath, and bunches of withering green leaves by the hutside in the sun tokened tobacco drying. Women wandered about barefooted, and they and the men were the scantiest of clothing, the latter in a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former mply in a frock and an extra bodice. It was always a matter of wonder to me how in tumn mornings and late afternoons they could stand the cold so miserably clothed. Each village has its overseer, who is a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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361
137
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XI

Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

: Hawes--137-138 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
6, 361, 563, 624

ergeant, but his duties are as varied as those of a prefect in France, or even a deputy-
ommissioner in India. Police, military, the census, agriculture, and 'roads,' all
hese and more come within his cares; and for this he is paid the magnificent sum of
hirty rubles (three guineas) a month. Tracking escaped convicts was not the least
mportant of his functions at Ado Tim, and he was away down the river on this errand
hen we arrived."

43 cont./

Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches work the Gilyak stand first among all the peoples of the Amur gion. One can see well enough from the above descriptions w great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them r food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the eans of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, ich, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation ea, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of khalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, which, as was already pointed out, the seals migrate as far the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, ong the Sea of Okhotsk and on the Liman, seal-hunting often en comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the othing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, en wholly, of sealskin, that among them seal-hunting plays far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It ould also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman ere are two places that bear the names of "Langr-wo," or angr" for short, and "Langri," that is, seal village, perhaps cause they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting perhaps because their inhabitants practice it with special d traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further out one of these places, Langri, located on the west coast Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (1), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

nmer village of the Gilyak of Tulka). /543/ The other one, wever, Langr, located on a small island at the entrance to Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited self, seems fully to justify its name and the conjectures ociated with it. It is one of the largest villages of the Amur-man, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the ur Gilyak, using in particular the products of their seal-ting, such as sealskins and furs and seal oil as articles for xtering with them.

/544 cont./

000 bartering with them. Tschomi plays the same role in the south-
225 ern part of the Amur-Liman that Langr does in the north. In
184 particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the
[361] localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals, however, the enterprising Tschomi Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Mamia-Rinsô Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Poghobi, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur River, at Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, and Pronge, where in particular the small island of Ulsut is an especially favorable spot for it.

225 According to the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the
136 Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the "alch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the old animals are said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis Schleg., which in the adult state is called phghi-langr by the Gilyak, gjäuchssa by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is
225 therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak.
237 One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among
136 them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, as was discussed in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely less important for them, however, is the kighitsch, the Ph. barbata Müll., which is less common in the river and whose thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the
225 straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to go about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Plyi or Poron-ai (1), but as yet nothing is known about

[113] 1. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

/566 cont./

326 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to
411 use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them
556 away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may
361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region,
326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above
411
126
[128]

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak.
361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje
648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

[128] 2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/586 cont./ the help of snares (1) in a manner similar to that of the Ainu,

1. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperatorskoi gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 13, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

and from which they use the contents of the musk sacs in particular in trade with the Chinese. In converting their hunting booty into profit, however, the Orochi, because of the great isolation of their homeland, find themselves at a great disadvantage in comparison with all the other peoples of the lower Amur region. In the southern part of their territory, where, as so-called Ta-dse, they live intermingled with the Chinese they do find, to be sure, a ready market among the latter for all their hunting but, as a rule, they are greatly exploited by them in connection with this /587/ and not infrequently, through advance payments, are made their lifelong debtors. Farther to the north, however, where the Chinese element is missing, the Orochi, living almost exclusively by hunting, rely on their neighbors, the Goldi and Olcha, to sell their booty.

In concluding the above consideration of the way hunting is practiced among the peoples of the lower Amur region and its greater or lesser importance for the total pattern of their lives, I cannot but make room for an observation which the traveler who has ethnographic aims in mind is involuntarily forced to make. Whereas winter is by far the most favorable season of the year for ethnographic research among the Gilyak, and summer the most unfavorable, this reverses itself more and more into the exact opposite in an upstream direction along the Amur and its right tributaries toward the Goldi and Orochi. During the summer the Gilyak are wholly occupied with fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter and even bring something nomadic into their lives, inasmuch as many, in order to seek localities more favorable for fishing, then change their place of residence temporarily and often simply camp in tents scattered on the

Goldi RKB
Tungus RUS

/587 cont./ islands of the river and along the tributaries. With the onset of winter, however, all of them again assemble in the more comfortable and spacious winter dwellings, and there begins a long period of a quieter and more settled life which, in its regular routine with the hunting carried on only in the vicinity, the sturgeon fishing on the ice, the trade and communication, the manifold domestic tasks and handicraft, the peculiar and prolonged bear festivals, etc., offers the ethnographer a rich field for observation and study. It is almost the same among the Olcha. Among them, however, and to an even greater extent among the Goldi, life in summer assumes an even more nomadic character as a result of the easily transportable tent dwellings solely used then, and the farther upstream one goes, the more the winter dwellings are deserted, because part of the men have left to hunt in more or less remote regions. As we saw, among the Ussuri Goldi only women, children, and aged people are to be found in them in winter, because all the able-bodied men go hunting, and, finally, the Orochi not infrequently take their wives and children along into the wilderness on their hunting, which takes up the entire winter. With respect to them, therefore, summer, which calls them back from the forests and for fishing and seal-hunting assembles them in the summer dwellings, which, though likewise only tent-shaped, are located at definite points along the seacoast and at the mouths of the rivers, offers the traveler the best time, in fact, almost the only possible time, for ethnographic research. Thus, all the living conditions of the lower Amur tribes vary and change greatly, depending on whether and to what extent fishing or hunting plays the principal role among them.

/588/ I cannot discuss in detail the hunting practices of the peoples of the upper Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, because I had only fleeting contact with them, and at a time when, far from their hunting areas, they were still in part occupied with fishing in the Amur River. With respect to

Negidal
Samagir

/602 cont./ First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

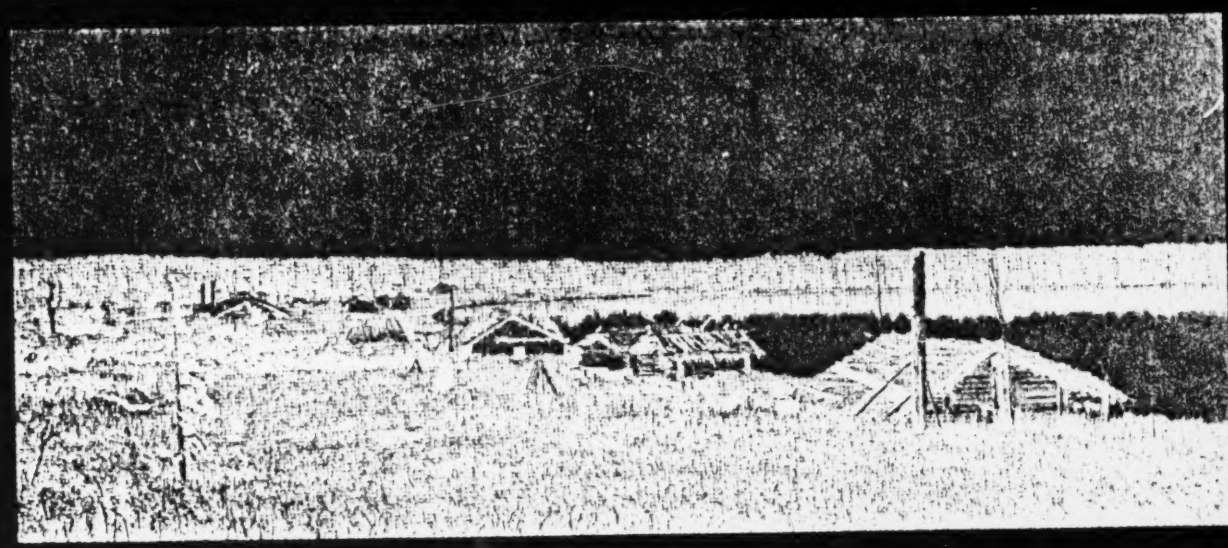
1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

Under these circumstances the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, moreover, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographically as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the dwellers on it, closer to the Olcha than to the Gilyak.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[P 073]

361 ●



View of a village.

9: Hawes--187-188 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 361, 563

"From the delta of the Tim we made across the bay in a north-easterly direction to a cluster of huts on the inner side of the dune. The wind was already making itself felt; our light craft rocked, and the morning air struck cold on our damp clothes. The villages of Nivo [188] (the first, for there are two) and Kamavo, with their bear-cages adorned with pine branches, stood out prominently on the sandy level, and a crowd of dogs, barking and splashing, stopped their fishing to show resentment at the appearance of strangers. A verst or two beyond Kamavo our boat was beached, where stood a tent, and as we waded ashore we were accosted by two or three Kazaks, who led us into the presence of a Russian police officer.

It was a strange, out-of-the-way place to be stationed at, and only exceptional circumstances accounted for his practical banishment to this far-away spot."

horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage, whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

/739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýżigy (**) and designate

* From the villages of Patchá and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

** Wherever the author used ы and я from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulātsch, an attribute that means the same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuĭk (***). But they

*** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo, see pp. 448, 535.

THE NIVKHI

S. V. IVANOV, M. G. LEVIN and A. V. SMOLYAK

(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General Information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group, and belong to the so-called paleo-Asiatic peoples.

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." They were known in Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks." This word evidently derives from "Gileke" and "Gilyami," as the Nivkhi are called among Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Soviet Sakhalin and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin.

Thus, the Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the Lower Amur, along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjoining areas along the Tatar Strait and the Sea of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Negidal villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and its estuary; in the south they reach as far as Cape Lazarev; the northernmost village in the estuary is Kul' (181 km from Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live among the Ul'chi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Uda River. In 1884, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living today both on the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Rayon. In the Aleksandrovskiy and Shirokopadskiy Rayons there are only small groups of Nivkhi, who remained there after the resettlement of a large group in the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is today almost entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unvd. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyyvo; farther north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residents of the tiny hamlets scattered along the coast have

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasilly Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resistance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

foxes, etc.

Hawes--231 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 231, 361

"Leaving the Orochon village of New Val,
the Gilyak settlement of Chaivo, situated
ves entrance to the sea. This was a village
anoes drawn up on the beach, and the popul
anding here, we were taken to see the bear
eing bred for their skins, and three large w
og structure. Magnificent birds they were,
eaks looked as if they should have won them
hen young, and were the contents of a nest
he natives were rearing them with a view t

we rowed over in a south-easterly directio
on the northern side of the strait which here
e of some size, for there were about thirty
ation was said to number about a hundred.
in its cage, two captive foxes, which were
white-tailed eagles tethered to corners of a
whose great powerful wings and formidable
n freedom ere this. They had been captured
robbed after the mother bird had been shot
o selling their tails to the Japanese."

9: Hawes--221 T-3 (190
116, 361

"On the opposite shores of Chaivo Bay
both Gilyak settlements, and New Val
Orochon] village. North of these there
two occupied occasionally merely for

y, on the sandbanks, were Vurkovo and Chaivo,
, an Orotchon [LSS: Erratum; it should read
e were none known, save only a solitary hut or
the fishing."

9: Hawes--106 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 136, 361

"If the human population of Sakhalin is small in
are many. It was probably as a happy hunting-gro
Gilyak pioneers from the Amur, whose descendant
west coasts and the banks of the river Tim.

The most striking of all the animals on Sakhalin
(Ursus arctos), which is found in great numbers.
chiefly in the south, and even there not in any grea
ever, prolific, and the skins of these, the reindee
up the bulk of the fur trade to the mainland."

number, the four-footed inhabitants
ound that the island appealed to the
ts are settled to-day on the east and

is, without doubt, the big brown bear
Wolves also haunt the forests, but
at numbers to-day. Foxes are, how-
r, the sable, and the otter, go to make

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3
116, 361, 563, 624

"We were nearing Ado Tim, the last Ru
interior. The native village of that nam
settlement lay half a verst from the riv
We had no wish to arrest our progres
and we would rather camp in the open,
but the natives refused to take us furthe
ashore, hoping that time would settle ou
On either side of the broad grass track
miserably poor, out-of-repair log-huts
others with loose pieces of bark. Pigs,
clad were indiscriminately scattered on

1. The East Siberian name for Sal

a fire kindled beneath, and bunches of w
betokened tobacco drying. Women wand
in the scantiest of clothing, the latter in
simply in a frock and an extra bodice. I
autumn mornings and late afternoons th
Each village has its overseer, who is

ssian penal settlement of all in the northern
e was situated on the banks lower down, but the
er.
s here, the settlement had a very bad reputation,
or among the natives, from what we had heard;
r except at a prohibitive price, and we went
ır difference.....[138]
of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy,
, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards,
a foal or two, and a few children, miserably
the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

mo lagocephalus.

vithering green leaves by the hutside in the sun
ered about barefooted, and they and the men were
a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former
t was always a matter of wonder to me how in
ey could stand the cold so miserably clothed.
a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

d my interpreter began to make preparations f
r Tim, and the north-east coast of the island.
eanwhile, an opportunity presented itself of vis
coast division of the people, who were somew
n of Alexandrovsk, along the coast."

Gilyak

for an expedition to the Gilyaks on the

siting a village of this tribe, of the
what Russianized, at Arkovo, ten miles

116, 563, 361

"Arrived at the Gilyak village of Arkovo, to my disa
for the salmon-fishing, ascending a river higher up th
spawning season. We therefore pushed on inland, past
piles, to the Russian settlement called Arkovo the Fir

A stranger from Europe, suddenly dropped down her
Sakhalin, the dreary isle of punishment, the Hades of
wore a look of contentment, with its cosy log cottages
potatoes and cabbages. Sunflowers I saw also, and wa
perfumed the air in early summer; while away in the
grand [89] purple mountains reminded me of some of t

ppointment the natives had departed
e coast to take advantage of the
the strange native huts built on
st.

re would certainly ask, 'Is this
Russia?' Outwardly, this village
and gardens, in which flourished
s told that wild roses (rosa rugosa)
listance, forest-clad heights and
he finer scenery of Japan."

9. Hawes--161 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 342, 361

"The yelping of sledge-dogs, and the smell
just visible at the bend of the river, aroused
village, if I may so dignify a collection of ha
finished canoes lay in their beds of fragrant
village, were women cleaning fish preparator

Huts of larch or pine planks, rectangular i
and doors about three feet high, a few simila
piles, for storing the winter provisions of dr
village of Ukavo."

from strings of fish drying in the sun, and
us to the contemplation of another Gilyak
lf a dozen huts with that name. Two un-
chips; and beyond, on the 'floor' of the
y to stringing it.
n shape, with obliquely sloping bark roofs,
rly shaped but quite small erections on
ied fish, and three bear cages made up the

o, 361, 363

"Though we had left behind the last Russian set
helters were passed in the course of the morning
pawning season by a few Russian 'exile-settlers'
almon against the winter's needs. At a bend of th
helters, and five men dragging a seine-net, abou
ne hundred or so of plunging and splashing kita.
oused a solitary Russian and some barrels of sa
uss our midday meal—a duck we had shot during
ell, and though the keen edge of our distrust was
o spending a night with them or to the prospect o
Occasionally we came upon a Gilyak village, co
t each one hailed any visible member of the com
nen who would take us; but they all with one acco
odied were away fishing, [156] or the only perso
anoe."

tlement at Ado Tim, three or four rude
g, which were occupied during the
for the catching and salting down of
ne river we came upon one of these
ut two hundred feet long, which contained
At another of these rude huts, which
lt and dried grass, we stopped to dis-
the morning. Our men behaved very
s wearing off, we did not look forward
f night watches.
onsisting of half a dozen huts or so, and
munity, inquiring if there were not
ord made excuses. Either the able-
n available was ill or had no safe

: Hawes--259-260 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 342, 361, 622

We drew up in front of the 'great city' of Nivo
wellings which would be reckoned miserable
ne usual signal, twelve pair of stalwart hands
trode up the sands to meet the headman of the
im, the 'Lord Mayor of the city of Nivo.'
The 'Mansion House' of the 'Lord Mayor of
umble fashion, was rather larger than those
xactly similar. Outside, on either side of the
helves sheltered by an extension of the roof,
nanner of tackle not required until later in the
ome score, of Gilyaks, who were to be our s
rised the starosta, his two wives, his childre
rmunka, who was a distant cousin."

, consisting of less than two dozen huts,
by the occupants of Irish [260] hovels. At
were ready to haul up our canoe, and we
village, or, as my interpreter called

Nivo,' which I now entered in the usual
we had seen hitherto, but in other respects
three-foot doorway, were two broad
and containing winter sledges and all
year. Inside was a goodly gathering,
leeping companions that night. These com-
en and relatives, the latter including our

their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark. The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters. The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened.

Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.

Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a practical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.

The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.

When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the other hand, there were far fewer villages.

439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their primary occupations they spend their summers on the river banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be situated right by the river. One might conclude from this, perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the river in summer because of the partically marshy and therefore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller, for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close contact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that, in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

y do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not ve an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from h sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low ands. The general character of the land is that of a ma- tic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear tly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland y are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are gener- y not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region overed with vast dark green forests. Only here and there stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, iso- ed spots along the shore there are Russian villages sur- nded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, he foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak ages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. casionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless on is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish ashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges y to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the ge animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the veler as he might have expected and as is the case in other ions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the uri.

The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is ted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

frequent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England landscape. Hills and low mountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beautiful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to summit, sloped gently to the water's edge or retreated here and there behind bits of green meadow. In the distance was a background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark in shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly along. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or the motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier I descended the Saint Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Quebec. I saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the scenery of my first day's voyage on the Amoor.

Soon after leaving Nicolayevsk we met several loads of hay floating with the current to a market at the town. On the meadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and hay requires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day we passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the short scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it was dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like carts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished twice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, and is delivered at Nicolayevsk for six or eight dollars a ton. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the condition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flat-bottomed boats are employed, and held about twelve feet apart by timbers. A floor on these timbers and over the boats serves to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both ends of the boats, and when once in the stream there is little to do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one of these barges appears like a haystack which an accident has set adrift.

We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the current or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the native population in this region and occupy thirty-nine vil-

lages with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are on both banks from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and out of the reach of all inundations. Distance lends enchantment to the view of their houses, which will not bear close inspection.

Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of ordinary size, and were well adapted to the climate. While we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

to visit the aboriginals. The village contained a dozen dwellings and several fish-houses. The buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thatch of long grass to exclude rain and cold. Some of the dwelling houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

The store houses were elevated on posts like those of an American 'corn barn,' and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each storehouse had a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

362

362 HOUSING--adequacy of housing facilities (e.g., for physical protection, for comfort, for privacy); housing shortages and overcrowding; effects of poverty, war, and natural calamities; public and private housing and slum clearance programs; etc. See also:

Dwellings	342	Standard of living	511
Renting and leasing	427	Public welfare	687

The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particularly to external ones rising up from the extensive marshes and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit, (for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive) and especially to the functional construction of the houses. Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate; it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems to be only a limited factor in this question.

Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbearable colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.

In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.

Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect, for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

372

372 FIRE--generation of fire; techniques and apparatus (e.g., fire plow, fire drill, flint and steel, fire piston, matches); borrowing, preservation, and transportation of fire, tinder and kindling; fuels; uses of fire; beliefs about fire and associated practices; etc. See also:

Brand tillage	241	Firing of pottery	323
Cooking	252	Hearths, stoves, and lamps	354
Gathering of firewood	313	Fire protection	368
Production of charcoal	314	Manufacture of oil and gas	382
Coal mining	316	Conflagrations	731

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife. The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman." Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands. [974] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head." ● [372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begins. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/86 cont./

*614 597 173 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is everywhere.

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

*614 ● 372 776 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there sits, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[171]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also plays the role of intermediary between human beings and the gods; he intercedes for human beings, he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/87 cont./

*614 372 776 782 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sickness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey, etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacrifices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 372 776 775 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan" attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorites into his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[171] 2. It is curious that a similar view exists among the Buryat: a man who perishes from lightning becomes a powerful and beneficent spirit to whom sacrifices are made and prayers are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire, its ability to spread quickly, its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

/88 cont./

*614 372 Externally the clan unity of the fire finds expression in the following ways. Only a clansman has the right to light a fire in the hearth of a clansman. Only a clansman has the right to take fire out of the yurt. A member of another clan who has lighted his pipe at the clan hearth may not leave the yurt until he has finished his pipe. Any [688] infraction of these rules of the inviolability of the clan fire by a member of another clan inevitably incurs dangerous consequences for the clansmen and the obligation for the member of another clan to pay blood money.

Each clan has its own clan steel, guarded by the oldest member, and only with this steel can the fire be lighted when bear meat is cooked at the bear festival, which plays such an important role in the religious and clan life of the Gilyak. When it becomes necessary for the clan to divide, i.e., when a part of the clan is compelled to emigrate to a very distant place, the oldest member of the clan breaks the clan steel and entrusts one half to the oldest of the emigrants, and only after this is the clan formally divided.

The mistress of the fire, as the representative of the akhmal'k clan, plays quite an important role in interclan relations, binding, through her cult and protection, the clan in whose midst she dwells and to which she gave birth with the clan from which she came; from generation to generation she brings into it the daughters of her brothers and their descendants.

*614 775 3. One mountain man, sea man, etc. -- the common benevolent clan masters of the mountain, sea, earth, etc. In the section on religious beliefs we have already explained the nature and significance of this type of deity. These are not the fantastic heroes of the classical clans, not the vague, mythical beings whose clan celebrations were a simple traditional ritualism, but clansmen close to each living generation, who either died some kind of unnatural death (in the water, slain by a forest beast, and so forth) or,

/91 cont./

000 574 688 372 775 very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

*614 433 476 But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet *614 476 the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate *614 476 261 [262] in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

/313 cont./

796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chêdzigr. This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn
782 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are
[372] not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a
[354] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur. If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

798 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtäs',
787 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/) on which are
224 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhydz') -- a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/317 cont./

342 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of
787 the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple
787 streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking
789 is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a
[776] devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and
342 drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in
776 autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They
782

[372] 1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the follow-
789 ing fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes
[534] with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman
[756] enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and
756 such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy,
789 gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner.
[776] Massi (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/327 cont./

764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
[372] pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- chkhach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and
[152] cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of an elder brother, but not of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband, oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go; another man now; (those who are) poorer than I will grow rich, (be) richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

[152] When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long
[763] sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

/334 cont./

834 One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and trap
are being set, i.e., during the narkhund, and also during a b
festival and when a man has died.

III.

342 The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected with the House

[789] A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post.
sweetbrier guards against the milk, while the flint is there so
there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spi
cannot come through. The door is toward the east.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They n
an inau chkhnaj (chkhnaj efn (?) ekhlung; Ady-Tymi) in the
shape of a human face on each of four posts (nas'ki khar) of th
house, and, for the sturdiness of the house, inau are tied to the
cross rafters (nas'ki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the nas'k
khar closest to the door, and rub the chkhnaj with the blood o
heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and th
[782] chkhnajinau, the kelgelnan'kh, or (in Arkyvo) the lymyznman
and the nich are fed. Three small firs are then placed in the
hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (ak
for some reason these bindings are called "little bear." After
this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the gr
At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to b
the firs and say a prayer.

372 In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyo
782 the fire the old man tugur-ychkh. The tugur, the master of t
fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the
and say: "Urgur injä, urlantaf mujä!" (i.e., "eat well, be a
house!"). Next they feed each /335/ corner, repeating: "Ur
tugur mujäik urlaf parkjä, hiulan taf mujä ta chos'khejä" --
a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck i
the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old w

/335 cont./
372 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four
382 inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur n'ŭ, nekhlang kin kekholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'nung ankh --" the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -
76 four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men.
42 Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

(688) If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

/32 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person
25 fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/350 cont./
177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this,
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
372 Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

182 /354 cont./
614 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common
896 sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to
[574] everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
[706] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on
[562] this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
392 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

614 /355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is
377 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it
167 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
614 of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
825 ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
782 ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan
[562] (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur niongu-khia!" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
682 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
628 another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.

The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has
[177] weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/363 cont./
177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
177 ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
464 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
[439] Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of the environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

776 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
392 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
[791] at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damage the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

396 /364 cont./
[372] Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the number of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea
[191] and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similiarity, but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination; "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("khal'") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mountain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to
[182] [196] him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Toll'-nivukh, and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it
[82] is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses; the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils ("ncuidharush"). This is a whole khal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak repl

293 /395 cont./
412 and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2).
[53] The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata)
[237] adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX)[2] (5). Usually a second knife is also worn at

[128] 5. On Pl. XVIII,[2] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4),[3] quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring
[237] at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the
415 /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as
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1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container
[53] for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small
[237] bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondaR, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5),[4] usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[2,3,4,5] [See Category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively --Analyst]

293 /396 cont./
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[53] Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well
[237] as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak. The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be inverted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that, after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper
372 piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the
293 steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain (Gilyak kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1,[2] and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1).[2] Sometimes there is also found
293 on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII,
/412 Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap, at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc.
[321] This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of
[53] horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved
293 figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope horn or deer antler, etc.

291 In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur,
237 which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs. In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls, children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,
[2,3] [See Category 116, pp. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

412 /502 cont./ Two Persons are required to
[372] work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung,
[192] as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated,
[194] but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is sselgefó and sseldschefó.

[192] instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pófo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

396 But after this digression let us return to the construction
[192] of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical stern-board, and above it and between /505/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ott(o)ma), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The bow is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alo), the left one always riding a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longest ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

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Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

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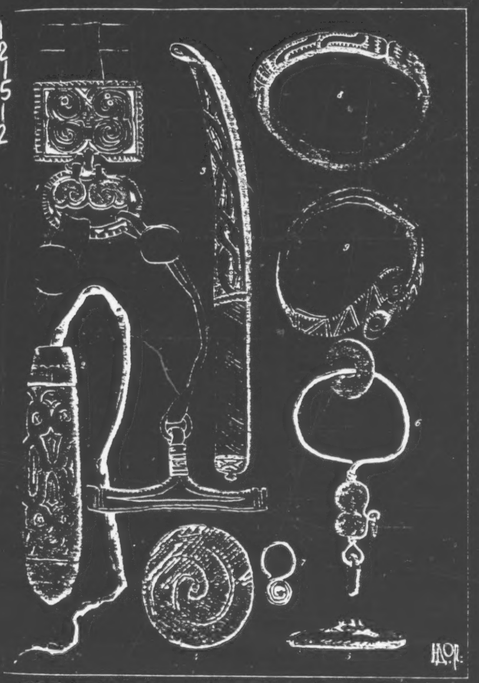

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

/765 cont./

764 After the narte had been set down, the dogs were unhitched, and one of them led back to the village, while the other two were tied to a tree. Now the wife of the deceased stepped up to the corpse and removed the pieces of cloth and the spears, the gray shroud, the jukola, the tobacco, and the pipe, and put these articles aside on the ground. She also untied the eye binding and threw it away, as well as the bundle of wood shavings from the neck. Then she took from one of his hands a pinch of fine tobacco and from the other a root which had been placed between the fingers, and finally, untied the string which tied the corpse to the narte. In the meantime an old Gilyak had been busy spreading fir branches on the pyre.

When this bed was ready, the corpse was lifted from the narte and put on the pyre (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /). On the bottom of the narte lay a board and on it a large piece of birch bark which showed traces of its use for storing berries and which had now served as the underlayer immediately under the corpse. The board and birch bark were thrown off, and the sled was pulled aside, where a Gilyak broke it in two and left the pieces lying there. In the meantime, others were busy killing the two remaining dogs, which was done in the following way. One of the Gilyak held the dog on a cord, another threw him a piece of jukola, and, while the dog was eating it, a third hit the dog's neck with a cudgel and pressed it /766/ to the ground with it, whereupon a fourth pierced the animal's heart with a small pointed stick. Both dogs were
764 372 killed in this manner and laid aside (*). Meanwhile, still other

* On Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, due to an error, all three dogs are pictured as present during this act.

Gilyak made the fire for the cremation of the corpse. According to the Gilyak view, this may not be produced in the ordinary way with flint and steel, but must be made by rubbing pieces of wood together. For this purpose a kind of spindle was carved out

/766 cont./

764 372 of dry larch wood, as well as two elongated pieces of wood with a cavity in the center of each one, into which the tip of the spindle exactly fitted. A small piece of fungus was put into these small depressions in the pieces of wood; the spindle was put into them with its tips vertical, and turned with the help of a strap, which ignited the fungus after a few moments. The fire obtained was then maintained with fungus. (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, left foreground.)

764 Meanwhile the other preparations were made at the funeral pyre. After the corpse had been placed upon the layers of fir branches, as has been mentioned, it was covered up with a thick layer of fir branches, but in such a way that the forehead and the crown with the gray hair were visible in the brushwork. Now long logs, of the same dried larch wood as all the rest, were put around beside one another in the form of a pyramid, with only a small space left open at the head end, through which one could still see the gray crown. At the same time, several long logs were placed inside the pyramid on the fir branches that covered the corpse. When the pyre was ready, the place around it was cleared somewhat, in that the dry brush, the smaller roots, and the grass around the pile of wood were removed with the ax, so that the fire would not spread. Now the widow of the deceased took the glowing fungus, wrapped it in dry moss, wound a wide strip of birch bark around it and, by swinging it back and forth, made the flames which she fanned into bigger ones with another piece of birch bark. Since, out of lack of experience, she did not know where the fire must be put first, an old Gilyak gave her the necessary directions, and she now put the fire under the head part of the pyre (Plate LXV /p. 1265 /). As soon as that was done, other Gilyak came to help, took fire from the wife, and put it at corresponding places on the other side of the pyramid, under the corpse and then all around it, for which they used the birch bark that had lain under the corpse on the narte. The dry and easily inflammable material quickly caught fire, and with the moderate breeze the whole huge wooden pyramid soon stood in blazing flames. The heat streaming from it forced the

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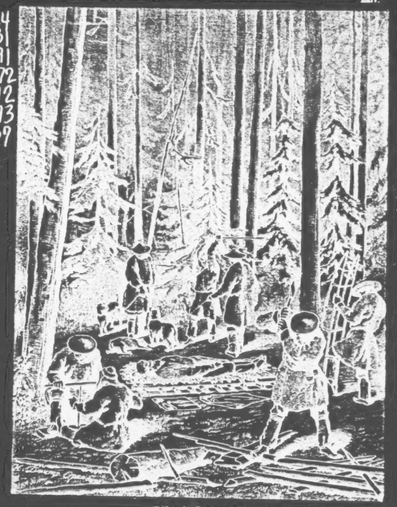

Gilyak funeral.

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Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also access (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off. 614 372

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (khusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy 614 647

764 burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurines, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan. [795] 614

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults. 372 784 756 795 614

538 Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyfugh), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

531 Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship. [462]

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times. [197]

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
501 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
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422 zayezdka.
466 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
514 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
466 Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
556 Tf-nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi-, Potaq from clan Neo afi-, Ot from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from clan Tf-nu-.

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, l tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
556 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
476 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve-l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pilaf.

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pilaf exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi-d and tra-j; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzisger.
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uŋkis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay.' s - suffix of the implement of action).
775 There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Supplement
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1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. i.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

corpse is placed on the pyre ready for cremation, and all is now ready save the hich must be procured in a special manner. In memory of the earliest traditional s of obtaining it, flint and steel may not be used, nor of course the Russian, or Japanese, matches. A pointed stick is inserted in a hole made in a piece of plank on the ground. Four men take each an end of a thong attached to and twisted round ck, and pull it. This rotates, generates friction, and ignites the dried tinder in close proximity. The top of the stick is steadied by pressing on it a flat piece d, or if need be a Gilyak applies his chest. Torches are lighted, and fire is ap- is chest. Torches are lighted, and fire is applied to the pyre, first by the widow, eceased leave one."

9: Hawes--260 T-3 (
116, 372, 776, 823

"The honoured place at the end of
door (the east end it happened to be
preter. Honourable as it was, we to
secticide, a proceeding in no way r
came to shake a cloth over the fire,
derogatory to Tur ni vookh, the lor

f the hut, [LSS: of the headman at Nivo] opposite the
in this case), was reserved for me and my inter-
ook the precaution of sprinkling it freely with in-
esented, and probably not understood; but when I
, I was politely requested to refrain from an act
d of that element."

10: Coxwell--128 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 372, 539, 776

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFENDED THE FIRE LORD

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, p. 121.]

The Lord of Fire is considered by the Gilyaks to be an intermediary between man and all the deities; and the hunter who sacrifices to fire considers that he thereby propitiates the Lord of the Forest, and secures success in the chase. In the Gilyak story, 'The Mountain-devil in the form of a Tiger,' a party of hunters sacrifices to fire. In the Yakut tale, 'Al-Iot: the Spirit of Fire,' a spoonful of all food is thrown to the Fire. Among the Yukaghirs, a definite form of words is employed before a fire when a new net is dedicated."

13: Seeland--27 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he
also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets
and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive
manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man
and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their
existence, although not in the same degree. For instance,
with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a
knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few,
finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp
(to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as
for example lances with silver decorations.

● 372 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making.
The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing
flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder,
flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they
should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive
peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which
is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of
wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a
string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands
and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is
produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except
his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife con-
sists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and
half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn
on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and
arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have
obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale
bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like
best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i.e.,
the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125]
small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched
bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use
it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The
string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires
some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The
arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is
somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

13: Seeland--53 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
● 372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

19:Genest--4 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so
bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wear-
ing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the
fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons
customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173)
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak
women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in grace-
fulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn
not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned
repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use
larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will
find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in
the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion
even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The
Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The
amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

19:Genest--5 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up des-
truction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over
the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village
of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when
Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and
they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task,
since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed
by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred
position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a
personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak,
it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does
today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious con-
ceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems
to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223),
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi
pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are
fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden
spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually
held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of
the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now
give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the
opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a
festival was to take place on that day. From several other
villages, some of which were considerable distances away
large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole
place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The
opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

20: Bush--102 [2] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 372

"Among other superstitious notions, the Gilaks will not allow a particle of fire to be taken from their habitations, not even in a pipe. A violation of this custom they firmly believe will be the occasion of some great disaster--either a complete failure in fishing or in the chase, or the death or serious accident to some near relative or dear friend."

9: Hawes--270-271 T-3
116, 372, 462, 562

"We have already seen how sacre
at the lying-in-state of a deceased
ni vookh, the god of fire. [LSS: See
rightful domain, so is the cauldron
daughters may interfere in this her
of putting on the cauldron; this is h
into the cauldrons may symbolize,
and the new one evidently witnesse
her rightful position as a hausfrau
forth her status is also guaranteed

ed the hearth is to the Gilyak, and in the rites adopted
woman, her intimate relation and duty towards Tur
e category 116, pp. 242ff.] Even as the fire is her
her special care, and [271] hers alone; not even her
private and sacred sphere. She alone has the right
er right as hostess. Whatever the putting of the feet
the fact that the bride does it to both the maternal
s for the first time to her equality with her mother,
and head of her own domestic establishment. Hence-
among her husband's kindred."

9: Hawes--260-261 T-3
116, 372

"The importance that fire plays i
climes cannot be exaggerated. It is
tects them in winter, and saves the
elevated to the rank of a deity.

This protector is also a purifier,
loved ones vanish—depart invisibly
Hence an added sacredness to the h
The hostess on going to bed raked a
ing fuel, covering it up with [261] n
tinuity maintained. Even to-day I h
it was. It is still a sin to take even
of the hut with a pipe which has bee

n the life of peoples living in sub-arctic or arctic
small wonder, therefore, that the element which pr
m from a diet of raw and frozen food, should be

and to him they give the bodies of their dead. Their
—and so they believe they may also return invisibly.
earth. In bygone times it was a sin to put out the fire
a small hole in the ashes, and placed there the burn-
ore ashes. Thus the fire was conserved, and its con
ave seen this done, though custom is less strict than
a spark from the fire outside of the hut, or to go out
n lighted inside."

3

373 LIGHT--sources of ligh
knowledge about lighting
lighting), beliefs about
Signaling with lights . . . .
Photography . . . . . .
Indoor lighting systems and app
Manufacture of lighting applian
Optical instruments . . . . .

73

t; methods of producing light; practical and scientific
; uses of light; outdoor lighting systems (e.g., stree
ight; etc. See also:

. 202
. 215
ltances. . . . 354
ces 394
. 416
Portable lights 418
Theatrical lighting 536
Ideas about day and night 821
Ideas about colors and shadows 822

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

225 During the hunt on
782 of the pilaŋ to ligh
372 light a camp fire u
476 he has to use the i

4. To tend the r
225 floes. Young hunte
476 in this respect com
502 "If the pilaŋ obser
are not worried."

5. To distribute

As can be seen,
functions of a leade
thing goes wrong d

In the collective
izers but also goo
22 [81] Everything i
501 to the conclusion o
476 designated position
name.

The position at t
stern, is called ŋ
pid, the fourth - m
lele m -pid ('plac
six and even seven

225 Starting from th
476 cupied by the oldes
554 next pair of oars i
561 oars at the bow is c
the boat.

When the ice fie
position at the bow
that time he rows j
no seals in sight he
at the bow. Since h
turns out to be a be
cases he turns the
at the bow to fire at
pilaŋ Norp sat duri
At the same time G
had turned over to h
bow during the hunt
by himself twenty s
imply that of the wh
shoots at the seals.

must use the tinder box or the matches
a campfire. No hunter has the right to
sing his own implements for this purpose;
nplements of the pilaŋ instead.
udder and to observe the wind and ice-
rs with no experience in sea-faring rely
pletely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
es the wind and the floes, the young hunters

the quarry among the hunters.
the pilaŋ performs the most responsible
r. I was told by the Gilyaks that if any-
uring the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.
of hunters there must be not only organ-
d oarsmen and a good shot.
n the boat is organized from the beginning
the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
at the oars. Each of the positions has its

he first pair of oars, starting from the
tivd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-
ɣerq -pid ('sitting at the bow '), the fifth -
ed at the very bow'). There are boats with
pairs of oars.
e stern, the first position, ŋativd, is oc-
t and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
s a younger hunter. The position at the
ccupied by the youngest of the hunters in

ds are reached and the hunt begins, the
is occupied by the very best shot. Until
ust like the others. As long as there are
rows like the others, occupying the position
is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often
ter shot than the young hunters. In such
udder over to someone in the boat and sits
the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak
g the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals.
lak at tended the rudder which the pilaŋ
im. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the
According to his information he had killed
als and missed two. We do not wish to
ble collective of hunters only one person
Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 mu-ziv-d on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziv-d on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziv-d, traj is performed on the boat. Traj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-aks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these traj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the
outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks
with the branches so as to elvlaf-p-k-azd --"lose bad places
(evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the
sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
ous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and
quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in
the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
resentation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines traj. They
will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its
outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the
hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Ui-kr "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

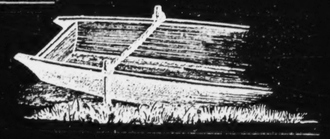
the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop con-
taining the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

/501 cont./
501 for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are
[184] timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators.
[361] And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the
[181] coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and
trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft
501 boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily
[192] consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put to-
[824] gether have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from
[192] above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/501 cont./

501



Gilyak Boat Construction

396 For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying woodcut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can
[192] /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening
[412] of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other
[192] boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauws, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

412 In passing it should be mentioned that these implements,
531 not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the
412 drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

/502 cont./ Two persons are required to
412 work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one
[372] person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung,
[192] as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated,
[104] but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is sseligefó and sseldschefó.

[192] instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pófo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

396 But after this digression let us return to the construction of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical
[192] stern-board, and above it and between /503/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ott(o)mus), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The boat is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alp), the left one always rising a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longest ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

/503 cont./
396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together
[824] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only
[412] with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water
[192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the
[192] case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too,
[532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surface, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/503 cont./
396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.
[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounde blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII
501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

[114] 1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the object transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From
114 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a
501 Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 185 when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Usuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These [171] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

G /507 cont./

396 824 171 longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G Gi 501 Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some of my own experiences. They are completely different from G Gi one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are 396 824 made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi Gi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, 184 var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Gi Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we 114 landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabit- 501 ants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case. Gi But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only 501 boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite 184 different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

G /509/

Gi 412 171 The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,

396 [192]

[284]

Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poljakov acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is Gi made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked 412 branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade, 171 ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

A /565 cont./

231 439 reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and othe

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113] 1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveller's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 396 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner G of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the [342] Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction 396 of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. [493] always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the [335] individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of G foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even [175] in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. 000 During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

windows have fish skin stretched over them instead of glass panes. The simple, low door has leather straps instead of hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.

The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primitive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.

In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

386

386 PAINT AND DYE MANUFACTURE--paints, dyes, and pigments; materials in their manufacture; processing techniques; special equipment; products a their uses (e.g., aniline dyes, ink, art supplies); organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Body painting 302
Manufacture of cosmetics 303
Forest products 314
Special deposits 317
Interior decoration 353
House painting 338, 356
Pictorial art 532

/387 cont./

291 and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under [142] it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecessary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against [824] rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical [531] hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-hak, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII[3] and Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2)[2] (2).

[386] 2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

291 301 177 The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ provided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made either of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of

[3] [See Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

3

396 SHIPBUILDING -- co
manufacture of shipbu
nautical gear); industr
and production; etc.
Manufacture of cordage . .
Woodworking . . . . . .
Carpentry . . . . . .

96

struction and repair of boats, ships, and underwater craft;
ilding materials and equipment (e.g., marine motors,
ial specialization (e.g., shipyards); organization of labor
See also:

. . . . .	283	Description of water craft	501
. . . . .	322	Water transport	505
. . . . .	335	Naval vessels	716

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101
114
175

/147 cont./

I found it already in use among the few Russians at the Nikolayev a Mariinski posts. Nevertheless, it is certainly not of Russian origin, as Maack (5) and Brylkin (6) seem to believe. At any rate, I have

5. Putesh. po dol. r. Usuri, Vol. 1, p. 9.

6. Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1.

no idea how the Russians would have arrived at such a name, whose etymology is wholly unknown to us. /148/ What argues quite decisively against the Russian origin of this name is the circumstance that we find it, though in a form which at first glance is hard to recognize, outside and earlier than any connection with the Russians, from a wholly different party, the Japanese. On Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1809) heard of a people on the mainland named "Kordekke"; in the following year he met a few individuals from it, and, to be sure, as foreigners on the Amur (Mankô) above Kidsi and in Deren, that is to say, in Olcha territory, to which they had come downstream to trade. He found them dressed exactly like the Santan (Olcha). They are the ones, according to him, who manufacture the armor consisting of iron disks fastened together, which is so highly prized by the Smerenkur (Gilyak) and which will be discussed later; they build vessels for the Smerenkur, etc. (1). Siebold is of the opinion that the

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1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 169, 172, 174, 194, 195).

Kordekke are "undoubtedly Koryak" (2), but he evidently decided

2. Op. cit., p. 199.

on this only because of a fortuitous similarity of sounds, for how did the distant Koryak, living on the northern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and on Kamchatka, get to the Amur River? And what

and stern, which are often exactly si
When dried and stretched, two or thr
takes, under favourable circumstanc

In the management of them, their
They would stand at bow and stern of
its equilibrium one iota."

milar, are short flat projections used in punting.
ee rungs keep the sides rigid. The whole process
es, one month, but in winter two.
makers were as skilful as in their manufacture.
our frail craft, punting up stream, and not disturb

/350 cont./

175 167 648 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. The was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which could not produce themselves.

174 167 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how lo the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that wh they first appeared there they must have been in possession of entire economic inventory which they possess at the present ti (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, e His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 41 325 342 354 291 292 262 244 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made o wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendo chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they pres expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robe and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink te and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They hav finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, haps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors On what did they stop in their own independent cultural develo ment?

177 325 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iro is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remote from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know ho to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until cently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boat and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

411

411 WEAPONS--striking and thrusting weapons (e.g., club, spear); missile weapons (e.g., boomerang, lance, harpoon, bola); complex projectile weapons (e.g., sling, bow and arrow, spearthrower, blowgun, firearms); other weapons employed in hunting, fowling, fishing, marine hunting, and animal husbandry; methods of gripping, striking, and hurling; arrow and dart poisons; etc. See also:

Manufacture of poisons 278
Lashings and bindings 284
Games with weapons 526
Decoration of weapons 5
Specialized military weapons 7
Shields 7

"Our craft was about twenty-five fee
and though easily capsized a racing c
of these 'dug-outs' in course of maki
and cut down. This, and all the other
natives obtain either by bartering ski
payment for boat made over to a gang
placed a tzakh—that is, a twig with w
Ainus call an Inao. This, like the cr
of building by the Russians, is to kee
haunt the forest, and especially the s
little hewing and trimming suffices o
opposite p. 252. The hollowing proce
the circumference of the log is cut in
forming the outer surface of the boat
of about an inch, a cross-section wil
ence of a circle. The sides or lips o
outwards, by means of sticks placed
vertical, and the final form of a cros

All the work is performed with a c
Orotchon tribe a primitive plane. A

t long and two and a half broad, light, keel-less;
craft in speed. More than once I came across one
ng. A suitable tree near the river edge is chosen,
work on it, is done by means of an axe, which the
ins with the Russians, or, as at Pogobi, in part
g of brodyagi. On [160] the stump of the tree left is
vhittled shavings adhering to the top such as the
oss (†) stuck in the ground beside a house in course
ep away the evil spirits, the daimones, which here
swampy regions. The bark is chipped off, and very
n the outside, as will be seen from the illustration
ess follows, and about one-third or one-fourth of
nto, the remaining two-thirds or three-quarters
. When duly hollowed to a thickness at the gunwale
l thus give about three-quarters of the circumfer-
f the boat leaning to each other are then stretched
crosswise inside, so that the sides may become
ss-section of the boat be that of the letter U.
ouple of hatchets, though I once saw among the
thin rim is affixed to the gunwale, and at the bow

/28 cont./

roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite position of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original. Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/358 cont./

in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/383 cont./

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual c for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons eac Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Teng (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyv

Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandr post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

/386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
36 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
402 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
237 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
30 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
411 433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
162

[126] 2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
36 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
[484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
484 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
492 mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

/418 cont./

000 however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
30 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
171 Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
411

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[179] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

301 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this
171

165 /432 cont./
* 262 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For
171

[825] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat
[113] any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

[225] 7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) wit-
411 nessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

[164] 8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

/519 cont./
ncient use of this weapon from the Stone Age (1).

1. I myself did not see it among the Gilyak, but received a picture of it through one of my friends in Nikolayevsk, as well as one of a similar instrument used for smashing the bear skull, which are to be shown on a later plate.

When the water is more agitated and the sturgeon or
hausen stay at greater depths, the net, especially at its lower
nds, is weighted with larger stones so that it will sink deeper,
nd at the same time an arrangement is made so that from
ach of the two lower ends of the net a string runs through sev-
eral rings plaited out of willow bast on the side edges of the
net to the hands of the fishermen. Since, in addition, with
more agitated water the entry of a large fish into the net would
not be indicated as noticeably by the wooden floats, there are
attached to the rear wall of it several thin strings (Gilyak
ŋmyss)), the ends of which are likewise in the hands of the
fishermen, and which by their subsequent jerky tension, reveal
he presence of the fish in the net. As soon as this is recog-
nized, the net is raised by pulling on the aforementioned two
trings, and thus withdrawal from it is cut off for the fish,
whereupon it is killed in the previously described manner.

Finally, the Gilyak also use a bag net for catching
turgeon and hausen. It is likewise equipped with stones at the
ower edge of its opening and with wooden floats at the upper
ne. At each of the places where the ones end and the others
egin, there are a ring plaited out of willow bast and a few
trings which serve for holding or fastening the net. Fishing
ith this bag net is done in the same manner as with the above-
hentioned net, in that the fishermen go out in two boats, cast
he net, and, holding it in between at the sides, go downstream
ward the ascending fish. As soon as the movement of one of
he wooden floats or the jerky tension of one of the signal lines

/521 cont./
226 Among the Gilyak this fishing is done in the following way. An
[192] anchor (Gilyak tschabch) consisting of a branched tree-root, or of three wooden pegs connected with one another in the manner shown on Plate XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 10, and fastened to a stone between them, is lowered into the deep channel of the river by a rope (Gilyak tyk) (2) plaited out of willow bast and

2. Perhaps tyk merely means "rope" in general.

many fathoms long. Extending from this thick rope at certain intervals are thinner and shorter bast cords, and at the end of each one there is fastened a wooden clog (Gilyak kita, ibid., Fig. 9) equipped with a pointed and sharply ground iron hook. From the upper end of each of these clogs a thin string runs to the surface of the water where it bears a wooden or bark float. At certain intervals stones are tied to the main rope so that it will remain lying on the river bed, while the clogs with their iron hooks float some distance above it and, thanks to the floats, assume a more or less vertical or slanting position. Finally, at the very end of the main rope, which is lowered into the water last as the apparatus is being set up, a heavy wooden block is attached as a float, which makes the end of the rope easy to find at any time. The fish going up the river run into the clogs, push past them or even play with them, injure themselves in doing so, thrash about, and only remain ever more firmly hung on the hooks, as is revealed by the movements of the corresponding wooden floats. As soon as the Gilyak notice this, they come along in the boats, wind up the rope from the floating wooden block, and lift the fish into the boat by means of the hooks described above.

226 In fishing for sturgeon and hausen, the Gilyak use the
411 harpoon, though again less frequently than the net, simply because, as was said above, they move on the water with great caution and not too easily and boldly. The fish-harpoons customarily used among them are of two kinds: one consists of a simple iron point equipped with a couple of barbs, which

226 /521 cont./
411 is also used for seal-hunting and is to be described in the following in discussing this; the other is a trident (Gilyak tschak, Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 8), with barbs put on each prong. The one as well as the other is /522/ put on the tip of a wooden pole for hurling and, in addition, is tied to the end of a long strap remaining in the hand of the fisherman, by means of which the fish hit is pulled in and out of the water. The former weapon is more common among the Gilyak than the latter and bears the name tugngy.

226 Finally, it not infrequently happens that sturgeon and hausen get into the nets set up for salmon and are caught together with the latter, or, and especially in midsummer with receding water, as I myself have seen, they are stranded in the shallows and then merely need be simply clubbed.

Soon after the opening of the river, the ascent of the species of salmon in the Amur and its tributaries begins, which, all together, lasts throughout the summer and early fall until into October, in fact, even after a new ice cover has formed, not ceasing suddenly and completely. Some species go upstream singly or in small parties, others in mighty processions repeated at intervals, and in particular there are two species of the greatest importance to the Gilyak on account of the great numbers in which they appear. These are the tengi or tengi-tscho,
[136] Salmo proteus, and even more the lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin laghi-tscho, S. lagocephalus. How essential and indispensable they are for the diet and the total economy of the Gilyak has already been discussed in detail above. We shall therefore have to go into somewhat more detail on the catching of these fish, and especially the latter. First, however, space might be found here for a few remarks about their seasons of migration both in the Amur and along the adjacent seacoasts to the north and south.

/557 cont./
224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
208 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
437 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
kätch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

411 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
197 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two
439 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (also called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (порохъ): пóроке.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy ooo Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

[113] 5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/557 cont./
411 5. (cont.)
197 Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, trans-
439 lated from the German by Hüttner, Vienna,
113 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 The Gilyak also have their
192 own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," ooo and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun,
197 whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the
154 sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

/558 cont./
411 same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity
197 or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a
152 great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had
[123] to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

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152
203

1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

/558 cont./

123 152 203

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

411 171 [192] In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

[824] [192]

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

411 237 53 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104]

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

411 237 [53] [192] [194] 411 192 237 [283] [415]

which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

/559 cont./

411 [192]

yghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

411 171 175 [113]

5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1376, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

/559 cont./ I have

411 171

never heard anything among the Gilyak about poisoning their arrows, as is done among the Ainu of /560/ Sakhalin and Jesso /Yezso/ (1) and, according to Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3),

[113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, etc., pp. 95, 96, 112, on the basis of reports by Hieron. de Angelis, Joan Saris, and Vries; the same, Nippon, VII, pp. 185 and 201, according to Mamia Rinsô; the same, Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. u. Vorgesch., Year 1872, p. 28). Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

2. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 27, 95, 236.

3. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. puteth. po Rossii, Vol. I, p. 334).

is said to have been customary among the Kuriles, Italmen, Koryak, and Chukchee, and perhaps in part still is. Middendorff (4), to be sure, says that the same custom is supposed

4. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1377.

to have been passed on to the Tungus of Manchuria, but he gives no source to support his statement. Maack (5) states that the

/560 cont./

411 171

5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

411 45 [531]

The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(6),

[101]

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crosshand in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

411 776

I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

/560 cont./

411

Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons, bear pikes and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ m more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike u [192] [171] versally used among them (Gilyak lachtsch,(2) Pl. XLVI /see Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tunguse and o Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet l [192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. T

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off tow the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting o shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their mid line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening o the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workm [53] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly a [126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabe the like are inlaid in silver,copper,and brass, such as the sp illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, ski saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, howeve

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are knotted with large meshes and very strong twine so as not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay closer to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get along with a simple, longish-quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out in the channel of the /519/ river with this net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper ends of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current against the ascending fish. If the surface of the river is calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swirling of the water, etc., and guide their boats with the net between them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has
92 become entangled in it, the wooden float affected gives notice of it, and now both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak schab-tschamrch, Pl. XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 2) and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and
93 taken to land to be killed there. The proper club for this is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

/561 cont./ such specimens, however, are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch bark, are stored away by their owner as symbols of great wealth.

Bear pikes and lances are the weapons most commonly used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like. During the first period of my stay at the Nikolayev post, when it consisted of only a few log houses erected at the edge of the still completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping there, tried to keep on going by swimming; but the Gilyak immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water *with their lances, whereupon I received the skin of the animal.* In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order to kill them eventually with their pikes and lances. They get at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested plains of northern Sakhalin and sets out in small herds on the ice of the Liman, in still other ways. When in early spring, under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough to support the dogs, but breaks under the reindeer, they pursue it on a light sled harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they use these weapons against the bear. Aside from the tiger, almost only mythical because of its great rarity, and the no /562/ less unfamiliar leopard, which, out of superstitious fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 90-96) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

G 223 [439] /565 cont./ article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi käktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

G 239 [411] [144] 223 231 439

G 231 439 114 136

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

A 231 439

A 231 439 /565 cont./ reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113] 1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 326 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

G [342] [396] [493] [335]

G [175] ooo

175 114 411 326 [101] /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki," "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows, and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credenc

[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg

[531] [321]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

326 411 556

/566 cont./

326 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to
• 411 use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them
556 away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may
361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region,
326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above
411
126
[128]

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak.
361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje
648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

[128]

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/575 cont./

G 714 171

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak kä-petsch or a similar one. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Nordische Presse, 1871, No. 214, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Ditmar ("Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen /The Koryak and Chukchee/." -- Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee use armor made out of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

G 714 [113]

To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the
• G 411 Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It
G [192] is their so-called mungtsche (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 3), a roundish or slightly angular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mungtsche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn, in the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a
G [191] deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called muketschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff
G [114] became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

/575 cont./

• 411 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and
114

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

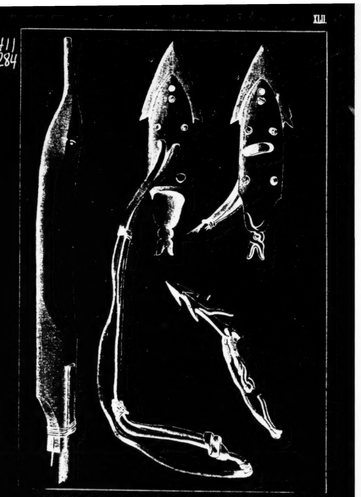
"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During
411 the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchä-
[115] Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary, appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in
411 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional
194 weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

G
Gi /589 cont./ Thus another
224 characteristic difference between the hunting conditions of the lower and of the upper Amur regions is presented by the sable hunting of the one side and the squirrel pursuit of the other.

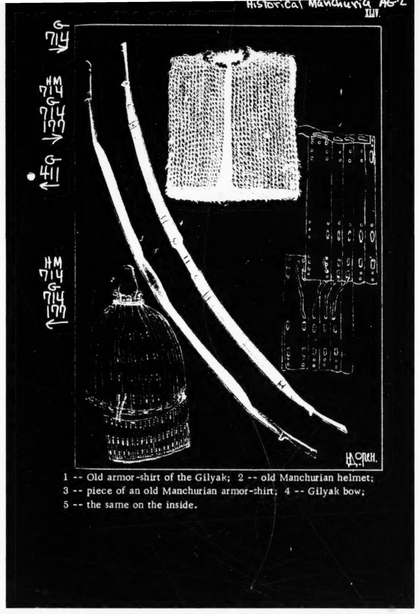
G Contributing very essentially to the change from the former
Gi to the latter in the upper Amur region, however, in addition to
T the causes given above, are the handy firearms, the small-
224 caliber, Russo-Siberian rifles, which came from Siberia and
• 411 whose importation and adoption are growing more and more in
197 the course of time. Whereas in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay in it there were no guns at all, with a few minor exceptions (2), these rifles were already in general use among the

2. See p. 868 above.

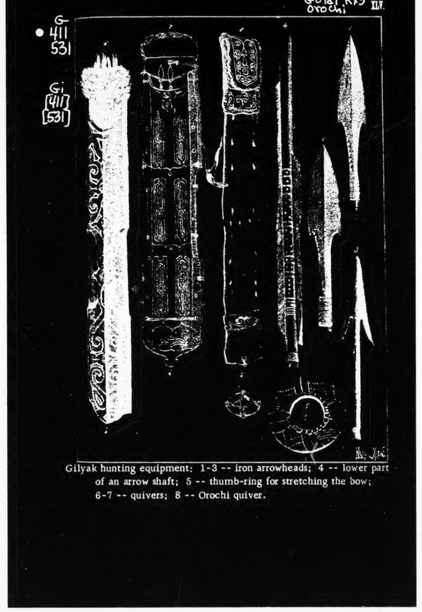
Orochon, thanks to their immediate proximity to and long association with the Russians, and among the Manegir, too, they were already gradually pushing out the long and unwieldy Chinese matchlock guns, which were not very serviceable for hunting. Since the occupation and colonization of the entire Amur region by the Russians, the spread of good or at least serviceable firearms has made rapid advances in the lower part, which, in combination with the growing number of hunters must lead to a heavy decline in its wealth of sables and other animals in the future. How disastrous the consequences of this will be for the indigenous population of the region living on this wealth is easily grasped and can be judged in greater detail on the basis of the following discussion.



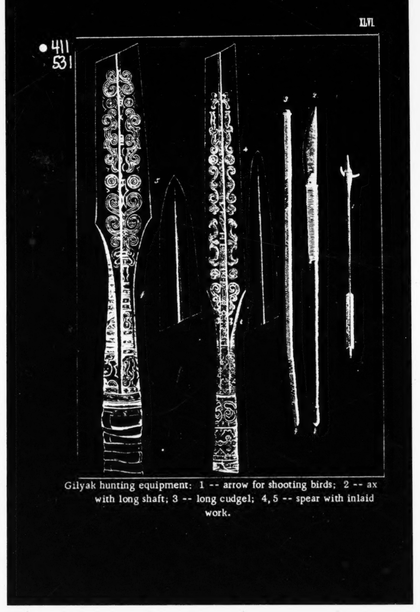
Gilyak hunting equipment: 1, 2 -- weapons for killing seals; 3, 4 -- weapons for killing white whales.



1 -- Old armor-shirt of the Gilyak; 2 -- old Manchurian helmet; 3 -- piece of an old Manchurian armor-shirt; 4 -- Gilyak bow; 5 -- the same on the inside.



Gilyak hunting equipment: 1-3 -- iron arrowheads; 4 -- lower part of an arrow shaft; 5 -- thumb-ring for stretching the bow; 6-7 -- quivers; 8 -- Orochi quiver.



Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- arrow for shooting birds; 2 -- ax with long shaft; 3 -- long cudgel; 4, 5 -- spear with inlaid work.

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

244 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
• 411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting
[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
• 411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak
593 of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
842 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammla, tammia, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

Seeland--27 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

2 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
6 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
6 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
3 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i.e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

13; Seeland--28 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

● 411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
411 are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
422 very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
439 fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no practical value because no one thinks of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

58 Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried, and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides, there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the bridegroom last a rather long time, a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

13; Seeland--38 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
● 411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry-which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called brodyagi (i.e., loafers) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

19;Genest--4 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.
171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials;
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
● 411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.
171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

20; Bush--102-103 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak

116, 177, 342, 411

"Formerly bows and spears were their only weapons, but of late these, the bow especially, have been discarded for [103] small-bored flint-lock guns, which they procure in trade from the Russians. Their habitations differ somewhat in their construction. Many of them are erected on posts several feet above the ground, and are surrounded by a platform, upon which they stow away their sleds, nets, weapons, etc. These platforms are reached by rude steps cut in a log."

2: Schrenck--733 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/473 cont./

481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards without a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet long and five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level except for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curving upward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front end, several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among the Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual tapering of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Figs. 1 and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. Below Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form shown in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sakhalin there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of the front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an illustration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensable /474/ item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside the yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need them for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his feet when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can get off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in order to facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come back later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spend the
81 night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serves him
88 as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for filling
412
316
264

1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when he sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his legs crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a tray, taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for eating

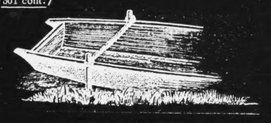
2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

2: Schrenck--780 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/501 cont./

501



Gilyak Boat Construction

396 For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying woodcut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can
[192] /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening
● [412] of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other
[192] boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauwz, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

412 In passing it should be mentioned that these implements,
531 not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the
412 drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

2: Schrenck--781 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

412 /502 cont./ Two persons are required to
[392] work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung,
[192] as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated,
[194] but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is selgefó and sseldschefó.

[192] instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pófo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

396 But after this digression let us return to the construction of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical
[192] stern-board, and above it and between /503/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ont(o)mis), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The boat is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alin, the left one always riding a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longest ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

2: Schrenck--782 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/503 cont./

396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together
[324] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only
412 with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water
[192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motasi), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips
[192] put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too,
[532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-board always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surface, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-board, for protection against rot.

2: Schrenck--792 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 ● Goldi RX3 Orok

G. /509/

412 The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among
● 411 all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,
197
396
[324]
[126]

[284]

Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poliakov acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked
G. 412 branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade,
197 ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

2: Schrenck--1008 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XVIII.

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415
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● 412
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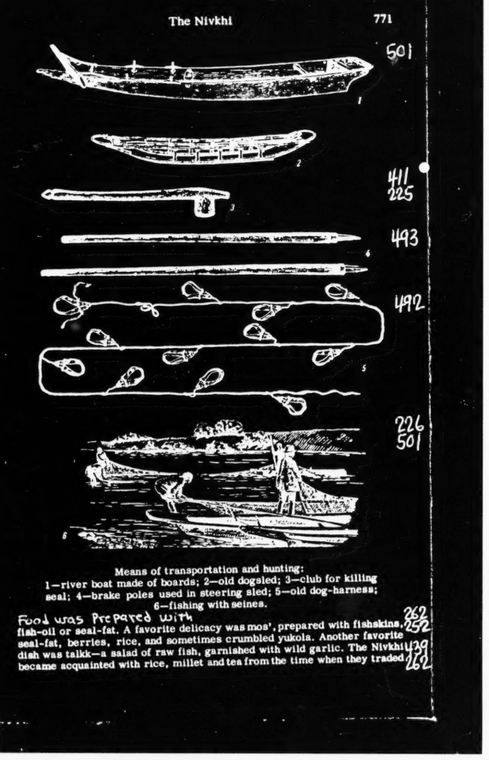
321

Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.



Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (ḱskr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋən-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kita (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called tonr-tas (from tonr 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
823 similar gifts which the pilay throws into the sea together
766 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Ui,-krə̂, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krə̂) there lives a ɣik- an old woman. These old women must also be given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed that tvax-ɣik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf (Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kəvr-mif (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

411 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
225 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
283

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the tola-k'e is called ɣski 'back.' The shore-end of the net is

411 called əmlɣus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tstr-pəχ. Large wooden floats (vaχ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Ḱivf-ŋalu, Ḱe-ŋalu, Vilk, Lo ri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋəγqej,
524 3. ət.
471 Lulvəχ-pər and ŋəγreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock.β)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-pəγ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ferd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə-vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

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237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the
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in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron k

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilʲatskiĭe chisliteln'yĭe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuĭ Assotsiatsiĭ Instituta Narod Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

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412

412 GENERAL TOOLS--cutting tools (e.g., knife, ax, adze, chisel, wedge, plane, scissors, saw, sickle); boring tools (e.g., awl, needle, drill, augur, bit, reamer); abrading tools (e.g., scraper, file, grindstone); striking tools (e.g., maul, hammer, pestle); eating utensils (e.g., knife, fork, spoon); digging tools (e.g., digging stick, spade, pick, hoe, shovel); gripping tools (e.g., tongs, tweezers, pincers, vise, grapnel, wrench); miscellaneous tools of general utility (e.g., broom, brush, fan, comb, rake, fork); parts and their assembly (e.g., blades, handles); See also:

Lashings . . . . . 284 Hardware manufacture 391

/324 cont./
342 coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village
[122] of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
[237] snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
[237] ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
[513] spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
342 hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
354 a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
412 filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
177 must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/324 cont./
412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
177 handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is shown on Plate XXX in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks for their quite primitive character.

342 As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
354 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
521 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed, and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
[352] lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another, all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
[276] leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adventures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened, a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway
[See Category 116, P. 1010--Analyst]

/395 cont./
291 ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with
824
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[113]

2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113]

3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

291 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or
824 any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

293 Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt,
412 in particular as a holder for some of the implements always
[291] accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always
[531] of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

[104]

4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.
[See Category 116, P. 1011--Analyst]

293 /395 cont./
412 and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2).
[531] The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata
[237] adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibi Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX (5). Usually a second knife is also worn

[128]

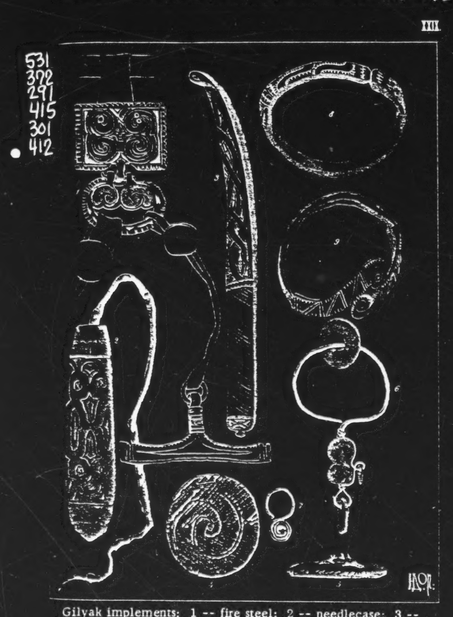
5. On Pl. XVIII the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4) quite indispensa to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone
[237] at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). Th yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of c as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted tha Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, a Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to th
415 /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt
372
293

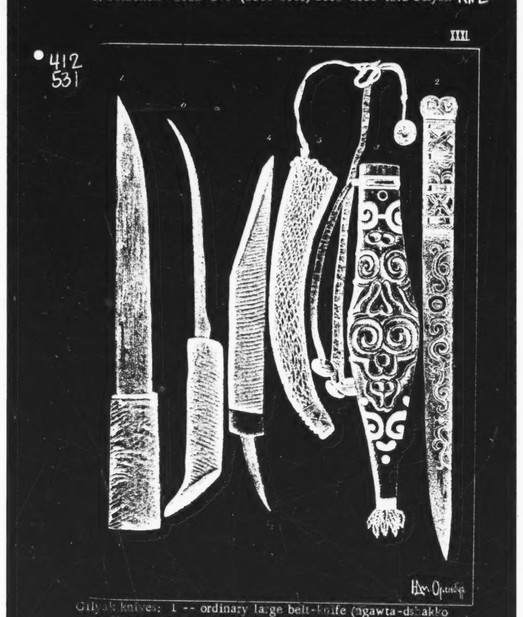
1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container
[531] for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a smal
[237] bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondak, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5 usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid

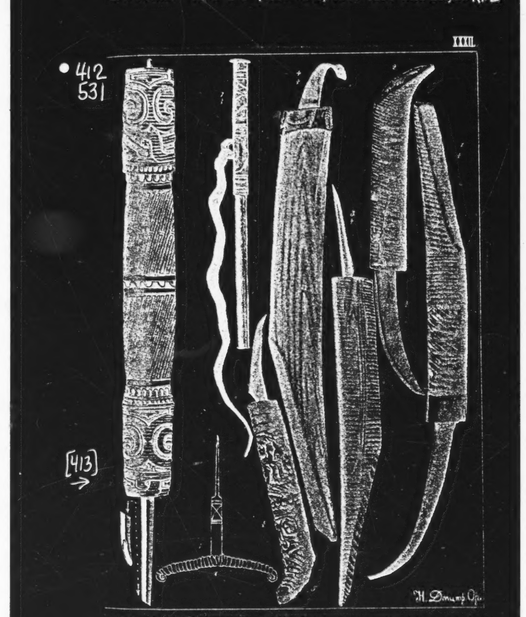
2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).
[See Category 116, PP. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respecti --Analyst]



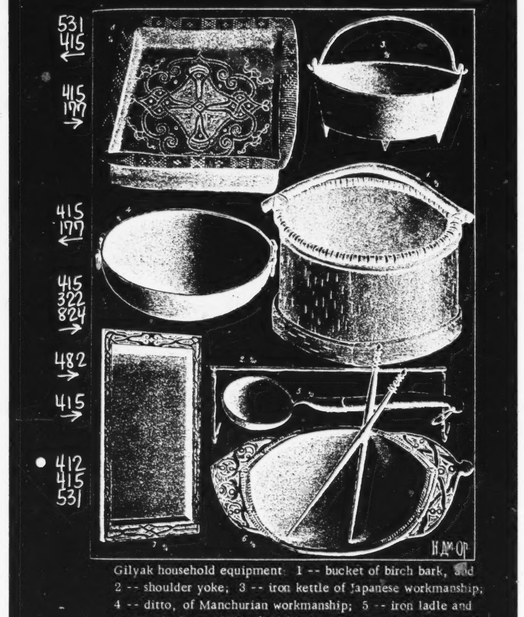
Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.



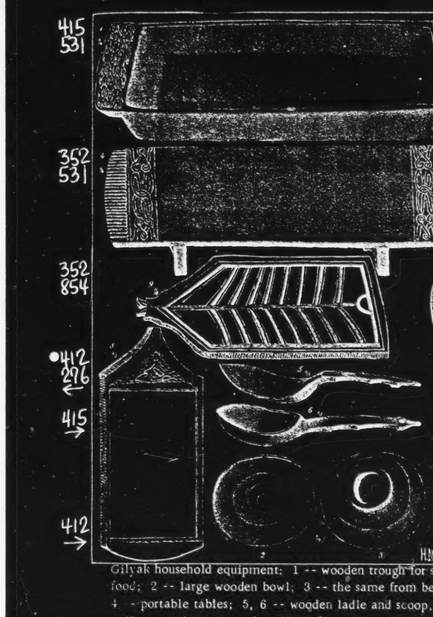
Gilyak knives: 1 -- ordinary large belt-knife (ngawta-dshakko corrected to ngawla-dshakko on p. 589, note 4/); 2 -- belt-knife with inlaid work; 3 -- sheath for same; 4 -- knife for cutting wood, etc. (yi-dsh.); 5 -- sheath for same; 6 -- knife for cutting up fish (ascho-mauwa).



Gilyak implements: 1 -- fish knife; 2 -- knife, "ran-dshakko"; 3 -- knife for fine woodworking; 4 -- knife for hollowing; 5 -- umbilical-cord knife; 6 -- large drill; 7 -- small iron rod that goes with it; 8 -- small drill.



Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop, 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.



Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for s food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from be 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobac board to put under a child's cradle.

52 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch,
37 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over th
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issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Naro
Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1, 2 -- weapons for killing seals; 3, 4 -- weapons for killing white whales.

Gilyak in w

winter clothing.

412

412 GENERAL TOOLS--cutting tools (e.g., knife, ax, adze, chisel, wedge, plane, scissors, saw, sickle); boring tools (e.g., awl, needle, drill, augur, bit, reamer); abrading tools (e.g., scraper, file, grindstone); striking tools (e.g., maul, hammer, pestle); eating utensils (e.g., knife, fork, spoon); digging tools (e.g., digging stick, spade, pick, hoe, shovel); gripping tools (e.g., tongs, tweezers, pincers, vise, grapnel, wrench); miscellaneous tools of general utility (e.g., broom, brush, fan, comb, rake, fork); parts and their assembly (e.g., blades, handles); See also:

Lashings . . . . . 284 Hardware manufacture 391

/324 cont./

342 coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village
[122] of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
[237] snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
[237] ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
[513] spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
342 hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
354 a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
412 filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
177 must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/324 cont./

412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
177 handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is shown on Plate XXX[2] in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.

342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks for their quite primitive character.

342 As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
354 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
521 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed, and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
[352] lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another, all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
[276] leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adventures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened, a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway

[2] [See Category 116, P. 1010--Analyst]

/395 cont./

291 ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with
824
171
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[113]

2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. a l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113]

3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

291 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or
824 any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

293 Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt,
412 in particular as a holder for some of the implements always
[291] accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always
[531] of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI,[2] Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

[104]

4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.

[2] [See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

293 /395 cont./
412 and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2).
[531] The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata)
[239] adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid. Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX)[1] (5). Usually a second knife is also worn a

[128]

5. On Pl. XVIII,[2] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4),[3] quite indispensabl to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ri at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made o
[239] sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of cru as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that th Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the
415 /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as
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1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container
[531] for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small
[239] bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondak, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5), usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[1,2,3,4] [See Category 116, PP. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respective --Analyst]

"Vanka, . . . got out his long fish-spear (marikh), and, the boat, skilfully lunged at passing salmon. His weap many of the tribes of North-Eastern Siberia, was of a which was about fourteen feet long, a large iron hook w Close to the end was also another thong, bound round t enough to allow of the hook being temporarily slid into pointing with the shaft. Ready now for action, the weap On sighting the gleam in the limpid depths beneath, the thrust, and the belly of the salmon is pierced. The acti from the threefold thong, and the struggles of the fish is dangling from the first thong, to gain a firmer grip.

The first lunge by Vanka proved unsuccessful, as a c a silvery gleam, and [172] a second attempt had happie twenty pounds was hauled in, splashing and somersault fish lay dead; whereupon our Gilyaks whipped out their in 'Alice in Wonderland,' 'offed with its head,' and wit tasty morsel raw, leaving nothing but the jaws. The na as a great delicacy, especially the cartilaginous parts, with the bear, for during the spawning-season Master edge, and in one night spoil a score of kita, devouring the h

balancing himself on the prow of
on, which is one of a kind used by
peculiar character. To the shaft,
vas loosely fastened by a thong.
hree or four times, but just loosely
it, the 'business' end free and
on was like a magnified letter h.
skilful harpooner gives a rapid
ion of piercing looses the hook
now only serve the hook, which

ry of 'Kaukray' announced; again
r results, for a kita of fifteen to
ing. A blow on its head, and the
knives, and, like the Red Queen
n teeth and knife devoured their
tives regard the head of a salmon
and in this they can claim kinship
Petz will come down to the river's
heads, and throwing away the bodies."

116, 225, 411, 527

now held by the thong. His efforts to get away only grip, and the poor animal is hauled in and killed by

serve to give the harpoon a firmer
a blow on the head."

411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with
various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the
belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
411 are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
422 very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
439 fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China
and at present have no practical value because no one thinks
of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

58 Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried,
and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five
wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides,
there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage
requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not
consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons,
dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300
rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the
wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the
bridegroom last a rather long time, -a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

623 usually conce
681 sions and crim
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sults in a ces
ally, though r
this is of cour
tion. As for
herents of the
evidence that
578 Quarrels be
411 conducted in t
is the kaur, b
does not have
blow, the blow
stick. The fig
one of the figh
ends in death.
which, howeve
knives and beg
of rules. [228
563 A sad specta
177 fleeing Russia
carry on. Suc
are a common
direction they
west. Most of
forced labor.
chief deportati
brodyagi also
them escape in
European Russ
native villages
tions in even t
these refugees
entertain great
hold up to them
rest and thus t
which they wou
for a few years
citizens. Othe

rn abductions of women or major transgres-
nes. Women do not take part in them. The
e older generation usually are decisive. In
cular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding
rawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of
y for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty
village, or in a sort of ostracism which re-
sation of all intercourse with him. Occasion-
arely, the death penalty is pronounced, but
se kept a secret from the Russian administra-
corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no ad-
idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is
formerly it was never used.
tween men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
he presence of witnesses. The weapon used
ut in this case they fight with the end which
the iron point. The challenger deals the first
s are parried as much as possible with the
ht usually continues until blood is drawn or
ters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom
Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry-
r, seldom happens- they reach for their
in stabbing each other in disregard of any kind
]
cle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
n criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes
h refugees or so-called broydagi (i.e., loafers)
sight on all large highways in Siberia and the
take is always the same, that is, from east to
them are convicts who have escaped from
Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the
on center for non-political criminals, these
pass through the Amur region. Very few of
order to go back to their homes, i.e.,
ia. Even though the thought of home, of their
and families may arouse warm, tender emo-
he most hardened criminals, nevertheless,
know too well the possibility of arrest to
hopes. The usual practical goal which they
nselves is-not to be recognized in case of ar-
o be put in the general class of brodyagi in
ld also be condemned to hard labor, but only
s, after which they could become Siberian
rs, finally, escape without any particular

136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so
bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wear-
ing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the
fingers of the little children.
171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons
customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173)
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak
women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in grace-
fulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn
not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned
repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use
larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will
find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in
the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion
even dangerous for the stranger.
171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The
Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The
amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

I was just in time [252] to take a snapshot of a fami
n afternoon call, in other words, to borrow some s
LSS: See Visual File category 501] On the gunwale
ppears to be an outrigger, but is really a Y-piece
'his cham-gash, which is the name the Gilyaks giv
nanipulated from a canoe."

ly leaving in their canoe to make
eal-oil and take a cup of (brick) tea.
of the canoe will be noticed what
for resting the seal harpoon in.
e the harpoon, is used on the ice or

116, 225, 411, 527

"On shore preparations are being made
the water or sea holiday; for this is the i
Wild men, with raven pigtails and high
of the rivers preparing to receive the uns
provisions are all consumed, and the Gily
approach of their fat lazy visitors. The v
floes seen on the horizon are being driven
quite near, forming great glistening field
habitants running about on the swaying wh
concealing themselves behind the bergs.
the fish-spear already described on a larg
jointed, each 7 metres long, and is theref
which the harpoon is attached by a thong,
better to thrust into the side of the seal.
the seal sufficient play. This great lengt
unsuspecting prey at a considerable dista
ing cover behind the bergs, and placing th
By a quick thrust the animal is speared,
In so doing he frees the head of the harpo

for the Chak vi hŭnch, or Tol vi hŭnch, i.e.
nauguration of the tolf-an, or summer year.
cheek-bones, are bustling about at the mouths
uspecting guests. [LSS: i.e. seals] Last year's
aks await with suppressed excitement the
vind from the sea increases in vehemence, ice-
closer and closer to the shore. Now they are
s. The whole Gilyak village is alive, the in-
ite floor quickly taking up [253] positions,
Each one has in his hand a harpoon similar to
ger scale. The pole consists of five lengths
fore at full length about 135 feet. The end, to
is ski-shaped, with its end bent upwards, the
The thong itself is also 135 feet long, to allow
h of weapon enables the Gilyak to harpoon his
nce. He stealthily approaches his victim, tak-
e harpoon on the ice slowly unwinds the thong.
and flings himself frightened into the water.
on from the shaft, to which, however, he is

takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs. Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial materials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter, moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1): near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

The women also take part in this catch. There is no particular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter come very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rope about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the animal reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long which is thicker at its lower end is laid into a wooden trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyak pursues it, often at the risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to it he places the trough which somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, aims and throws the lance while holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

5 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbakh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: near a place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom of the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunter conceals himself. The seal, all unsuspecting, climbs on a stone in order to sun himself and is hit by the lance which is attached to the boat by a long strap.

Finally the seal, when he is sunning himself on a rock, is sometimes killed by means of an endlessly long lance, the lower end of which lies on the shore.

The sea lion frequently is found on the coast of Sakhalin and it is the simplest thing in the world to kill it. The animal is stupid and at the same time inquisitive and lets the hunter come so near that he can beat it to death with a club.

4 The otter is frequently seen on the rivers of the country
5 and its pelt is very much prized. It is shot, sometimes even killed with sticks. Cross-bows are also sometimes set up for it, as for the sable.

Of land mammals the bear, the elk, the reindeer, the fox, the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. The scars which a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men do not attempt this single combat and go after the animal in pairs, and [121] armed with rifles; sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

/396 cont./

Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak. The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be inverted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that, after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain (Gilyak: kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1,* and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1)* Sometimes there is also found on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII, Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap, at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc. This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope horn or deer antler, etc.

In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur, which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs. In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls, children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,

*, * [See Category 116, pp. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

/401 cont./

the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned, but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep themselves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it. For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2)* worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the

* [See Category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

/401 cont./

latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

/402 cont./

on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by success -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

The thread with which garments are sewed varies according to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd., etc. (5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fishing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chasa) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pans), which is

/402 cont./

beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).*

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

* [See Category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
• 412 side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1),[2]
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[222] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longri sch]), Salmo leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out

[2] [See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively--Analyst]

/426 cont./

*262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both quali-
252 tatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the
825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma,
*262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113] 3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running
574 through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak
264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches,
*262 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4),[1] with
• 412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

264 1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo
191 (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of
113 Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, p. 1014--Analyst]

/446 cont./

415 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
177 earth yurt and in the summer yurt is placed on the platform of the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part likewise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 3: matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle) and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
• [412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 6,[1] Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak komb).
415 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need, use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong), which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
[53] are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
824 foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[53] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service, so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
264 served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
415 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachtschitsch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned

[1] [See category 116, p. 1014 -- Analyst]

264 /446 cont./
415 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
996 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively
322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
• 412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/447 cont./

322 yi-dshakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape.
• 412 Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the us(i)r-wossj of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4),[1] is used; for finer carving, the kydr-dshakko, a knife with a very
412 narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among
177 the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawkr) (1)

[192] 1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tschabcha. Among the Olcha: alako.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Wassj, is shown on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 6. These owe their origin among the Gilyak more to the imita instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

415 As one sees from the above, all the household and table
323 equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood
439 or birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they
[322] neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for at most a single piece of it, usually one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese for drinking brandy, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak as an article of value or as an oddity. The fact that pottery, even
323 in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite
114 their being exceedingly skilled in other things, for example, in woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade, certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put the fact itself still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of pottery of any kind in their households nor did I even hear of any from others. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia Rinsô's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthen
[171] ware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

/716 cont./

hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uing-dshakko of the Gilyak, with which it is uïtsch to cut anything other than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed discussion.

The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

322 /717 cont./

*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
● 412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uïtsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p. 1250/, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252/, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band; Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
253 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/729 cont./

G *796 119 262 G1 796 114 262 After this insertion on the bear festival of the Olcha, which seemed to me necessary for a comparison with the same festive act among the Gilyak, let us again take up the thread of our description of the bear festival of the Gilyak. We still lack any knowledge of its final act: what happens to the skull and bones of the animal after the fat, meat, and internal organs of the bear have been eaten? Unfortunately I was not an eyewitness here, and I can only report what I heard from the Gilyak and what must follow from other facts. Ditmar left Tebach before this final act. He concludes his notes from there with the remark that his further presence there would apparently offend Judin and other Gilyak, and that the repeated assertions by the former that he could not wait for the end of the festival because it would drag out for a long time yet showed only too clearly the desire that he speed up his departure. On the day before, when the first bear-meat was eaten, the bear heads were still untouched and bore their snout and head bands. When I arrived among the Olcha in Uda, I did not see these bands; if they are used at all by the Olcha, they had already been removed; the skull and the lower jaw had been removed from the skin and were, as was said, set before the guests for the consumption of the meaty parts. The former was not split, and I saw nothing of the brain parts. It is not likely, however, that they would forgo these especially tasty morsels. But in order to get at them, they must split the skull. From this one may surely conclude that the teachers of the Olcha, the Gilyak, do likewise and, after the other parts of the bear have been eaten, finally skin the head and split the skull. But this final blow directed against the bear, the splitting of its skull, may be one of the acts that are preferably done in secret, or at least not in the presence of strangers, and therefore Ditmar's departure from Tebach was especially desired. Just like the removal of the bear head from the skin, so most probably is the splitting of the skull done in the house, where immediately or soon afterward its meat and the brain parts are eaten. Arguing in favor of this is the circumstance that the instrument with which the skull of the bear is split is brought into the house at the very beginning of the second act of the festival. /730/ It is a pickax (Gilyak

*796 262 G1 796 262 *796 262 *796 ● 412

Goldi RX3

/730 cont./

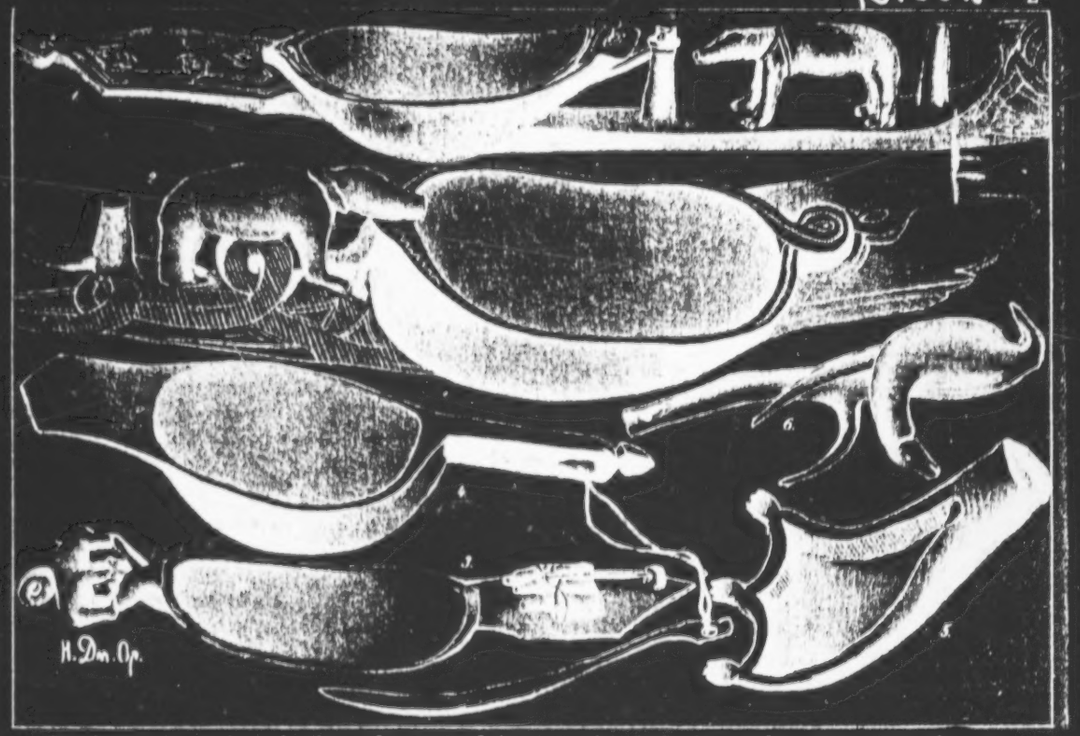
mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 5, from a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is unmistakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill sturgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but content themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

796 415 412 532



Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

: Hawes--173-174 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 251, 343, 412

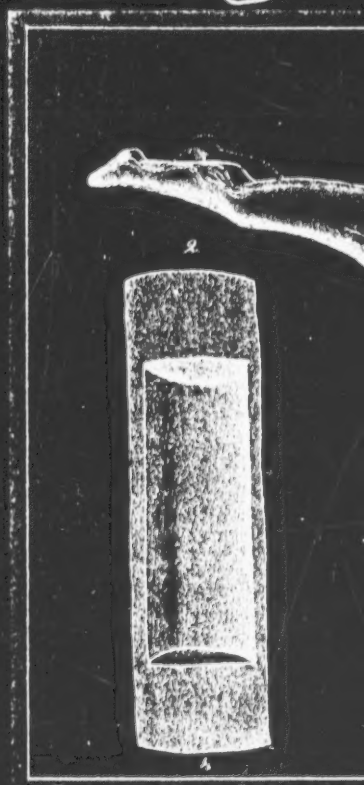
We came upon an old Gilyak and his wife, who
akish knife, which is the men's hunting and 'ge
ish was split open, a nd with a short-bladed an
voman's fish and domestic knife (ungu dzhakho)
ut from each side, leaving for remainder the h
lesh adhering. All these were then hung up to d
ne 'village green,' or 'market-place,' of the Gi
umption, and woe betide the Gilyaks if August (
3 days earlier than the Gregorian calendar.] w
rove a rainy month, for then only a small quan
gainst the winter, and stores will give out earl
unately, sunny weather [174] had this year atter
f sun-dried fish were hanging in rows upon row
trange-looking coffin erections, consisting of a
orked stakes. These stakes were, in 'well-reg
ieces of bark, umbrella-shaped, to prevent the

sat slicing and cleaning kita. With a lon
neral-purposes' knife (dzhakho), the
d curved edition of the former—the
—the kita was cleaned. Two slices were
ead and tail and backbone, with some
lry in the sun, this drying-ground being
lyaks. The slices were for human con-
(O.S.) [LSS: The old style calendar is
hich is the chief season of fish-drying,
tity of their staple food will be prepare
y, and many will die of starvation. For
ded their efforts, and goodly quantities
s, to be eventually consigned to those
short log hollowed out and perched on
lated establishments,' encircled with
ravages of rats and other vermin."

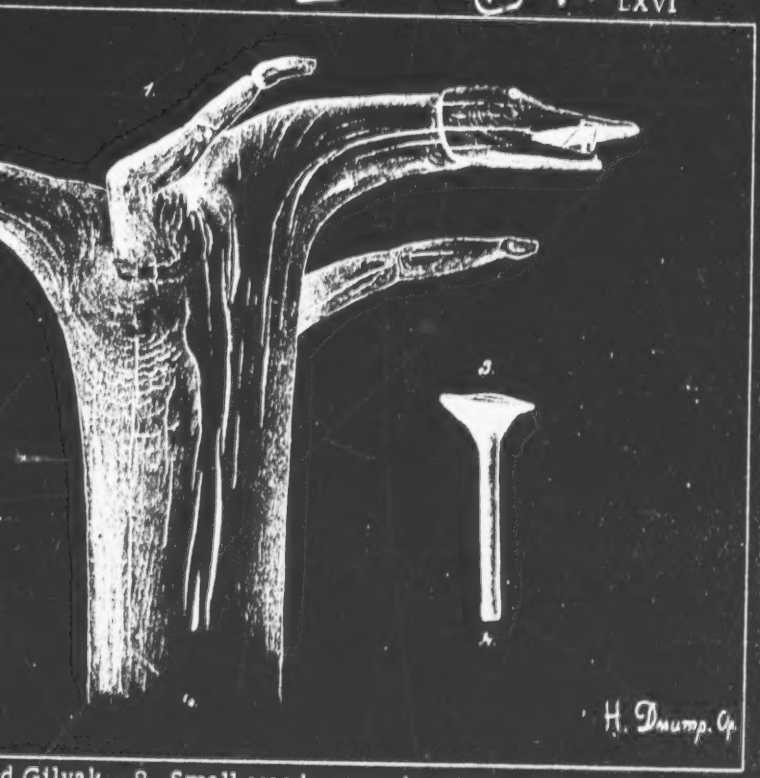
Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak; 1--bowl for
size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting
for splitting the bear's skull; 6--s

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

collecting bear fat (reduced in
bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax
poon.



1. Grave marker of a murdere
from the t



d Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle,
omb of a drowned Olcha.

116, 396, 412, 501

and stern, which are often exactly similar, ar
When dried and stretched, two or three rungs
takes, under favourable circumstances, one m
In the management of them, their makers w
They would stand at bow and stern of our frail
its equilibrium one iota."

e short flat projections used in punting.
keep the sides rigid. The whole proces
nonth, but in winter two.
ere as skilful as in their manufacture.
craft, punting up stream, and not distu

196
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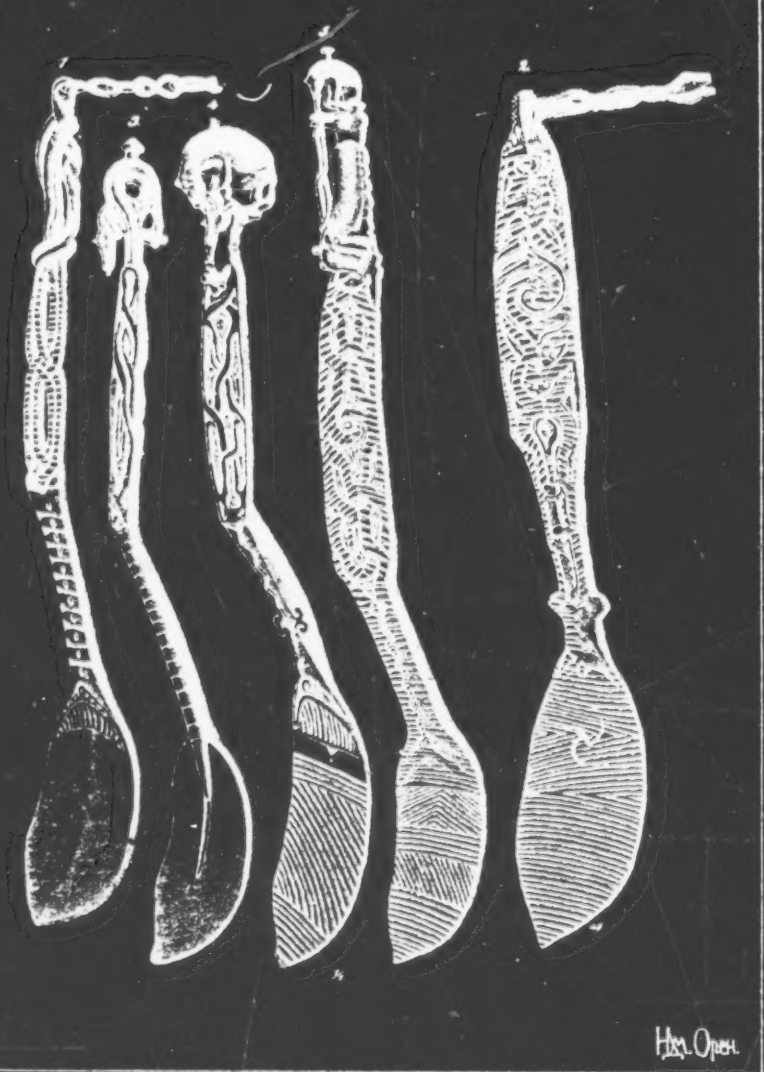

Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

764
231
291
372
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493
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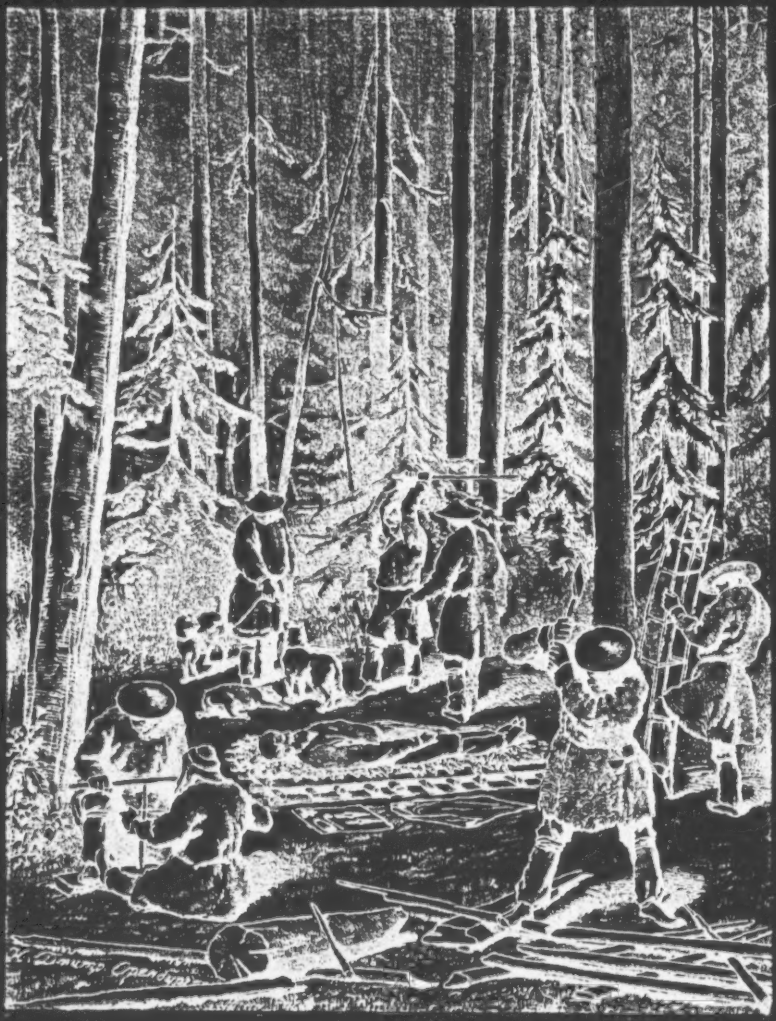


Gilyak funeral.

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋǝk and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-ŋǝk.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskǝr around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

"Our craft was a
and though easil
of these 'dug-ou
and cut down. T
natives obtain ei
payment for boa
placed a tzakh—
Ainus call an Ina
of building by th
haunt the forest,
little hewing and
opposite p. 252.
the circumferen
forming the oute
of about an inch,
ence of a circle.
outwards, by me
vertical, and the
All the work i
Orotchon tribe a

bout twenty-five feet long and two and a half broad, light, keel-less;
y capsized a racing craft in speed. More than once I came across one
ts' in course of making. A suitable tree near the river edge is chosen,
his, and all the other work on it, is done by means of an axe, which the
ther by bartering skins with the Russians, or, as at Pogobi, in part
t made over to a gang of brodyagi. On [160] the stump of the tree left i
that is, a twig with whittled shavings adhering to the top such as the
o. This, like the cross (†) stuck in the ground beside a house in cours
e Russians, is to keep away the evil spirits, the daimones, which here
and especially the swampy regions. The bark is chipped off, and very
trimming suffices on the outside, as will be seen from the illustration
The hollowing process follows, and about one-third or one-fourth of
ce of the log is cut into, the remaining two-thirds or three-quarters
r surface of the boat. When duly hollowed to a thickness at the gunwale
a cross-section will thus give about three-quarters of the circumfer-
The sides or lips of the boat leaning to each other are then stretched
eans of sticks placed crosswise inside, so that the sides may become
e final form of a cross-section of the boat be that of the letter U.
s performed with a couple of hatchets, though I once saw among the
primitive plane. A thin rim is affixed to the gunwale, and at the bow

"How important a part sewing mus
imagined, when clothing consisted of
ordered over the counter by the yard
an adequate covering. In early times
by barter, a big ship's canvas-needle
treasure. How eagerly [221] such was
possessor handed it down as a family
of such value that a wife could be bou
as much as a narta (sledge) and tear
cases (nookh-tses), curiously carved
the principle on which they work is e
to-day in Korea.

The following shows the value they
a Gilyak family crying and howling.

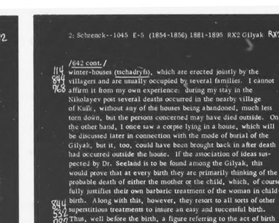
'Why are you crying?' he asked. 'I

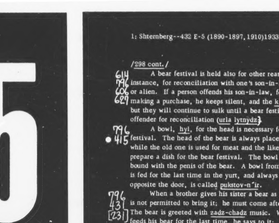
'No! What is death? It would have
lost!' "

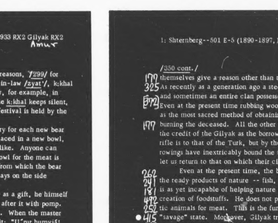
t have played in the domestic economy can be
salmon-skins, a material which could not be
, but had to be diligently stiched together to fo
bone needles were used, but when, by accide
e came into their hands, it was a priceless
s sought after and seldom obtained. The happy
heirloom. In those days they tell us a needle
ght with it; whereas to-day a helpmeet may c
m of thirteen dogs. To keep the needle safe, b
d, were made; and it is interesting to note tha
xactly the same as that of the little silk ones

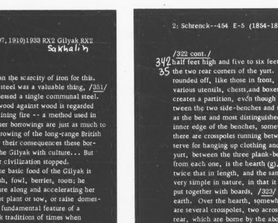
used to put upon the needle. A Russian came

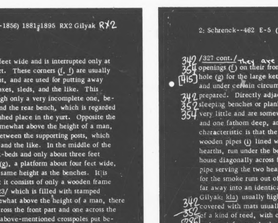
s somebody dead?'
been better had somebody died. The needle is

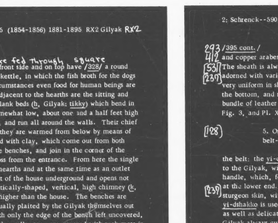


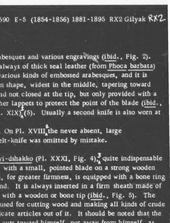












SPECIAL TOOLS--writing instruments (e.g., pencil, pen, brush), artists' tools, surgical instruments, specialized tools of particular trades (e.g., of jewelers, barbers, smiths, masons, weavers), measuring tools (e.g., clock, compass, calipers, measuring rod, square, level, quadrant, etc. See also)

Weighing and measuring machines..... 802 (See end pamphlet)

Gilyak Implements; 1 -- fish knife; 2 -- knife, "tar-dhakhu"; 3 -- knife for fine woodworking; 4 -- knife for buffoonery; 5 -- umbilical-cord knife; 6 -- large drill; 7 -- small rod tool that goes with it; 8 -- small drill.

/642 cont./

winter-houses (tuchadhi), which are erected jointly by the villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot affirm it from my own experience. During my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuik, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the person concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Sternberg is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course fully justifies their anxiety for the treatment of the women in childbirth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth. Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1256 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

No one else is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife (Gilyak kuurak- or kopo-dhakhu, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1201/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (3). Evidently, the

2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuik.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where the alone takes care of it.

/298 cont./

A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /299/, khlal or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the khlal keeps silent, but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (uzla lymyde).

A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukuvo-u'p.

Where a mother gives her son litter a bear as a gift, he himself is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. The bear is greeted with nade-chade music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'ne hunyzki! Wingan fur hunyzk!--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mon' and all kinds of dishes.

When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tysyk and prepare mal mon'. From all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries. Tabi -- a dog which has been born specially for the sig.

When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid in a wooden frame near the pening where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on them. This place is called k-ok ngangot.

V.

Slaves

The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet, in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure." Then he is a khlal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

/250 cont./

themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this. As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /251/ and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel. Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in burning the dead. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals. Still is the fundamental feature of his "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/322 cont./

half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, j) are usually rounded off, like those in front, and are used for storing various utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This creates a partition, each though only a very incomplete one, between the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, there are crossposts running between the supporting posts, which serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet from each one, in the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, twice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame tent together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped earth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there are several crossposts, two across the front part and one across the rear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crossposts that between the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crossposts over the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which the kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the front part of the hearth there stones (h) are the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/327 cont./--they are fed through square

openings (f) on their front take and on log have /328/ a round hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dogs and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearth are the sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds (b, Gilyak: tikhy) which bend in very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of wooden pipes (j) lined with clay, which come out from both hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the single pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (k, Gilyak: hlz) usually higher than the house. The benches are covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves out of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered, and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in certain places. In the center of the house, between the two posts supporting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (l), about two fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: hylt). The top of it, which along its longitudinal edges usually projects out in cruder carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continuations, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground, and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, during the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them. Above the two ends of the dogs' table two crown-sticks hang down from the central longitudinal beam of the house, with a long pole can be stuck between them, by which the dogs are tied during the feeding. Our Plate XIX[illegible] which shows the feeding of the dogs, to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of the interior of a Gilyak winter-house. I must mention, however, that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide. Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate

/395 cont./

and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 3). The sheath is always of thick seal leather (ibid., Fig. 2) and adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX[illegible]). Usually a second knife is also worn at

5. On Pl. XVIII[illegible] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dhakhu (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4) quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade in a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is provided with a bone ring at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of kangaroo skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dhakhu is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the

/396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-zaki ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container for tinder and flint, and a steel. The latter is either a small bag of scaliskin leather (Gilyak tsolondzh, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 9), usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur shuttles sewed on it (2), or a bow (Gilyak nilgo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw specimens of this kind that was made entirely with small pieces of the fur of Ovaria urina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[illegible] (See category 116, Pp 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively - Analyst)

[233] /Ski cont./

(Fig. 5) that is very popular with regard to the material as well as the form and arrangement. It is made use of the skin of a Mongolian fallow-deer (Cervus Sika Temminck), an Eastern Siberian [234] tribe, the Ulchi, which lives in the Amur valley, and which, in the Tungusic language of the Ulchi (Ai-ni-ren Schmidt), means "the people of the Amur." The Ulchi are a fishing people, and they live on the Amur and on the banks of the tributaries of the Amur (Ai-ni-ren Schmidt). Ethnologically speaking, they belong to the Tungusic group of people, and they are closely related to the Gilyak. The Ulchi are also known as the people living on the Amur River, and they are known as the people who live on the Amur River, and they are known as the people who live on the Amur River, and they are known as the people who live

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

796 594 516 352 417 415 342

XLIX

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible] 895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

796 231 342 416 291

XLVII

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

SS /464 cont./
273 made out of willow switches and lined on the inside with strong
439 paper, or in square chests made of six boards and likewise with paper stuck on the inside, on which an opening, closable by a
SS Gi bolt, is found on top on one of the edges (4). One of the purposes
G 273 439

4. Williamson, op. cit., p. 68. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 113. Maack, op. cit., p. 196.

of a Sungari journey by the Gilyak, Olcha, or Goldi is to buy such a chest (Gilyak kylmr-wakke) (5) of araki, for the liquor

5. Wakke means box or chest in general.

is naturally much cheaper at the place of production than among the Chinese retail merchants along the Amur.

G Along with the liquor the Gilyak and the other peoples of the
SS lower Amur region have also adopted the manner of drinking it
273 from the Chinese. Like them, they always drink it warm (6) out
177
415
439

6. Marco Polo already remarks that the Chinese do not drink the "rak" (arrack) until after they have first heated it (Marco Polo's Reisen, the German by Bürck, p. 341, note 284).

of tiny porcelain bowls which they likewise buy from the Chinese for the purpose, just like the metal can in which the liquor is heated beforehand by putting the can into hot water or in the hot ashes of a basin filled with glowing coals always kept handy for this purpose as well as for lighting the pipe (7). This is how the Chinese

7. The Chinese way of drinking liquor has often been described, for instance, by Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 390) and others.

/469 cont./

1. (cont.) de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

276 Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special
415 board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8) and, when dry, disintegrating almost
(171) to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily
[237] made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with
[531] Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

276 The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco
574 with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing.
[439] I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.
[See category 116, P. 1014 — Analyst]

G /469 cont./
276 If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various
824 substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked
G 276 in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of
415 the pipes from time to time and stored in a special small pouch (Gilyak niryghsis), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6), on which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped
G off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the
276 824 pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as
G [171]

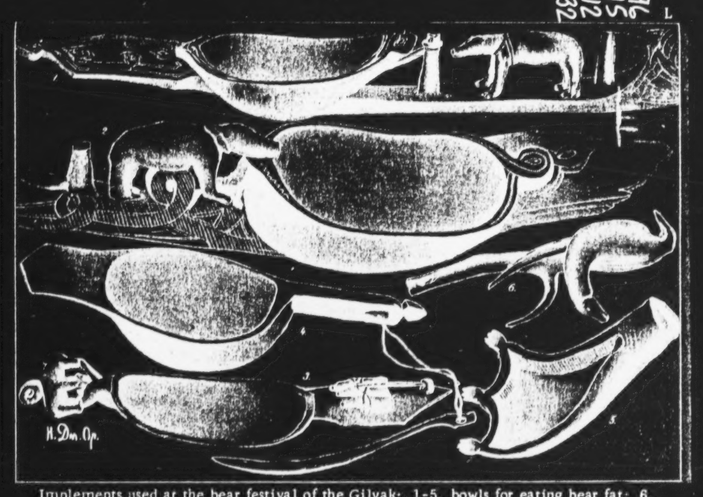
1. The very same tobacco substitutes is also used by the Chukchee, who, however, obtain it by putting the wood shavings in the tube, much wider on their pipes, above the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated with nicotine from the smoke passing through it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a
Gi fern. Among the Goldi in Kōurmi on the Amur I likewise saw
276 hanging bundles of an herb which they called toina and used as a
824 substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of these plants must remain unknown.

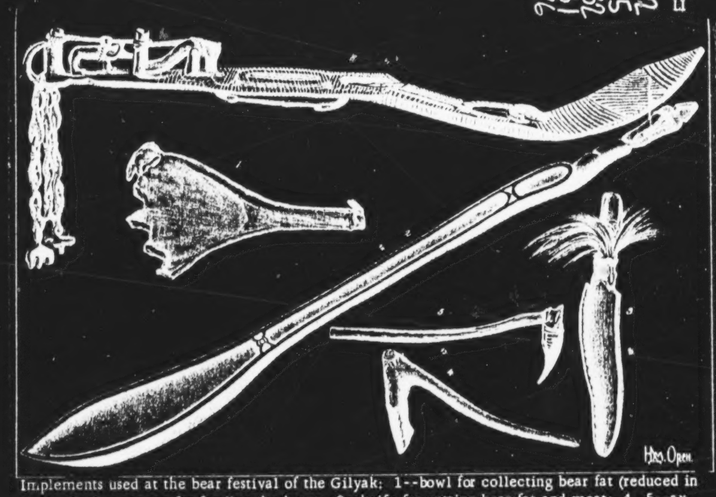
SS The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at
276 all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

SS [171]

2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not
[See category 116, P. 1008 -- Analyst]



Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.



Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

/322 cont./
alf feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
he two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually
ounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away
arious utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This
reates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, be-
ween the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded
s the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the
nner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man,
here are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which
erve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the
urt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet
rom each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide,
wice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is
ery simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame
ut together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped
arth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there
re several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the
ear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be-
ween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles
ver the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which
he kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the
ont part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a tri-
ngle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the
rge kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts
here are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for
uman use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the
rge yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several
ays, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is
ade in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in
e center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for
luminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or
ore large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with
inking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of
e entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt,
supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top,
xactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form
a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

/355 cont./
342 as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater
184 there due to the nearness of the sea and the exceedingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses on level ground in places, they must know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is that these dwellings, less exposed to the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /356/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are driven from their earth yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the summer house built on level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still fully winter. In Duĭ, however, it was still uninhabited on
[122] February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two winter-yurts of the village were overcrowded as a result of a great confluence of Gilyak. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the winter yurts, and its owner planned to use it even in late autumn and not leave it until winter set in /Illustration appears here./

342 On Plate XIII[2] a summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Mão, the summer residence of the Gilyak living in Kufk in the winter. It is a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and looks rather clumsy. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the upright piles. The rather flat roof consists of crudely hewn boards, which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched
[417] beam slanting against the front of the house one climbs onto a level narrow sill which runs along the whole front of the house, is partly covered by the somewhat projecting roof, and which
[See category 116, P. 993 -- Analyst]

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
[352] in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
[354] three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.
[417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mão at the time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
342 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the
825 Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible
[251] to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/357 cont./
342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

342 The above description also applies, apart from the specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwell-
231 ings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

25 Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
[22] summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter,
[226] one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
[417] hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crosspoles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

/559 cont./

which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

/560 cont./

5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

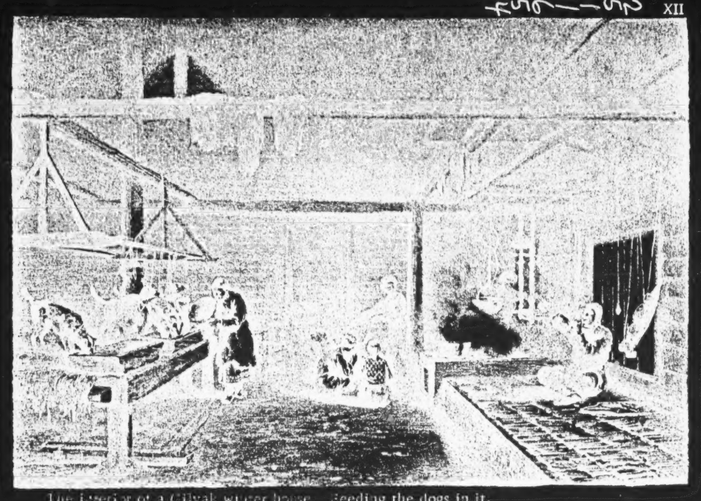
The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(6),

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crossband in the middle is made of otter fur.

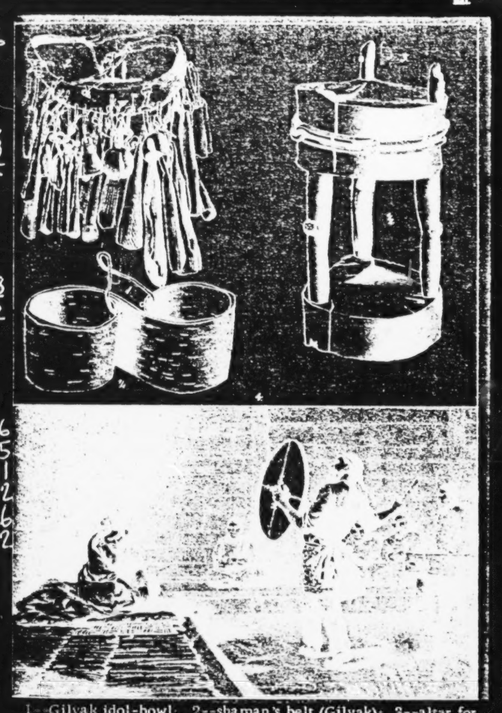
this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

XII

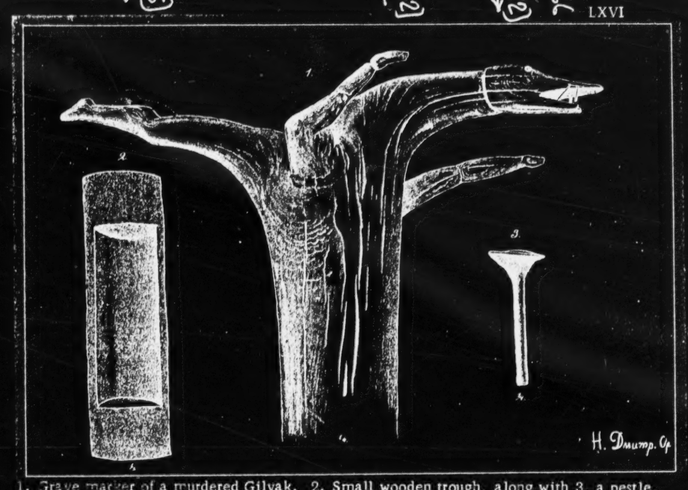


The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.



1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

LXVI



1. Grave marker of a murdered Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle, from the tomb of a drowned Olcha.

7: Kreinovich--2 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
782 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant ays, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd (major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

225 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
782 mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
776 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
825 (aj s). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

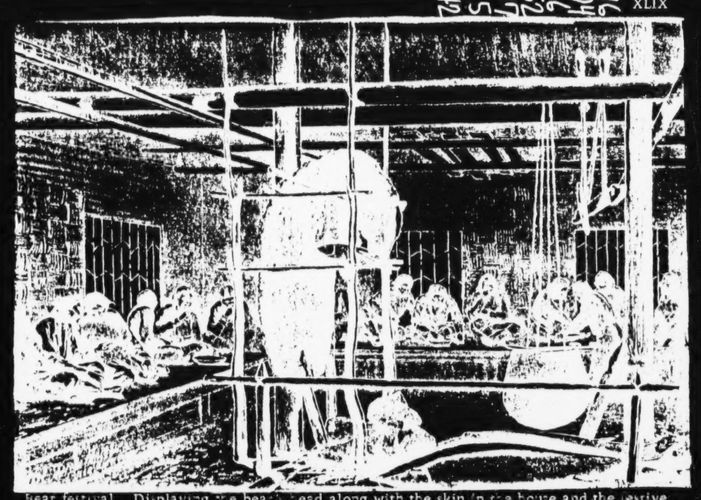
782 When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
225 Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keyla-qəks twig and the other is a qosk qəks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
782 thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
225 the úiŋ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are
766
415

2. Uiŋ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiŋ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

XLVIII

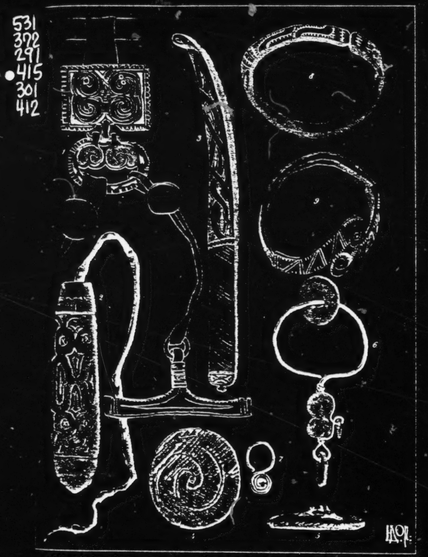
Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

XLIX

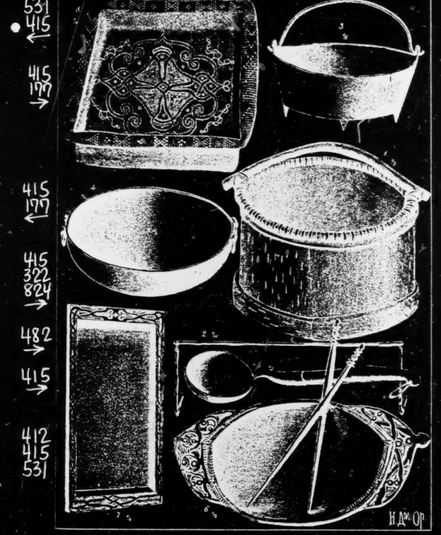


Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

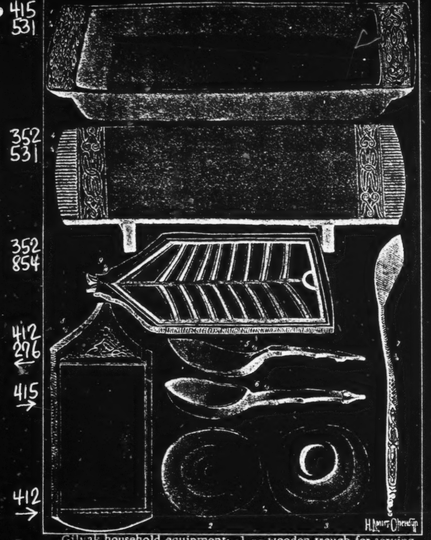
Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.



Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.



Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke, 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop, 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.



Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

/716 cont./

*796 252 hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning of the following day (January 28) the

*796 412 252 [889] old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion: pieces of fur and the skins of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uing-dshakko of the Gilyak, with which it is uitsch to cut anything other than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a

• [415 264] number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed discussion.

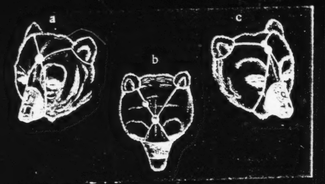
*796 412 415 532 322 The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear-festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

322 /717 cont./
796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time
[126] of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a
utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the asser-
tion that such a transaction would be too greatly uitsch. If one
examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they
attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions
in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p.1250 /,
Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on
Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention
is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band;
Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI
/p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself
against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on
Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down
from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the
spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be
regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also be-
cause it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the
festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the
bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad
depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the
spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and
spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in
/718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears
busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded
more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of
which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear
meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/720 cont./

+796
825



Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

*796 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead
199 swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in
194 superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine,
825 and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished
796 them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, accord-
ing to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among
the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

*796 With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the
574 toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been
415 shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete
576 innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give them-
selves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden
bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and
arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants
in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench
[262] of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred
utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère
the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon
to the guests. While they were still eating it, simple circular

/721 cont./

*796 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-
574 ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,
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415
576

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the
serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each
+796 side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another
574 from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat
576 on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large
hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped
the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates
which were then immediately taken back again to their places.
This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server
got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a
piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each
side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed
a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them
to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two
sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the
ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured
[562] back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the
feast, indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone
then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house
where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical
meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a
[242] meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had
yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the follow-
ing day.

This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the
796 previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the
574 presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already ap-
262 peared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of
576 honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely
enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed
so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

576 /721 cont./
*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[562] pated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[855] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among
[415] the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5,
and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1 -- called äns-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft,
like the French z. The bowl is called äns-tymyk
because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and
children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was
therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/
that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and
fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said
to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into
the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As
the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his
hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking
each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten
bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[869] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
[533] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,
for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with
which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar
aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the
third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small
individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

798 /750 cont./
532 figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of
825 the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)
[755] 21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy
[126] many idols, all different and some of them very interesting,
for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate
LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a desig-
nation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another
had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /,
Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the
human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 4), several human figures
had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and
a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided
with a human face.

[126] I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the
idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pömi-tscho)
with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 5), as well
as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and
raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound
around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in
[126] the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human
figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore
an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human be-
ing, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could
not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many
798 idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of
415 various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a
532 toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir.
Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two
cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side
in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel
[126] was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount
[784] of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned
them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that
it was uitsch and would cause her death.

Kreinovich--26 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

52 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

53 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
57 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
58 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
4 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeta Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
5 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
53 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

52 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
82 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
25 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of gosk-pəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanγ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (ma^t) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

9: Hawes--270 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 415, 422, 585

"The cauldron plays an important part, not only in the everyday domestic economy, but at the very threshold of the new joint life—at the marriage ceremony itself. At least, this is so among some of the clans on Sakhalin. No religious function, as we understand it, graces the occasion; only a simple custom, which appears as a traditional sanction to this important departure in the Gilyak's family life.

The payment hav ing been made without formality to the bride's father, a feast is prepared in his hut, to which the bridegroom comes with his friends, bringing a new Japanese cauldron. The marriage feast is then cooked in this new vessel, and eaten with rejoicing, for the eating together is part of the necessary function. This ended, the two cauldrons, the new one and that pertaining to the hut, are both cleaned and placed by the bridegroom's kindred in front of the bride, who, with her partner, is standing with her back turned to the fire, and face to the door of the hut. She then places her left foot in the new vessel and her right in the paternal, or rather maternal, cauldron, the two being placed one step apart. The bridegroom then moves them one by one, a step at a time, until the bride reaches the door. Here the couple take up their own and go to their new hut, amid the acclamations of their kindred."

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and in[illegible]cation, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles, knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

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416 APPLIANCES--portable lights (e.g., torches, lanterns, flashlights); heat-regulating appliances (e.g., refrigerators, incubators); cameras; optical instruments (e.g., eyeglasses, microscope, telescope); appliances not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Machines 40
Photography 215
Umbrellas and goggles 293
Lighting, heating, and air-conditioning appliances for buildings 354
Manufacture of incubators and refrigerators . . 394
Manufacture of optical and photographic equipment 395
Household appliances 404
Plumbing fixtures 414
Hearing aids 732

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225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
782 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant aγs, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd ('major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

225 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
782 mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
776 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
825 (aγs). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

782 When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
225 Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ʒəks twig and the other is a qosk nəks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called taγr. The offering is
782 thrown into the sea through the taγr. First to be emptied are
225 the uiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are
766
415

2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

they keep for a long time. When some one is drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and run. In this connection I wish to note that in the valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

ed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos s emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

ebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. t home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left ver from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the l-ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and oung hunters must not taste this mos.

It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed efore the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this ustom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to e late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is easonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; lthough they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting ut to sea on a hunt.

The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large pacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of 30] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul here are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

eason the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ŋɔ̂ʔ) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tóm) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (taʔ) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

193 [93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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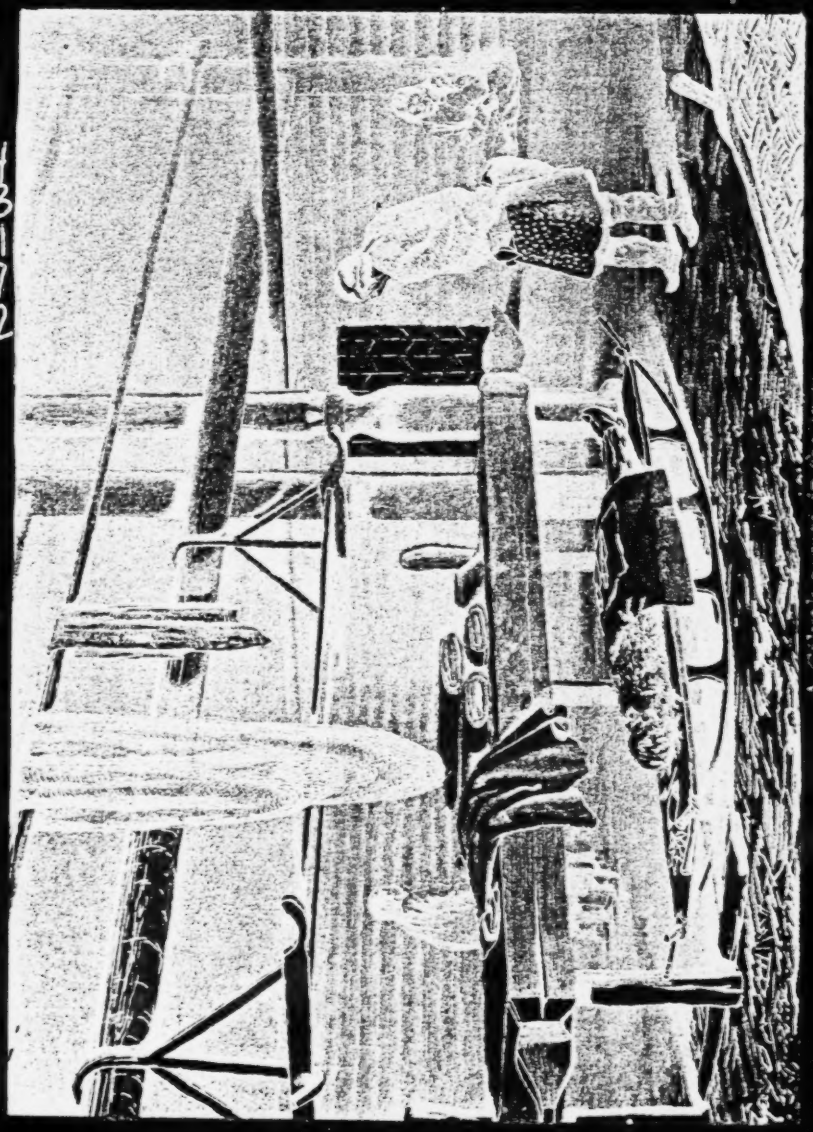

A Gilyak scraps in the yurt.

their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark. The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

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796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their involuntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of considerable length, in such a way that some go forwards and others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand completely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it wants to attack its tormentors.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, however, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the track by their owners and placed next to each other, they were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

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421 PROPERTY SYSTEM--principles of property law; rights, privileges, and powers commonly involved in property relations (e.g., rights that others shall not use or destroy, privileges of enjoyment, powers of alienation and of transmission after death); recognized types of titles or tenure; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, joint, corporate, collective, public); their relation to classes of subject matter (e.g., land, movables, slaves); their degree of integration; their legal and statistical importance; their association with kin and other social groups; etc. See also:

Law	67	Property arrangements open	
Ownership of productive capital	471	Termination of marriage	586

/667 cont./

426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence
181 of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the
[186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense
• 421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries,
735 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in
421 case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/667 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
• 421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still
[182] very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with
423 long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
• 421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter, putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-
[574] villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
[429] and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
342 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and
423 the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have
[429] provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

/669/

423 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
224 that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunt-
226 ing, except for the places on the river where they have their
619 salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and
self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without
limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish,
and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River
for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-
coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy
Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the
[648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to pene-
trate into their territory without molesting them.

Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also
685 based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and
●[421] dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for ex-
[123] ample, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young
people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags,
etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-
[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the
inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to
685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from
648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation
to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order
to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater.
Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents,
though they did not contain anything but a few articles of sym-
bolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted
[192] with the principal international relationship between the two
peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch,
Russ. ukrast)), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become
known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that
685 one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met
123 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc.,
whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint.
The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a
cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

23 /697 cont./ From now on
796 it belongs, so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members
●[421] have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are en-
titled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor,
ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The
[182] bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic
festival which unites all the individual members of one village
community and therefore understandably represents the climax
of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original
owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for
its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the
festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course,
within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host,
[574] he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding
culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and,
accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances,
even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally,
after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of
the village takes place in accordance with a previously estab-
lished order. The food given to it, through the little window in
the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state
(jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up
jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or crowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form,
but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr)
illustrated on Plate LI /p.125V, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the
food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time,
but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning
the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however,
which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman,
it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing
apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose
round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling its

422

422 PROPERTY IN MOVABLES--culturally defined categories of movables (e.g., food stores, personal clothing and ornaments, artifacts, domestic animals, ceremonial objects); recognized types of title or tenure; rights, privileges, and powers involved in each; relation of types of title to categories of movables; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, corporate); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of movables, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership (e.g., property marks, registration), etc. See also:

Standard of living 811
Accumulation of wealth 556
Social classes 368
Slavery 567
Offenses against property 685

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[516] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
●[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed
are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive
spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn oc-
casions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent
off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a
daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's
house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance,
or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother,
and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the
ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already be-
ginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip
and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of
late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In
addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon
for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional
shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting.
Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in
height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/
a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift
them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time
they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a
ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-
sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened
segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its
surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very
light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places,
and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and
lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/91 cont./

476 to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or e
* 614 simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will
[261] share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their
last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valua
spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more in
dividualism, introduced by more recent conditions of ex
change, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purcha
of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so
on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrific
his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan

* 614 This same principle of the communality of the ma
428 terial goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of in
heritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of th
clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, th
well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in ef
among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles
familiam habento.[2] In the absence of members of the fam
in which the "workers" are also classed, the property pas
to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excludi
even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the
will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

●[422] 1. "Treasures" -- a property sui
[556] generis, consisting of unused objects,
designated only for exceptional
cases: bride price, dowry, ransom,
funerals. It is divided into 1) the
iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron
kettles, spears decorated with silver
inlays, valuable Japanese sabers,
coats of mail, and so forth, used
chiefly for the bride price; 2) the
fur, consisting chiefly of expensive
fur coats, used principally for
dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk
materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close Kinsmen, the clan is the heir." Cf. Translation on p.512. -- Analyst]

/322 cont./

alf feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at he two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually ounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away arious utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This reates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, be- ween the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded s the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the nner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, here are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which erve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the urt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet rom each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, wice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is ery simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame ut together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped arth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there re several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the ear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be- ween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles ver the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which he kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the ront part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a tri- ngle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the arge kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts here are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for uman use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the arge yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several ays, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is ade in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in e center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for luminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or ore large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with rinking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of e entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt, supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top, xactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form f a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

/355 cont./

342 184 as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater there due to the nearness of the sea and the exceedingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses on level ground in places, they must know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is that these dwellings, less exposed to the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /356/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are driven from their earth yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the summer house built on level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still fully winter. In Dul', however, it was still uninhabited on [122] February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two winter-yurts of the village were overcrowded as a result of a great confluence of Gilyak. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the winter yurts, and its owner planned to use it even in late autumn and not leave it until winter set in /Illustration appears here./

342 On Plate XIII[3] a summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Mão, the summer residence of the Gilyak living in Kulk in the winter. It is a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and looks rather clumsy. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the upright piles. The rather flat roof consists of crudely hewn which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched [417] beam slanting against the front of the house one climbs onto a level narrow sill which runs along the whole front of the house, is partly covered by the somewhat projecting roof, and which

[See category 116, P. 993--Analyst]

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
[352 in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
354] three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.
• [417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mão at the
342 time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
825 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible
[251] to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/357 cont./
342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

The above description also applies, apart from the
342 specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwell-
231 ings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

251 Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
[22] summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter,
[226] one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
• [417] hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crosspoles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see
000 Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

/90 cont./
worn on ceremonial occasions and
in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the tentator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the tentator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while the chainbinn the clan, the clan of father-in-law, only for shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the fattening of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest bear: "Khal-go, ur-gin, nashh mysel": "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summon the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear inside the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /293/ religion and the clan gods. As we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain masters and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

1; Shternberg--173 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/113 cont./
labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc., but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover, to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe, and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys, hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct himself in society.

All these qualities, however, would have no significance if the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult members. The sons are completely free to separate from their father, obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion. One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather, father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free association, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a participant in such an economic union, every member can have his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arms, enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal merits; and what each member shares with his one -- and there is extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour, rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

1; Shternberg--403 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/277 cont./
of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak place a sociio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a man with whom he is not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the prepayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagund (E.D.), shygund (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In ancient times, evidently, asses, too, /279/ at first stone, later

1; Shternberg--404 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/278 cont./
iron, served as objects in the shagund (1).

1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryn' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagund. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagund. One bears the designation Wa-ul-rif, meaning "place where the Japanese sabre is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kyfokhty -- the butt of the ax.

These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium. Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of a clansman in the alienation of objects of the shagund category allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagund in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and of my remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's son and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly by ambition; for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

1; Shternberg--407 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/280 cont./
it is a remnant of maternality when the mother's brother played a privileged role: the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond, signifying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yukhin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (nihi), whom they provided with a Japanese tutor for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, as part in it to serve her.

The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsever.

1; Shternberg--408 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/281 cont./
She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, the may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiation, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with alcohol is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and then it will and, and of any part of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

1;Shternberg--534 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/377 cont./
permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

/378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, frequently all clansmen. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations of private between father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisitions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his wealth.* Among the Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not increase and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These richer pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/378 cont./
clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately. And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations of private between father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisitions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his wealth.* Among the Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not increase and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These richer pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/382 cont./

428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[108] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family con-
tinues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-
up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A ques-
tion of the division of the inheritance only arises when the chil-
dren, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a
Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children
of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the de-
ceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one,
the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the
married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[108] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who
divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which
always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker
in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age.
With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his men or a poor
[108] relation-tym, who works together with him and is his heir. It
428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who
has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
[108] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until
his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish
of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the
inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with
his father up to the very time of his death, while the other
brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the
other brothers.

[107] Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[107] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps
his treasures in the storehouse, which is never theft. The Gilyak
calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an
uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety.
In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the
road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[102] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes
tempted by the possession of another, it is always in the field of

1:Shternberg--540 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/383 cont./

● 472 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
473 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to
the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this char-
acteristic of the Gilyaks. They took without permission, or asked
me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
472 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
[112] the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace.
And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak.
The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes
out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself).
Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which,
in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to
no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an
act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal
grief and take his life.

Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
[112] circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
and sometimes during the fighting the opponent grows so heated
that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for
his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as
prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian
justice has had a beneficient influence on him in this respect. The
Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun
to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But
Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in
an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders com-
mitted deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or
conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as
lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have be-
gun to disappear.

Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon
among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In
the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones
for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

1:Shternberg--544 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

124 many of his children had died between
126 the beginning of his marriage and the
165 date of the census. In this way, we ob-
tained an exact number of the children
in a given family, living and dead.
Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate
of mortality.

162 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one,
592 for in the number of married people were included, on the one
hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives,
and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives.
There is an age of 15 people living in each yurt, although
there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants;
for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyaniyo accommo-
dated 42 persons of the same clan.

102 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of
[102] these are following: Tamlyvo and Lirkyvo (144 persons each),
Vizkvo (116); Nyuv (103), Arkyvo (87), Tal'vottgrvo and Tengi
(64 each), Klimdvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the
[102] least settlement are Yanny (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Nobzy (9).
In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season,
1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk
post, 258 (9). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
[192] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth
killed during the last season was obtained
from reports of the Gilyak themselves.
These figures are most probably somewhat
below the actual one. The starosta in the
village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliber-
ately tried to persuade his people not to tell
the truth to the Russians, who, according to
him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

● 411 /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
412 for every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,
[192] 231

1:Shternberg--547 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The Western Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'tvo
34 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'tvo, the author makes the follow-
ing comment: "It is inhabited only in
autumn and winter. In spring and sum-
mer the inhabitants pass on to the west-
ern coast, mainly to the village of
Arkyvo, where in the early spring they
hunt seals and during the summer catch
fish which are not to be found in the
Tym' at this time of the year. . . . At the
beginning of August, before the Siberian
salmon run, the population returns to
their winter dwellings." Editors of the
journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

070 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
[116] on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416
are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133
households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygas-
mists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
● 402 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
[192] 257 post, 258 (9). /388/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
[192] During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average
family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married
males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only
to older, so to speak, inveterate
bachelors.

1:Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The Eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there
are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
023 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
411 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
[126] 1. The property of each person has been
registered to this or that clan, the figures
on the number of clans, etc.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

772 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

428 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
[108] the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[108] They use tobacco, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
[108] Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for her
[108] clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange
[108] and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[108] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[192] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly
[192] fish and so-called feed bear or bitch bear (bitches in heat), when dogs
were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by shrewd in
the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat outside
[173] it, resting his feet on small runners. The runners were extended beyond the
[173] runner crosspieces to the side. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
[482] and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the long strap, which was attached only on
[482] either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that
the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
[482] the past, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
[482] and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[482] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[482] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[482] equipped with a curved front rail and pointed runners. The harness was in
[482] strips, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the dog trade brought with it a new type of sled.
[173] Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
[173] of cargo. It was usually drawn by 8 to 11 dogs. The last sled used
[173] valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his
[173] directions to the dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a
[173] broke note. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer
[173] tow strap.

[482] The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
[482] recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
[281] skis—kaur ski, without fur lining, or skis lined with sealfur. The former
were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-
hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wide cargo
[281] guide over the toe.

Travel along the seacoast was quite simple in summer in light hollowed
[50] out boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[50] by hand across barrier beaches, shallows and sandspits. They were paddled
[191] with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[191] distance travel, the Nivkhi had two large dugouts similar to that of the Ulchi,
[191] Nanaya and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which
[194] the bottom one was hewn upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was
[194] rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the
left oars.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn-
ing-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
[342] ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
[175] Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
[175] ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
[175] built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke was
[175] served in a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[392] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

7: Kreinovich--3 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
725 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
725 so forth. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the
Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of
drowned men in detail, no felicitations are
allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos
is emptied out of the tol-ir ("sea troughs") for which it is
prepared, by women. After the feeding of the fish is
completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes"
are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I
observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos
meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-
ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs.
At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.
782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
302 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
325 ki-r is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
381 young hunters must not taste this mos.
223 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out
to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this
custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to
be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is
reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore;
although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting
out to sea on a hunt.
225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
● 225 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
776 [83] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
● 222 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
495

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count
the number of these boats during my stay in the
village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

7: Kreinovich--4 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
701 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
222 net-fence.
● 222 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat
starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ere) in the village, he asks him to join him in
the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
585 Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans:
Tag, Gnarr (Gnar), Ulch, Ulch, Nen, Nen, Nen, Nen, Nen, Nen,
clan a ramia . Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from
clan Tf-nu .
A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who
went hunting in 1931.
The hunter collective centering around a boat is some-
times named after the owner of the boat. For instance,
l tun-munim ("one boat of Gylakhtyun") Xitkun-mu-nim (one
boat of Xitxun).
225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
276 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
475 on his boat are his permanent companions. The leader of such a collective
476 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-ed-- "to

be big. - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)
225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed
476 to look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
302 to effect repairs.
2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips
(tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his
fellow-hunters, a kettle and a Tes-pot (the hunters are obliged
to take only cups with them), a tesh, a seal, a tripod for the
tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afu-ve. ("friend-
stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the sup-
plement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila;
225 5. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
476 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
371 this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi -c and l aij ceremonies to be described in detail below.

"How important a part sewing must have played in the domestic economy can be imagined, when clothing consisted of salmon-skins, a material which could not be ordered over the counter by the yard, but had to be diligently stiched together to form an adequate covering. In early times bone needles were used, but when, by accident or by barter, a big ship's canvas-needle came into their hands, it was a priceless treasure. How eagerly [221] such was sought after and seldom obtained. The happy possessor handed it down as a family heirloom. In those days they tell us a needle was of such value that a wife could be bought with it; whereas to-day a helpmeet may cost as much as a narta (sledge) and team of thirteen dogs. To keep the needle safe, bone cases (nookh-tses), curiously carved, were made; and it is interesting to note that the principle on which they work is exactly the same as that of the little silk ones made to-day in Korea.

The following shows the value they used to put upon the needle. A Russian came upon a Gilyak family crying and howling.

'Why are you crying?' he asked. 'Is somebody dead?'

'No! What is death? It would have been better had somebody died. The needle is lost!' "

9: Hawes--300-301 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense of the word the Gilyaks have no conception. The nearest approach to it was a prescriptive right, sanctioned by immemorial custom, to place snares along certain creeks. The right of all to roam over the land in hunting was freely recognized; but they would have resented the placing of snares in chosen creeks and backwaters by the Tungus and Orochons, although, rather than provoke hostilities, they would have simply gone elsewhere. As among themselves, the division of the creeks and tracks for snaring had been made in olden [301] times; and the customary boundaries sanctioned by time are seldom transgressed. The abundance of game, coupled with the prowess of the pioneers, yielded little cause for quarrel, and spots were simply annexed according to the number of snares which the owner of the hut possessed. Here and there a dispute arose, and was settled by reference to the klenu, the elders in council, or by duels. In the latter case the disputants fought with a weapon like a hedge-bill, with a straight blade; but as they were always surrounded by a goodly concourse, the combatants were parted when either became exhausted, and the duel was not allowed to have a fatal ending."

462 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i.e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
462 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the tnaj where the pilan attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilan distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilan's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the tnaj, is included in

225 the division of the quarry. Why this ceremony should have
422 stopped at the pilaŋ appropriating the first sivuch rather
476 than asserting his full title to it on top of his share of the quarry is hard to tell. It seems to us that this can be explained by the essential preservation of the primitive Communist method of distribution of the quarry among the Gilyaks of the village Kul which do not permit a single individual to assert his title to an entire extra sivuch.

225 [89] I gave here a few examples which I have recorded
476 of the distribution of the quarry among the Gilyak hunters on their return home to the village Kul on August 2, 1931. These examples demonstrate clearly the primitive Communist character of the distribution.

The quarry of ʼəlʼtun's collective consisted of 18 sivuchs 9 pəγi, 11 qoma and 1 alχ. They sold 3 sivuchs, 5 qoma and the fat of two seals on Cape Litke at the branch of the Rybaksoyuz [A, B Fisherman's Union]. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares. (1)

1. Unfortunately I did not write down how they distributed the money.

-1 tun..... received 2 sivuchs 2 pəγi
Jotkun..... received 2 sivuchs 1 pəγi 1 qoma 1 strap

281 2. The hide of a young sivuch navəŋa is cut into three pieces and that of an older one - into four. Out of each piece the Gilyaks cut one thin long strap which is immediately spread out to dry.

225	Nərp (a shot)...	received	1 sivuch	1 p i	1 qoma	3 straps
476	Rəntik.....	"	2 "	2 "	- "	1 "
	Təvus.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	- "
	Zabojko.....	"	2 "	1 "	2 "	1 " alχ
	Tuŋs.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	1 " strap

	13 sivuchs	9 pəγi	6 qoma	6 straps =
			= 2 sivuchs	
			1 alχ	
On straps	2			
Sold	5		5	

Total..... 18 Sivuchs 9 pəγi 11 qoma 1 alχ

9: Hawes--271-272 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 301, 422, 435; 556

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use, and mostly c
are large simple rings of silver, of one and a half c
with an agate or two. These, with the rare silk broc
shoes are regarded as family heirlooms. They are
surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family, and represent
paper-money or a heap of silver pieces have little a
sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-blue silk is a 'th
Moreover, they are just as useful in the business of
to dealing in the concrete, knows exactly their valu
and when he comes in his travels to a Russian store
measure the value of his ruble notes."

f Japanese and Chinese make. They
r more inches in [272] diameter,
cade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and
bought one after the other with the
the capital of the hut. A bundle of
ttraction for the native, whereas a
ing of beauty and a joy for ever.'
exchange; and the native, long used
e, whereas money is unfamiliar;
, he has no standard by which to

22, 556

dman of Nivo was counted rich among the Gilyaks
s and produce of the chase. There were nets and
ar-spears, strangely shaped knives, seal-skins,
ough of a ruder make than those of the Orochons.
attention, one, a miniature of the Tsar Alexande
relled fowling-piece mounted on a wooden biped,
se natives and the Tungus in the winter hunts."

, his hut being littered with
snares, automatic bows and
dog-skins, as well as bark
Two other objects attracted
r III, and the other, an old
a cumbersome affair, but

116, 422, 435, 583, 591

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husband
thirteen years old to assist his ageing spou
keeping, is in possession of wealth enough
fronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have a
to live on in the paternal home, or, if [269]
friends and comrades to help him build a hu
required, and this is a very expensive item
forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have eve
was the difficulty with our Vanka, who was
his own estimate, but according to our noti
desirous of marrying, and offered to take n
summer to the 'end of the world,' with the
rate charge of forty rubles apiece. With thi
and he had already saved sufficient for the

—not the old man who buys a second wife
se—but the youth who aspires to set up house-
to pay the price demanded, he is still con-
separate establishment. He may be content
not, he will probably be able to get his
t; but this is not enough, a cauldron is
. He may have to pay in skins the value of
n heard of them costing sixty rubles. This
a capable young man of fifteen, according to
ons about twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was
e and my interpreter during the following
aid of three of his companions, for the mode-
s sum he would be able to buy a cauldron,
purchase of a wife."

116, 415, 422, 585

"The cauldron plays an important part,
but at the very threshold of the new joint l
least, this is so among some of the clans
understand it, graces the occasion; only a
tional sanction to this important departure

The payment hav ing been made without
prepared in his hut, to which the bridegro
Japanese cauldron. The marriage feast is
rejoicing, for the eating together is part o
cauldrons, the new one and that pertaining
bridegroom's kindred in front of the bride
back turned to the fire, and face to the do
the new vessel and her right in the patern
ing placed one step apart. The bridegroom
time, until the bride reaches the door. He
new hut, amid the acclamations of their k

not only in the everyday domestic economy,
ife—at the marriage ceremony itself. At
on Sakhalin. No religious function, as we
simple custom, which appears as a tradi-
in the Gilyak's family life.
formality to the bride's father, a feast is
om comes with his friends, bringing a new
then cooked in this new vessel, and eaten with
of the necessary function. This ended, the two
to the hut, are both cleaned and placed by the
, who, with her partner, is standing with her
or of the hut. She then places her left foot in
al, or rather maternal, cauldron, the two be-
n then moves them one by one, a step at a
ere the couple take up their own and go to their
indred."

instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no practical value because no one thinks of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried, and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides, there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the bridegroom last a rather long time, a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

423

423 REAL PROPERTY--conception of the subject matter of real property (e.g., as that which produces food, as things that are fixed or immovable); culturally defined categories (e.g., land, trees, growing crops, buildings, water); types of land subject and not subject to property (e.g., sites with monopoly value, waste land); recognized types of title or estate (e.g., eminent domain, fee simple, life, leasehold, sufferance); rights, privileges, and powers involved in each (e.g., usufruct, reversionary claims, privileges of gift and sale, power of expropriation); recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, public); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of immovables, types of title or tenure, and classes of persons (e.g., exclusion of minors, of women, of slaves); general characteristics of the system of real property (e.g., private property, feudal tenure, collective property with periodic reallotments, communism); land reform; records of ownership (e.g., boundary marks, deeds); registration of titles; etc. See also:

Territories of kin and local groups . . . . . 61,62 Serfdom 566
Land use . . . . . 311 Taxation 651
Ownership of productive capital 471

/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

* 614 /110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely
361 natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live
● 423 together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the composition of the population is mixed. In the above-
[121] mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement
[166] located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

* 614 /110 cont./
36
● 423 in its original site that the indigenous village can no longer feed
166 everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it to other places,
[167] selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points involves an actual division of the "fire" and branching out of the clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ moving to the clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.

423 The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to
604 property, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin 50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordial territories of the Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest against this, although the Tungus came in small groups and could hardly have withstood the numerous aborigines with force.

* 614 Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. In the mass of primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the clan name is one of the very sharpest external signs of the unity of a clan. A totemistic name is a real object of nature, animal or plant, which is represented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.

Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this sort. In some clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for example, a clan living in the settlement of Tangakh considers itself kindred with the bear on the grounds that a woman of that clan had given birth to a monstrosity with features resembling those of a bear. Similar legends exist in other clans. Nevertheless, not only typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan names in the proper sense are absent. There are only territorial names. If a Gilyak wants to name the people of such and such a clan, he says "the dwellers of such and such a settlement," which sometimes corresponds with the actual place of habitation of the clan, but most frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial abode of one or another clan.

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● 423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize
[185] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set
[648] their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares
423 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are
428 divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in
423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others.

166 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or
423 journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

/377 cont./

166 permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts
● 423 fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

342 /378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live
592 alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his
423 brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, frequently all clansmen. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the stoves, is not so costly for each individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women. The summer yurts are built smaller and ordinarily house from one to three families. The winter yurts are built through the joint efforts of several brothers or clansmen, the summer ones -- frequently by one person. But all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants, clansmen or members of other clans who had no part in building it, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, and it is doubtful whether the latter enjoy any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, there will always be found a pair of persons who on their own initiative will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves move and gladly welcome co-dwellers. Thus, the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen
[174] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

422 The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of movable property among them are boats, nets, kettles, arms, dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens that a boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

/667 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely
[182] active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less im-
● 423 portance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
● 423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-
[574] villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
[427] and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is
[427] arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

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● 423 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
224 that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunt-
226 ing, except for the places on the river where they have their
619 salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the
[648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also
421 based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and
[123] dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-
[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to
685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from
648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted
[192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met
685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc.,
123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

226 without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1): near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

226 The women also take part in this catch. There is no partic
23 ular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

225 Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult
21 hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter com very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rop about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the anim reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

25 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
83 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the
seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom
of the seine. They are called tətr-paγ . Large wooden floats
(vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the
head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to
flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of
the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and
finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into
the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught
in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of
the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ké-ŋalu, Vilk,
Loŋri, and ət.

4 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
25 owned seal hunting places in the past.

23 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej,
24 3. ət.

71 Lulvəχ-pər and ŋaγreqej are names of rocks sticking out
of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks.
ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock.

> 3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paγ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ɬerd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomi
vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are
resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for
seals and Hapzə-vər - a stone.

5 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
2 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
3 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
5 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
9 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

424

INCORPOREAL PROPERTY--extent to which property is recognized in intangible things (e.g., names, titles, songs, dances, visions, recipes, rituals, inventions); culturally defined categories of intangibles; recognized types of title; rights, privileges, and powers involved in titles to each type of incorporeal property; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, corporate); distribution of types of ownership according to categories of intangibles, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership (e.g., registration of patents and copyrights); patent and copyright law; etc. See also:

Invention 176
Corporate securities 473
Contractual rights 675

/303 cont./

685
695
[825]
[424]
[614]

dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft. They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz´u n´ivukh, and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja´, mygja´, n´i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigry´ tuur pugutá enan´ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral´ó, sidz:jejmraló cherakh jot´in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n´ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n´ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n´erakh elvg:az´ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

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425 ACQUISITION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF PROPERTY--recognized means by which property rights may be acquired (e.g., appropriation, forceful seizure, gift, purchase); creation of new property rights (e.g., by physical appropriation, by priority of claim, by expenditure of labor in manufacture); rituals and symbols of appropriation; recognized means by which property rights may be extinguished (e.g., destruction, abandonment, confiscation, gift, sale); rights, privileges, and powers of the finders and losers of objects of property; etc. See also:

Gifts 431
Buying and selling 432
Marine salvage 502
Taxation 681
Judicial confiscation 681
Theft 685
War booty 721, 727

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
r a-ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i.e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.

The heads with piskar stuck in them are taken home.

225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pilar performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines t:ıaj. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first sivuch.) The pilar cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as belonging to the pilar. However, as far as the distribution of the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pilar asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances. First - the pilar appropriates the first sivuch killed during the hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise of a religious ceremony.

784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.

183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the interdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

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426 BORROWING AND LENDING--bailment; rights, privileges, and powers of bailor and bailee; loans and debts; pawning rights, privileges, and powers of debtor and creditor; formalities in the arrangement and repayment of loans (e.g., witnesses, surety, sponsors); security; interest; notes and mortgages; specialization (e.g., pawn shops); bankruptcy (e.g., law, administration); etc.

See also:

Credit	452	Debt slavery	567
Banking	453	Public finance	682
Corporate securities and receivership	473	Penalties for the nonpayment of debts	686

/359 cont./

614 597 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gather- [963] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, 556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined 538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely 171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 432 437 427 426 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have the character of barter.

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak 426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known [184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but [197] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The [614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con- [672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 46 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of ~~labor~~ in these relations. Capita as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet. [225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as 226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In 465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same 433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone; 554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling 476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but 466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

/666 cont./

56 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear-festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of 56/5 necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as 89 the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed, 56 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

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● 426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence 181 of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the [186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense 421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries, 735/421 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

577 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among them-
● 426 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
609 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from
186 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
577 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
609 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
177 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.
464 Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
● 426 na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.
428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

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427 RENTING AND LEASING--extent to which real, movable, and incorporeal property may be leased or rented; leases and rents (e.g., negotiations, terms, formalities); modes of payment (e.g., money rent, share cropping); rights, privileges, and powers of lessor and lessee; eviction; prevalence of tenancy and of home and farm ownership; factors determining rental rates; regulation (e.g., rent controls); etc. See also:
Control and ownership of capital. . . . . 471 Peonage and serfdom. 666

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
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/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-
[574] villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on
[427] it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have
[427] provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
127 1 N. V. Slʼunīn, Sovremennoĉ polozhenīe nashevo
476 Dalʼnevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
475 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mləṭ) and of the stick over the door of the house (mʏmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ;argun (?) now living in the village
471 Cvarva (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kalʼma as well as fourth one from the village Ṭəlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

for their families.

I observed analogous facts on the very same island in 1927 and in 1931.

In the village Vaz-vo (cape Vasin) from which the Gilyaks were driven out in 1914 or 1915, the system of exploitation on the basis of ownership of the instruments of labor was, it seems, even more cruel. According to the expert on Gilyak life, the inquisitive Gilyak Ə/isk, an owner of a zayesdok claimed one share for himself, one share for the boat, one share for the plank-bench in the boat (mlət) and one share for the n/əmr-tis - the shelf over the door in the entrance-hall. I failed to find the reason for the claim to an extra share in connection with the n/əmr-tis. I am inclined to think that no such reason exists and that n/əmr-tis is used by the owner of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

The Gilyak Miskin, inhabitant of the village Puir, told me of an incident that sounds like an anecdote. The incident took place in that village in 1931. An old Gilyak, called for one reason or another Tetkin, asked the young Gilyaks Pnadainu, Lakhtaku and Kondinu (?) to come with him to hunt (AB: fish?) kaluga. On return Tetkin took for himself four shares: one for himself, one, for some other obscure reasons, for some Russian acquaintance of his in the village Makarevka, one for a daughter in the village Langer and one for a daughter in the village Charbakh. As for his companions, he gave a single share to each. I later talked about this incident the Pnadainu. Pnadainu confirmed Miskin's story and further clarified it. Unfortunately, I wrote down Pnadainu's information on a separate piece of paper and, it seems, lost it.

My lengthy discussion is meant as a very general introduction to this problem. It is meant to show how, among the Gilyaks, the owner of the tools of work, as still found in the village Kul, could under the influence of Russian capitalism turn into a kulak-exploiter. This discussion is also meant to show how he utilized the old forms of the distribution of the quarry into shares for the purposes of exploitation. This interesting process deserves careful study.

After the distribution of the quarry the hunters and their wives at once start to work. There is a lot of work to do. The suet has to be separated from the hides. The hides have to be stretched on special frames used in drying seal hides. Some hides have to be cut into straps and those have to be stretched to dry, for one cannot make dry hides into straps

428

428 INHERITANCE--forms of property and types of title subject and not subject to inheritance; disposition of noninherited property (e.g., destruction, abandonment, distribution by gift, reversion to a prior owner or his heirs); nondistribution (e.g., maintenance of estates intact within an extended family); preferred or natural heirs and relatives excluded from inheritance (e.g., children, siblings, spouses, parents); sex and age preferences (e.g., exclusion of females, primogeniture, ultimogeniture); persons who inherit in default of preferred heirs; types of ownership acquired by heirs; variant rules for different possessions and type of title; characterization of inheritance systems (e.g., as matrilineal, patrilineal, testamentary); dower (e.g., special provision for widow or widower); testamentary disposition (e.g., wills, bequests, legacies); formalities (e.g., probate procedure); probate law; etc. See also:

Family 69
Heirlooms 523
Rule of descent 611
Inheritance taxes 631
Probate courts 698
Adjustments to death 768

/91 cont./

476 to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even
*614 simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will
[261] share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

*614 This same principle of the communality of the ma-
● 428 terial goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento.[2] In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

[422]
[556]

1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price: 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir", cf. translation on p. 512. – Analyst]

*614 /92 cont./
● 428 worn on ceremonial occasions and
[422] in which the dead are garbed.
[556]

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and c sequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so called iron shagund, which in any case will return to t clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of fathers-in-law, only fur shagund can willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of t bride's dowry.

*614 4. One bear: the common obligation of the clan
796 men to share in the fattening of the bear and in the be festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a dom bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, u narkh muve!": "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the oc by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligatio with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privi of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regar
*614 this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods.
796 we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic
782 features: first, by the honoring of the very person of t
[775] bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mount masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan an consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater sig nificance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to th highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer

/124 cont./

it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will, as we already know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This change we know: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

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She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/359 cont./

family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considere the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appe from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to b taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it mu fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ t this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, i general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by famili for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assu the debt of the insolvent person.

9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twe Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, clan is the heir).

10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. Whe Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceas man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the g ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

In general, no extraordinary event takes place without participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are se not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally reco nized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individual different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles th affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

831 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less frivolous, from our point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy of husbands, the sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal to cohabit (true, not openly) with individuals of those categories of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I shall add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic propensities which not only impel young people to make long journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a woman by force of arms.

596 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large complex families in which the aged father lives in a common household with all his children and their children. The master's brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess equipment of their own frequently enter into the composition of the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother at an early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with her son-in-law and sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
594 cially when the latter have no sons. We shall note other peculiarities in the make-up of the family farther on; for the present we shall say that the normal composition of the family, its framework, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
593 ones pass into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
594 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resembling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman family; /376/ the sons show respect for the father, but the latter does not wield over them that power which is known under the appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from the family of the father and live in separate households. Living with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
/ • [428] The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and, on the contrary, the youngest sons, as those who live with the father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of inheritance.

423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize
[185] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set
[648] their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares
423 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are
• 428 divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in
423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others.
166 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or
423 journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

/381 cont./

428 Inheritance. The structure of the contemporary family of the Gilyak naturally arouses in the father a desire to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization requires that in any case the property should not leave the confines of the clan. Out of the reciprocal action of these principles it develops that the children inherit from the father, and only in their absence -- the brothers of the deceased and his more distant clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and ascending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the rights of inheritance, as persons who are destined to leave the clan of their father and pass into the clan of their husbands. Such is the principle. In practice, it is true, it is relaxed; thus, for example, daughters obtain their dowry out of the hereditary property, and sometimes married daughters, especially when there are no heirs of the male sex or when the husbands purchased them for a big price, also share in the inheritance; but such instances are relaxations of the principle which are not generally accepted, and customarily they are effected by way of a will. Before his death the Gilyak summons his clansmen and makes known his wishes. These deathbed dispositions make it possible for the Gilyak to make not only daughters his heirs, but even persons of another clan, for example, his sons-in-law or workmen. If he should die without such a deathbed bequest, then, of course, the above-mentioned principle of inheritance goes into effect. But the details best serve to explain the essence of this principle.

If a Gilyak dies leaving neither wife nor children, /382/ his brothers are his heirs; in their absence -- his clansmen-ruvn in
[768] the order of their closeness of kinship. If he leaves a young widow
429 and children, the widow, according to the decision of the clan,
587 goes to one of the brothers or ruvn of the deceased, who has the rights and obligations of a father with regard to the children and is the guardian of their inherited property until they reach their majority. The young girls obtain a dowry, while the adult sons who have separated or wish to separate obtain their share of the

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● 428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[768] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one, the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[768] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
428 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
597 time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age. With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
[606] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with his father up to the very time of his death, while the other brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the other brothers.

673 Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[674] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety. In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[422] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes tempted by the possessions of another, it is always in the field of

/652 cont./

567 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the
171 Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

● 428 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us
562 further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and,
[601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be-
[768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken
[583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers
587 dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/652 cont./

● 428 has one or several wives. This shows most clearly that the Gilyak
587 have no aversion to polygamy in principle and only live in monogamy for the most part for practical and economic reasons. The same happens when a widow with minor daughters or only the latter survive: the latter are regarded as part of their parents' estate, as it were, and they are inherited by the second husband of their mother, and, when they have reached marriageable age and suitors arrive, they can be purchased only by payments to him. On the other hand, if minor sons survive with the widow, her brother-in-law inherits her and the daughters, but the property of her deceased husband goes to /653/ him only temporarily for the use of the profit from it and must be handed over to her sons as their property as soon as they have grown up.

587 The marriage of the widow to her brother-in-law is not absolutely obligatory: if there is a man who wants to marry her, he can have her with the consent of her brother-in-law and for the payment of a sum designated by him, and, as happens as a rule among the Gilyak, can take her children as well. But once they are grown up and are claimed by their paternal relatives, he cannot keep them, but is obliged to let them go without any compensation or consideration.

587 If, however, the deceased was the youngest of the brothers,
428 his older brothers inherit his property, to be sure, but the widow does not go to any of them, but may marry any eventual suitor, as she wishes, and the latter does not have to pay her brothers-in-law anything for her. With regard to her children from the first marriage, however, the above-mentioned rules apply.

In the last-mentioned cases, where widow and child form at least part of the objects of the estate and therefore the principle of equal shares for all the brothers cannot be observed, the Gilyak law of inheritance favors, not the older brother, but the younger one. In spite of the fact that the oldest brother is distinguished from the younger ones by a special designation, the latter are actually favored by the inheritance law.

428 Finally, if a Gilyak dies and there are neither sons nor brothers to take possession of the inheritance, it goes to the

/653 cont./

428 nearest male relatives of the deceased, that is to say, brother's and father's brother's sons, or nephews and cousins of the first and second degrees, but always only on the father's side. The
428 Gilyak say that in such a case the inheritance belongs to the kall
614 of the deceased. To explain this, I must point out that they
601 make a definite distinction between the relatives on the father's side and those on the mother's side: the former are called ngafk and they alone are regarded as related by blood; the latter, on the other hand, are merely called ámal or ármal, which means roughly "friends." The vocative amalá, Friend, is the customary term of address which the Gilyak use among themselves as well as to a stranger, and which one uses them, whereas the much more meaningful naifká is only rarely heard and then only when they are speaking to one another. The totality of the ngafk, the paternal relatives of a Gilyak, constitutes his kall. This word, however, does not mean merely tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Geschlecht/, kindred /Sippe/, but also name. A kall, then, is exactly the same as a kin group bearing the same paternal or family name among us. It is the Goldi hala, which originally designated only a family relationship, but later, used by the Manchu government for administrative purposes, it was given a meaning going far beyond the family, which will be discussed in detail in the next section. The Gilyak, however, who were always outside Manchu rule, have been hardly affected by this /654/ and cling to their original conception of the kall, which is restricted to the family in the manner indicated above.

614 In view of all this, it might be expected that they also have special names for their various kin groups, and, indeed, I do not doubt but that they do have them. I never heard them use one, however. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that, as a rule, only the closest members of a kall have personal relations with one another, and they are aware of their membership in the same kin group without the common kin-group name. Moreover, the practical significance of this membership is considerably reduced for the Gilyak, in that it plays no part whatsoever in one of the most important family occasions, the conclusion of marriage, for among them, as has already been

/654 cont./

614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

428 /654 cont./
587 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In

[113]

3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'iakov", "Turukhansk. krai /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 In principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar
171 to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal
614 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal rela-
607 tives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the
628 latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

13: Seeland--41 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.
464 Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
426 na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.

428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint owners of the estate along with their children.

565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one,
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.

567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
554 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ-
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

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429 ADMINISTRATION--guardianship (e.g., of minors, of widows, of defectives); rights, privileges, and powers of guardian and ward; trusts; rights, privileges, and powers of trustee and beneficiary; law of trusts; formalities; administration of estates; bankruptcy administration; specialization in administration (e.g., trust companies); regulation; etc. See also:

Role of heads of families and of kin and local groups as trustees for the property of their social groups 59, 61, 62
Receivership 473
Levirate 587
Agency 676
Embezzlement 685
Care of defectives 732
Philanthropic foundations 741
Definition of minors 858

/381 cont./

428 Inheritance. The structure of the contemporary family of the Gilyak naturally arouses in the father a desire to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization requires that in any case the property should not leave the confines of the clan. Out of the reciprocal action of these principles it develops that the children inherit from the father, and only in their absence -- the brothers of the deceased and his more distant clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and ascending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the rights of inheritance, as persons who are destined to leave the clan of their father and pass into the clan of their husbands. Such is the principle. In practice, it is true, it is relaxed; thus, for example, daughters obtain their dowry out of the hereditary property, and sometimes married daughters, especially when there are no heirs of the male sex or when the husbands purchased them for a big price, also share in the inheritance; but such instances are relaxations of the principle which are not generally accepted, and customarily they are effected by way of a will. Before his death the Gilyak summons his clansmen and makes known his wishes. These deathbed dispositions make it possible for the Gilyak to make not only daughters his heirs, but even persons of another clan, for example, his sons-in-law or workmen. If he should die without such a deathbed bequest, then, of course, the above-mentioned principle of inheritance goes into effect. But the details best serve to explain the essence of this principle.

If a Gilyak dies leaving neither wife nor children, /382/ his brothers are his heirs; in their absence -- his clansmen-ruvn in
[768] the order of their closeness of kinship. If he leaves a young widow
[429] and children, the widow, according to the decision of the clan,
[587] goes to one of the brothers or ruvn of the deceased, who has the rights and obligations of a father with regard to the children and is the guardian of their inherited property until they reach their majority. The young girls obtain a dowry, while the adult sons who have separated or wish to separate obtain their share of the

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43 EXCHANGE--general statements dealing with several aspects of the mecha-
nisms of transferring economic goods and the titles to them, with the volum
of such transactions, and with the determination of prices and economic val
For specialization in exchange see 44; for the transportation of goods see 4
49, 50.

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1. (cont.) found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the Amur region were Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnados, and even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

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436 Through their association with the Russians
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however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the use of their coins (2).

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian notes as payment. As proof of their great shrewdness in monetary and trade matters the following incident, which occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. The frequently mentioned Poswein, a Gilyak from Kulj, who had been close to the Russians ever since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging with his countrymen there various small items for all kinds of valuables and especially gold and silver coins, which they had stolen from a stranded American whaler after killing part of the crew, and then to make a profit out of them with the Russians.

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/595/ By means of the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard in that the in part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

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either the buyer or seller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian commodities began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese.

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More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that my descriptions refer to a period when this contact had first been made and had not yet had the consequences that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved

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in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their households and the rest of their life and activities, the decisive factors are to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following.

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By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn the values, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russians, and the foremost articles in their life and households, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

A sable pelt, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-3 ja
A pelt from the red fox (pas(1)-nga) . . " 2 "

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1. The s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pladf) . . equals 3 ja

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431 GIFT GIVING--alienation of property by gift; rights, privileges, and powers of donor and recipient; frequency, types, occasions, and purposes of gifts; social relationships within which gifts are given; formalities of giving and receiving; potlatches; reciprocal gift exchange (e.g., kula); role of gifts in the distribution of economic goods; etc. See also:

Status and mobility 55
Property transactions in marriage 58
Acquisition and relinquishment of property . . . 425
Bequests 428
Feasts 574
Tribute giving 651
Bribery of officials 662
Almsgiving and charity 735
Philanthropic foundations 741
Sacrifice 782

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/122 cont./

blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newl
the children of brother and sister. Standing in close conne
with this rite is the previously described moment in the be
festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the mast
the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside him
an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which
also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mut
sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation
hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basi

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The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic
visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some
economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time,
addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present
to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marria
when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depend
on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments fo
men. Cases of actual need are much more important. Th

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are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clans
because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken
Let something happen during the season of the fish run to t
them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is a
hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man
up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and cha
in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settle
of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the fi
minute he feels himself at home, where they give him foo
drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zy
of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or anot
but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in
long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a ti
when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and i
impossible to increase them.

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Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymg
are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.
The most important of these require the participation o
several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (takin

/166 cont./

by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward an ymgi, though only potential, the "father-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children.

"One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily pass their time in the settlements of their "father-in-law," bringing in every year the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies, and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "son-in-law" are in the foreground among those who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in warfare, the "father-in-law" and the "son-in-law" are obliged to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

From the kinship terminology we show that the last of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan from whose a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which ever one kinsman has changed to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

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This formula has preserved its vital significance even today. One is supposed to send relatives with his son-in-law gifts of edibles and a share of every catch. Moreover, the young men of the category ymgat during the course of several months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement of their fathers-in-law and "son-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

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/275 cont./

"to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ ŭrkind -- "to pay" is derived from the word ŭrkind, which in the middle voice is a synonym of ŭhkind -- to fight, to war (ŭrkind is merely the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- ŭrkind was originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom -- peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered father, they ask him: on his return, "Pyrk ŭrkind joylo? -- "Did you fulfill ŭrkind for your father (literally ŭrkind -- "fulfill"), did you take vengeance?" He answers: "ulk khukiat" -- "I killed them all." Here the term ŭrkind is used in the sense of the act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used in the sense of ransom. "Tyn narkh ŭrkim -- "For their (slain companions), they paid damages, ransom."

From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in various values for several years, and they were very often no less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pomr, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /ŭcf/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /kettle/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

/276 cont./

years regularly sent him rice, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him all that he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he also bought a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is the same as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

2. Incidentally, among the Turkic people and the Samoyed Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another.

It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

/298 cont./

A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /ŭyat/, ŭkhlak /ŭ/ or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, by making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the kikhal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (ŭla lymŭk).

A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a bowl for the bear festival. The bowl for the head is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukrow-v'ŭr.

When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. The bear is greeted with zadi-chade music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "Ŭ'ŭr hunyŭ! Wingan ŭrur hunyŭ!--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mor' and all kinds of dishes.

When a bear falls sick, then they hold pying-tryvk and prepare uig, mor', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

When a dog is killed, the head and bones are laid in a wooden frame near the leaing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called kork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet, in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."

kikhal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

/302 cont./

Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /ŭyat/ has beaten his brother-in-law /ŭburin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pair of racing dogs (there do five; they are sold only in pairs) -- kylyn-kan. The first dog is ŭyly-k.an, the second -- k.ukh, the third -- ŭrkhpe-k.ukh, the fourth -- tyly-k.ukh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- ŭyly-k.an -- last, farthest away, and the most catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and, if the ŭyly-k.an proves first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /ŭyat/, in case of a fight with a brother-in-law /ŭburin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned, except if the dogs are ransom. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /ŭburin/ offends a son-in-law /ŭyat/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or bear as a present.

/303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth. The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her; you paid her with your own money" (clan money). The matter ended by giving a racing dog, and two bottles of vodka.

The oath: Uath -- ŭmbi chakhri lambe -- in Goldi, chikhye'u hyde.rd -- in Gilyak.

One must kill a wolf (tygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "where is the tendon for the thief? (ennŭhŭnorge'? ennŭh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jengaz' tongz' shamdrŭra?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/378 cont./

clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately. And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain as good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his dogs and sables, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where obviously the skill of one individual plays no role. There same economic relations prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household furs and wages constitute individual acquisitions. There is a category of articles and generally which constitute the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable furs, coats and sables, a set of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its committee offers conclusion a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/872 cont./ with regard to me, however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I, too, never received thanks from the Gilyak. I am not thinking now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are guilty. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiso, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to exchange mutual gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer, perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /873/ pai. If the latter were not done, the gifted in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, several buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy nature, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relation of the Gilyak with the Manchu Chinese and Japanese, who in Sakhalin, as well as in Saïrunai, have their officials and trade agents who demand such capitain benevolentsie in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, *pai*. And this is precisely what Julin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

It must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them, for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy; in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they personally even warned me against the thieves in certain places of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very difficult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspicious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. Since then once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their faithfulness, their knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and clairvoyance. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The brave-spirited human and stubbornly stuck to the sea now, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf birch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect when one encounters a rich Gilyak. That a rich man should ignoble fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence for his exceptional source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence their respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift sent from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely diffused legend according them relationship to magic, and living today, who attained his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and, in general, who is inclined to attribute their success to a gift received his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have the character of barter.

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak does not borrow money, his debts arise principally from the non-fulfillment of the obligations of the other side of the property obligations of a sender. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Debts are transferred to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from Manchu, but even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or table skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak constitutes, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his citizen relatives or after the death of these persons, the claim, in the person of the claimmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/31 cont./

very great ill; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings human sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fare of the hearth lies the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the hearth, who, if we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

But the clan of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal "engaging" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity, and, in the first place, in some of the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no need for the community principle to be realized. Indeed, the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out can come home from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry in the taiga if any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

/114 cont./

Let us look more closely at these conditions, and fare of all at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in the product that with the good manage equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs for that which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the area is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, for the catch belongs not only to some and not all the members of the clan? The same is true of hunting for forest beasts. If a hunter belongs to a group, he is ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without the help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master begins to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting ranges and fixes these keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, in consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dissension and social differences, does not show its theme here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal abilities and virtues; his accumulations cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

/158 cont./

In reality, joint cohabitation and regular intercourse are connected, not with the sexual feature of the marital union, but with the economic aspect. Wherever economic conditions demand the separation of the family into single group of persons and allow living together, group marriage there can turn into a regular, continual marriage. But such conditions are rarely found in primitive society. They are possible -- but even then not often -- in a narrow circle of brothers; in this case group marriage is really accompanied by the elements of joint cohabitation and the regular exercise of marital rights familiar to us. We meanwhile know of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Africa, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

In spite of the old opinion, which was accustomed to regard the life of primitive people as a continuous orgy, in reality the economy of primitive man, at least the methods of obtaining the means of subsistence, is at the present time mainly individual, and the form of general collaboration that crop up only at certain times disappear as quickly as they arose with the passing of the necessity for them. We may see a typical specimen of individual economy among the wandering Tungus reindeer-herders, who *rarely* assemble once or twice a year for only a short time and then in small related groups. In contrast with these live apart, widely separated from one another, each family living by itself his own territory for pasture and hunting.

Among peoples who are not herdsmen, who live closer together, the forms of economy are all more or less individual. Under such circumstances it is quite natural that every man, conducting his own particular economy, should strive to have with him a woman who, in conformity with the natural division of labor between the sexes, might perform with him his economic duties. Thus, joint and regular cohabitation between a man and one or several women arises by itself. In societies where group norms of sexual intercourse exist, such individual alliances change nothing. An

/237 cont./

We proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are predominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities are characterized by the principle of having the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochis, there is no marriage to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of the Amur region.

In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities of marital rights familiar to us. We meanwhile know of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Africa, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

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Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (1). Similar phenomena have been observed

1. Veniamin Innokentia /The Works of Innokentii/, Kiev 3, p. 419.

served among the Central Eskimo by Rink. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with the social basis for a sexual intercourse, are in themselves a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather *fixty* timid bear, do not present any social dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

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584 my children and your children also be akhmalk'i. If you do
582 not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied
177 circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages
178 in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the causes was the depopu-
614 lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com-
● 433 pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause,
556 perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought
[582] about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they preferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
177 the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
178 took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation-
556 ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's
582 dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good
584 person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
[584] his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

● 433 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one
46 cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.
[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In
465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;
554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling
476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. 162 592 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 225 433 000 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 422 501 231 000 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

166 464 /386 cont./ To make some money, 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make 103 433 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is [244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the [162] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the [177] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among [244] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise 224 433 178 648 potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement 342 178 354 [237] in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially [184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by [171] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from [177] whom it may have been borrowed.

133 [137] [491] As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

/387 cont./

114 36 103 361 221 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In connection with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 16 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169 422 231 501 411 433 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 592 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

G /383 cont./
342 dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need
171 only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

G In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples
361 it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different be-
342 tween the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the
22 Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are
G 361 predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal
433 hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyo-
226 phagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in
231 order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both
260 for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

G /384 cont./
361 most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a
432 place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich
227 in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into
224 consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them
439 with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

G The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes sur-
224 rounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed
226 essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the
231 farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in
432 view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in
361 comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals,
G 231 in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,
361

/404 cont./
000 made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

G All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general
291 have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the ex-
171 tent that the natural conditions of the regions, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, more or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, many a new one appear, etc.

The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, correspondence
G with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neigh-
291 bors on the Amur River, the Olcha, who live under the same physical
171 conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing
101 and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the
433 Gilyak, keep many dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for
231 winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilyak, the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the
G 199 latter completely, and every one of the garments described above, not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designation. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothing that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gilyak, such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk-deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of the
G 291 Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/. When Middendorff, coming
171 from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the
G 291 impression, despite their language, differing only dialectally
199 from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new people": the shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

2. Schrenck-302 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/516/ Section 8

000 Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed
171 that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the
433 peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing
361 exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various
221 peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail.
121 And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

G /534 cont./
227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
286 the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
784 are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superintition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

G /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
226 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the
433 lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
G 361 First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
262 all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
G 361 all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
224 to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life, hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
G 226 ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

/543 cont./
225 Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches
184 of work the Gilyak stand first among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can see well enough from the above descriptions how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next
433 to fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as was already pointed out, the seals migrate as far as the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, along the Sea of Okhotsk and on the Liman, seal-hunting often even comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the clothing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, often wholly, of sealskin, that among them seal-hunting plays
225 a far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It
361 should also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman
103 there are two places that bear the names of "Langr-wo," or "Langr" for short, and "Langri," that is, seal village, perhaps because they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting or perhaps because their inhabitants practice it with special and traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Langri, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Gleha (1), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

summer village of the Gilyak of Tulu[illegible]. /542/ The other one, however, Langr, located on a small island at the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and its conjectures
438 associated with it. It is one of the largest villages of the Amur
Liman, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the Amur Gilyak, using in particular the products of their seal-hunting, such as sealskins and furs and seal oil as articles for bartering with them.

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life.

Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples With One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Role of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they cannot directly satisfy all of their needs; they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that in the first decades after the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Perfiljef heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilka) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do more trading with the Chinese and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /591/ live farthest from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the two civilized peoples with each other.

Economy and Everyday Life

The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "ayyeshki," sets and seines. A "ayyeshki" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. Medium-sized, new-type nets, made of the finest ropes, the fishermen lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. For this purpose they several times used "drawnet" fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the boat. Some of the fishermen use "carpenter's" unusually built boats for this purpose.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of cattle fiber. They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom waited along the shore, while the others rowed the seine in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi followed the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important in the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large metal nets. Sea lions were hunted in early spring, at the time of the breaking up. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. The seals were driven onto the ice floes and hunted in open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lyki). This consisted

The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The latter were very sharp, with barbs and notches, built stout and made for dog-harness.

Men's work on hand fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and many fine women. The Nivkhi knew how to prepare the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and embroidered, made birchbark containers, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

The Nivkhi had a complex and stable, community relations were quite strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked boats, nets and other means of production, a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic person. Spirits were held sacred. Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in their thinking an yr'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every island, mountain and hill its yr'. The chief of these were Pul-yr'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandr, or Tol'yr'—the "master" of

Sewing together a seine.

of a small board equipped with harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 20 meters long. The harpoon was lowered into the water; the hunter lay down nearly in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the harpoon was quickly thrown at the animal, and he was finally drove it to the shore.

As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat the Tungusic-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As therefore, opposed to the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century the remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers and sisters; 3) husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tavng); and 4) children (ytyng).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, had economic activities directed to commercial ends and stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and brought furs and beluga isinglass for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors—the Oroch, the Udegei, the Nanai, etc. Trade was also carried on between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be involved with the world market. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's wife price always included large quantities of imported exhibition. But commodity relations were still very slow, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave was a member of his master's household and could be sold, but could not be killed. The women prepared the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and embroidered, made birchbark containers, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established tribute-bearer relations with the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the peoples of Sakhalin—the Ainu, and gasyanal—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally lacked a part of their former means of production, a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

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In 1931, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Usvd" collected 200 centners of potatoes and collected 200 centners of fish, and in the years from 1948 to 1952, the collected area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Usvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered over large distances. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers had made rapid strides since the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and well-ordered. Great attention is paid to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. After the Revolution, most of the Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese huts.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective farmers, barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an obstetrical station, baths devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse—pits, a fish-drying shed, a collective-farm store, a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past), many public-collective-farm dwellings have built their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are quite similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of Russian furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, pictures and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. The Nivkhi are unknown, which was entirely unknown in the past. But the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and sable-fur caps of old-style cut. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and homdrees remains of the traditional hat and moccasins. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. There and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the spread of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and midwifery centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but with educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

116, 181, 241, 433

"The Gilyaks are veritable children of the forest, finding their home, and therein. Cultivation of the soil is unknown to them, and they live mainly the flesh of beasts that fall to their snares. By bartering the skins of suc obtain tobacco, brick-tea, etc."

Hawes--274 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 166, 177, 231, 433

'An example of the way in which the proximity of th
conditions of life harder is seen in the feeding of
ys be allowed their liberty, and the fiercer ones ar
cattle of Russian neighbours--a certain casus bell
dogs have now to be fed, and their master's winte
avoid this the natives migrate further afield to les

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a report on the food of the
official Sakhalin Kalendar, 1899."

ne Russians incidentally renders
the Gilyak dogs. These cannot al-
re tied up, lest they should attack
li. Accustomed to feed themselves
er stores naturally give out sooner.
ss favourable fishing-grounds. (1)

Gilyak, in the local and

is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
eir number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
ite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
her hand, there were far fewer villages.
Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
nly now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
se there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
appens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and ani-
our for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
rimary occupations they spend their summers on the river
anks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
rough the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
ey have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
ink such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
ives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
ound Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
onsisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
inter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
rick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
alls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
e travellers found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
hole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
istance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
f the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
erhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
illages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
hole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
orced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
iver in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
ore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
ot a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
entioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
nder-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
wellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
fer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
ut with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
ct with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that.
n short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin, in addition
he atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
he presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
r drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
scape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
n the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

/113 cont./

561 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.,
855 but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover,
86 to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum
of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan
customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship
appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe,
and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that
constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys,
hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his
own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct
himself in society.

561 All these qualities, however, would have no significance if
579 the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples
855 of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a
special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely
train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the
Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the
despotism of the head of the family with respect to the adult mem-
bers. The sons are completely free to separate from their father,
obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements,
sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their
catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion.
596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at
the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather,
father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free associa-
tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a
1492 participant in such an economic union, every member can have
1434 his own individual property in the form of sleds and dogs, arms,
enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal
merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there is
extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and
purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour,
rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in
the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are
combined without any friction.

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By
moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the
Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives
stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so
that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means
of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and
the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve
as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small,
uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much
as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the
middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of
broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the
driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
435 friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles.
556 ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen
dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satis-
fied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also
built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of
ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred
steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and
flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and
passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle
in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the
Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the
water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life
of our native. The Gilyak is generally a semisedentary person.
In summer he usually lives near a river or sea, while for the
winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places,
to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place
of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In
addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to
resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when
his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/300 cont./

567 part of their dowry. In buying wives, the price corresponded to
582 the additional slaves. In 1896 a former slave, about whom we
have the following information, lived there. A Narni bought
from Kizi a Kugi (Ainu) maiden, and an illegitimate child was
born. Khuzin's father bought the son of this Kugi (krygryy) in
435 Kizi. He was 25 years old; he was paid for with nine pieces
of silk material (21 meters) at 75 rubles a piece.

This worker served him for five years. Eighteen years ago
he ran away to Kizi, and then to Arvo (near Nizhnetarbovskiy).
The name of this krygryy was Kutr. His former master from
Khez' summoned him to conduct shaman ceremonies, and he
used this opportunity to run away. Now he is an old man and
blind. One absolutely must take him back, though blind, feed
him, and bury him with their own hands, and then his soul will
follow him to Mlyvo (his father, dying, requested this of him).

Chinese girls were bought in a similar fashion. It was
necessary to take along 100 sables, 100 foxes, 100 otters, 100
squirrels, 100 polecats, between 10 and 100 black-brown foxes,
100 seals, and 100 bears. The travelers to Sanin were met by
a merchant who would take away all their merchandise and,
without counting it, would transport it to his warehouse. The
visitors would be feted for two days and /301/ questioned in Goldi
or through an interpreter. The newcomers would tell their hosts
about their wish to get married, then they would record how much
each had brought, and they would be taken to the governor. He
would provide carriages and food, and they would be transported
to the major city (Peking). They would be introduced and ac-
commodated in the palace, assigned servants, fed and looked
after by them. Then they would be given a remuneration by
an interpreter. Finally whole rows of women with covers over their
faces would be lined up in front of them; behind each woman
would stand a castrated slave. The old Gilyak would recommend:
"a young male slave -- an old woman -- a risk." They would
choose right there; they would each be led to a room. A slave
would sweep and spread out the bedding, and that very night
he would learn his fate. They were painted. He sticks his
tongue in the mouth; there are no teeth.

/302 cont./

578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin/, wife's brother/, he must
(present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only
in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second
-- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh.
If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They
are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another
and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last,
farthest away, and the must catch up with all of them and the
object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
435 if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost
of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat/, in case of
431 a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of
dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or,
if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
435 except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-
law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat/, he gives for recon-
ciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
611 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back,
but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to
try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a cer-
tain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten
because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him:
"You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan
money). The quarrel was ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and
two kettles of vodka.

595 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
635 nyydz:rd -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (tygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons
on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where
is the tendon for the thief? (emnikhrongz'? emnikh -- heel, tongz --
tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jemg:az' tongz'
shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/349 cont./

Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, there were the places closest to the mainland: half a day's a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kalugu /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it, even now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of 40 sables per person (we must remember that in the past sable was three or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak went to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pay one sable and the /550/ ransom of the settlement three sables each. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

/300 cont./

possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all the more those made of six skins of this kind, has so high a conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

2. Yubarats Ides, Dreijaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. De Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

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boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from the Manchu boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and power. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the people of the lower Amur region. Maximowicz saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an inner-sill length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on prongs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XVIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

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Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1009, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass (Gilyak tusy), and silver (Gilyak tonta) (2). The price of the

the arrow, but possibly not fatally and only wounded, will not escape, the arrow is fastened by a loosely hanging cord (Gilyak tughr-pulsy) to the pole on which the self-firer rests.

The high value of sable, fox, and other fur bearers makes the use of the self-firer in the form described very general among the Gilyak, and in the forests surrounding their dwellings one can easily run into an apparatus of this kind set up, which makes caution necessary when roaming in them. It is interesting that on the above-described target-stick the worthless hare has been given consideration along with the three most highly prized furbearing animals. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that it is very common in the entire lower Amur region and on Sakhalin and, in the absence of other animal trails, often provides booty for the self-firers, whereby a good piece of meat and a fur for his own needs always fall to the hunter.

/568/ On the other hand, I have never heard it said that the Gilyak use the self-firer for killing other, more or less valuable, but larger animals, such as the lynx, wolf, alpine wolf, musk deer, reindeer, and elk. There may be various reasons for this. In general, the Gilyak are not hunters enough and are not enough interested in hunting animals other than those with precious furs to undertake long and strenuous hunting trips over great distances, to fell tree barricades, and to set up self-firers with arrows aimed horizontally in their passageways, as is customary, for example, among the Tungusic peoples and is discussed at length by

/592 cont./

country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them, I express the surprise that they were now only exploring the country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Dul, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hotbloodedly in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This situation was so painful and even worse than two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however, I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I put forward with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was offered. With the beginning of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, cleverness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical value, such as tobacco, tobacco pipes, and the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "na-na-ŋ," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), but not accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own accord they also value very much the other articles, in the order of the suffix ra means the "is" — tachalhara" (2), that is, it costs one, two, three, etc.,

2. Similarly, just as kaik means "not," kaikra means "is not"; or ŋgakhoschch, "bad," ŋgakhoera, "is bad."

Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and hence also that in the Gilyak, is carried on only barter and no money is used among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

/593 cont./

values or current prices of all the articles playing a more or less important part in the life and household of the Gilyak long before I knew the unit to which the numbers referred. Not until I was among the Olcha and thanks to my finding there a guide who besides his mother tongue, also had a command of the Gilyak language did I get on the right track, and my stay among the Goldi helped to give me complete certainty with regard to the questionable unit of value also generally current among the Gilyak. Chosiambo, as my guide was called (3),

3. He came from the Olcha village of Uda and owed his knowledge of Gilyak chiefly to the fact that he had a Gilyak woman from Tebach as a wife.

designated the value of various articles in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak do, in that he put only the pertinent number in front of the verb "saŋlê" (to cost, Gilyak tschalhatsch); sometimes, however, instead of "omu (one) saŋlê," he said "omu jan saŋlê," etc. After the removal of the ja, obviously for phonetic grounds, it was clear that the unit in question, the value of the object was based among the Olcha and Gilyak is the ja -- as was to be expected, a magnitude of value of Chinese origin. The further, confirming and illuminating information coming I was obtained without difficulty from the Goldi. The term "ja" for the unit of value in appraising trade items and other articles is quite familiar to them; they were also able to say that the Chinese divide the ja into 10 parts called dicha among them (the Goldi), each of which is worth 100 Chinese brass coins (Goldi zirikta dicha), so that 1,000 pieces of the latter equal one ja. This is therefore the Chinese silver ounce (liang or tael), almost equal to two Russian rubles in /592/ value. The fact that the Chinese unit of value also serves the peoples of the lower Amur region as the general basis for the evaluation of trade products and other property indicates better than anything else the dominant, in fact, and

lawes--229-230 T-3 (1901) 1903
177, 241, 433

If there were more friends of the Gilyaks lik
le on the island, they indeed might yet be s
t their means of livelihood, hunting and fishi
refore endeavoured to induce those who dwel
tivate potatoes and to salt fish. To the native
raordinarily exhausting; and one gave it up a
le others eagerly sought permission to eat t
followed up, [230] his efforts have failed, th
got several puds sown."

3 Gilyak

ke Mr. Pilsudski, who was a political
aved from extinction. He recognized
ng, were beginning to fail them, and
t near the Russian settlements to
es utterly unused to it, the work was
after two hours because 'his back ached,'
he seed potatoes! I fear, unaided and
hough after a great amount of persuasion

"After all, regrettable as it is, the de
ith the white man. The immediate resu
nent of the native hunting preserves; an
ade of their main settlements, made lit
ng-grounds, e.g. the river Tim and the
nan, and in so far limited the possibilit
nd especially the fires—in some cases
aturally driven off or destroyed the wil
[274] Some of their elders told us that
f bears, sables, and reindeer, but sinc
ecome poor. In those days the poor ma
.e. with as large a following of helpers

cline of the race must be attributed to contact
lt of the latter's presence has been the curtail-
d though it is true that the Russians have, out-
tle impression on the taiga, yet the best fish-
west coast, have naturally attracted the white
ies of the Gilyak fishery. Then the clearings,
carelessly left to spread destruction—have
d game and restricted it to smaller compass.
'before the Russians came there were plenty
e they arrived and burnt the woods the rich had
n could go into the taiga as the rich man to-day'
s and as many snares to collect from)."

/594 cont./

(1. cont.)

found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the country, and the Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnades, just even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

THROUGH THE ASSOCIATION WITH THE RUSSIANS however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the use of their coins (2).

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian notes as payment, but they are very great shrewdness in monetary and trade matters due the following incident, which, if it occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. The frequently mentioned Fotweiu, a Gilyak from Kalij, who had been since then the Russian ever since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolajewsk to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging with his countrymen there various small items for all kinds of valuables and, particularly gold and silver coins, which they had stolen from a stranded American whaleship. Shrewd enough to see the intrinsic value of the Russian, and in part also with the Russian. Fotweiu, by means of the acts of value borrowed from the Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard in that the in part very heterogeneous items involved in it appear equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

1. The only coins for which a are could be

/594 cont./

(1. cont.)

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1. The only coins for which a are could be

/595 cont./

either the buyer or teller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they represent, on the other, on the ability, hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Orcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections. The Russian commodities began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept at mind in connection the following incident, which, if the people that my description refer to a period when this contact had first begun, and had not yet had the consequence that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their household and the care of their life and livelihood, the decisive factor, as to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following sections.

By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn the values of their household items. The most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and to part also with the Russian, and the foremost articles in their life and household, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

A cable and pot, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-2 ja

A pelt from the red fox (*ganti*) -*ganti* . . . . . 2 "

The ja is pronounced *yeh*, like the French *je*.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (*pland*) . . . equals 3 ja

435 A pelt from the black fox (*hadi*), depending on its quality, ... equals 10 ja and more

A marten (*kuntsch*) . . . . . 3 ja

A lynx pelt with head, the leg pieces, and the tail . . . . . 8-10 "

A lynx pelt without head, leg pieces, and tail . . . . . 5 "

/596/ 1

A river otter pelt is estimated according to its size, each finger-span of it is equal to . . . 1 ja

A sable, either *Pinne* (*ambrosiana*) (*gilj*) or *Pl. barbata* (*highitsch*), provided it is very good, is equal to . . . . . 1 "

Four fathoms (1) of ordinary cotton cloth (*sun*) cost . . 1 "

1. That is, arm spans, since the Gilyak do not have any measure other than arm and finger spans.

(inch)

Two fathoms of very velvet (*pantsu-pan*) cost . . . 1 ja

One and a half fathoms of cloth (*khingan*) . . . . . 1 "

Four fathoms of silk brocade (*ilimsch*) . . . . . 1 "

(silk fabric (*ochara*) are equal to . . . . . 1 "

2. More correctly stated, Chinese. Four fathoms of it constitute one piece.

The value that the Gilyak give to their various pieces of clothing is judged according to the quality and price of the materials; thus, it cost for:

A simple cap, ... equals 1-2 ja

A cap made of the red fox (*ganti*) -*ganti* . . . . . 2 "

One wooden case (*kylme-wakim*) of liquor is regarded as equal to . . . . . 10 "

A bottle of tobacco leaves, and a tinder of scarcity even only 5, cost . . . . . 1 "

A very large sturgeon (*kukki-ochu*) equals . . . 2 ja

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A woman's cap made of the same material . . . . . 3 ja

A "Amur-hat" (*ochara*) . . . . . 3 "

A woman's cap made of lynx head-fur (*nuhiyak-hak*) . . . 5 "

The large and beautiful sturgeon (*kukki*) . . . . . 1 "

" woman's robe made of fish skin (*nehuch*), with considerable embroidery on it . . . . . 5 "

" fur coat of lynx pelts (about 5 pelts) . . . . . 10 "

A coat made of dog-pelts is evaluated primarily by the value not here by its quality, that is, whether they came from grown animals or from whelps. That, it costs for:

A large, very beautiful white dog-fur coat (*nuhale-ohich*) . 1 "

" spotted or brown-and-white mixed dog-fur coat . . . . . 1 "

Each ten fathoms of hempen cloth . . . . . 1 "

" white . . . . . dog-fur coat (*kuhang-ohich*) . . . . . 2 "

" black or white dog-fur coat (*ighe-ohich*) made of pelts of grown animals . 3 "

" " " made " " from whelps . . . 2 "

The other garments of the Gilyak, such as skirts of ordinary cotton, lined with rabbit-skins of cloth or velvet, trousers, open skirts of sealskin, ordinary winter caps, summer hats of linen, silk, sleeve-bands, ear muffs, gloves, etc., do not have the value of one ja, though the last three are, as a rule, provided with embroidery. Furthermore, the Gilyak value:

One sack of flour as equal to . . . . . 2 ja

A Manchurian sacks (*yuli*), but measured by the *ulachi* as equal to 4 tables, that is, about 6 or . . . . . 4-8 "

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A very large tobacco (*patch-tuchu*) equals . . . . 4-5 ja

Five, mild young, and small but equals . . . . . 25 "

" " full-grown bear, depending on its size, equals . 30-40 "

" of ordinary quality (*ochi-tuchu*) . . . . . 1 "

" ordinary tied equals . . . . . 1 "

" pair of Tungusic ski with skin covering (*Gilyak ulu-ergi*, i.e., Samogir ski equals . . . 1 "

The local ski covered with seahkin, on the other hand do not reach the value of one ja.

A small to middle-sized bear, depending on its size, equals . . . . . 3-7 "

A large, very beautiful bear . . . . . 13 "

" said made of fish skun equals . . . . . 1 "

Each ten fathoms of hemp cloth . . . . . 1 "

A bow covered with a wholebone plate equals . . . 1 "

" " " "

/400 cont. /

1/10 a whole fur-coat of squirrel skin ? [illegible], whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these worthless, trifling articles. The Samar-tsi, in contrast to the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals for food and for trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/3 in among them, a red doe or elk hide, untanned, 1 ½, tanned 2 ½ like the fur, the principal products from fishing also have a higher [illegible] among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon, for example, costs 10 in among the former), on the one hand because the fish supply is far more abundant in the Amur upstream, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near so productive in this respect at the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "sazup" of it, equal to three handfuls, is valued by them at 30 in (?).

2. At 30 in by the Gilyak, according to the above table (see p. 939).

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Crimean) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since principal commodity of the Amur people in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable, fox, martens, otter, and fine-furred dogs, as we saw above, are the whole, only /411/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring the commodity in the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

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on the west coast. A principal center for this trade, however, is the village of Nakam, not far from Kumara, to which the Aino people from the Sakhalin Island regularly distribute themselves, from Aniwa Bay and elsewhere (3). For

2. Bunge, op. cit., p. 84. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 92.

ecgonical reason the Japanese view this trade with great dislike and try as far as possible to prevent it, because they want to get for themselves the fur captured by the Aino. Since they do this in a way which is very unsatisfactory to the Aino, they buy their goods far below the price in part under threats of punishment and other coercive measures, and, indeed, sometimes for nothing, or payment for alleged debts (3), the Aino, whenever they

3. Bunge, op. cit., p. 84 ff.

can, avoid trading with them and try to sell their furs, kept secret from them, to the Russians and, in the end, preferably, to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha from abroad. The latter are said to pay them two to three hundred times the price, whereas the "sazup" of cloth for one sable pelt, depending on its quality, and just as much for each quarter of an inch of the length of river-otter skin, so that the latter, with a length of 1/4 arshin, which is easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of the fur in skinning, will bring about ten Japanese of the material named (4) - prices which generally correspond to the values

4. Bunge, op. cit., p. 84.

given above for these articles among the Gilyak.

Having reached Sakhalin, the Sisiam voyagers, before they may begin to trade with the Japanese, first go to the Orok people introduced by the latter which consists of two or three blows across the back with a stick received by each of them, as a

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token of their submissiveness from the highest Japanese official. After this is done, the people are taken to the Japanese, and brought to an official building of the Japanese, which no one except them may enter, in order to be subjected to a close scrutiny (5). It can hardly be doubted that some of the prices

5. According to Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's historich. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 127.

and certainly not the worst ones, never find their way back to their native [illegible] Rychiwi, Rychiwi, and they must content themselves to trade the newly arrived Gilyak and Olcha in the same inconsiderate and prudent manner as they do the Aino, simply for the reason that otherwise they might easily shy away together with the Aino and the several commodities that they bring to them would be lost. Behind /413/ this trade is all the more profitable for them since they principally use sable, fox, and river-otter furs in trade, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their unremitting persecution of the Aino, whereas other furs, as well as so-[illegible] and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among its inhabitants. They further owe a good part of its profit to the sale of silver-otter skin, so that the latter, with a length of 1/4 arshin, which is easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of the fur in skinning, will bring about ten Japanese of the material named (4) - prices which generally correspond to the values

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[illegible] Italiaiton albicilla, the amount of rice dented. Fortnightly, in that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Shelikof and the Russian, Ivan Ivanof, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Sisiam voyager in Sakhamuti at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 600 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenef, Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Sisiam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and neighboring rivers, and, in the case of the latter, also simply for the reason that otherwise they might easily shy away together with the Aino and the several commodities that they bring to them would be lost. Behind /413/ this trade is all the more profitable for them since they principally use sable, fox, and river-otter furs in trade, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their unremitting persecution of the Aino, whereas other furs, as well as so-[illegible] and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among its inhabitants. They further owe a good part of its profit to the sale of silver-otter skin, so that the latter, with a length of 1/4 arshin, which is easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of the fur in skinning, will bring about ten Japanese of the material named (4) - prices which generally correspond to the values

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5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ga each, together . . . . . 20 ga
1 Japanese kettle with three handles . . . . . 30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor . . . . . 30 "
1 large bear . . . . . 50 "
5 especially good dogs (nyin-kan) at 5 ga each . . . . . 25 "
Total . . . . . 155 ga = about 386 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price among primitive peoples in older and more recent times. At the time of Aldon Rasul (Reverend Bachi, senior grammar Chinese-Tartar, wrote or anno 1692 etc. /Newly Discovered Tartary/ Ch. Ch. Journey Which He in 1692, etc./, Libbek, 1734, p. 96) Kalmuks living in the wilderness among the Tungus on the Wenchuaja Tunguska. A rich Oryak got on the Obi River, so Gmelin, who took part in the expedition, had to give in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, 40 pieces of Indian silk, 40 pieces of Russian cloth, 40 pieces of Dutch cloth, 40 pieces of Persian, Prague, Bremen, Reisch /?/ cloth through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 52). According to Castren (1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 58), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage was two reindeer in the Ob region, in exchange for a female skin and for the difference in the various bride price in some other towns.

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people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, [illegible] Gilyak, who are not subjected to any yoke, and, finally, indicating that this deplorable custom of the Aino and Goldi is rooted in very ancient degenerate; which may have been brought by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them in the fact that the latter themselves nonetheless negotiate the sale of the Aino and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have been been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Aino and Goldi and under certain conditions, which, however, are very lenient, treat them, in contrast to any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they want to be regarded as the father of a family and to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen as to lose his entire reputation and his life.

On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak, the principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade to the Aino or Goldi and in the indirect one through the Gilyak. It is not rare for a Gilyak to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Sogin in Kulk (Sakhalin), paid for the latter, his first slave, a Aino woman named Koe, than for his second wife, Sogin, for his slave, paid twice as much, and, finally, for his third wife, Sogin, for his slave, paid twice as much as for his second wife. The use of a female slave as a concubine is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak. If anyone did so, he would not only lose completely all the respect that the [illegible] of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. The high price of the female slaves, however, is, either the most austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very valuable for the husband, for such a possession may be an enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does not hesitate to sell his daughter into a marriage, or to take in exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the various bride price in some other towns.

/647 cont. /

case present motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which can be interpreted in two ways, or at any rate female slaves, among them, Smerenkur (Gilyak) ape Kondra for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tôkan (on the opposite mainland), which had been unsuccessful the year before. /649/ and this without any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to sit all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the home where he had taken refuge. For a time, however, he entered the ranks of professional entertainers for money, service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, to the whims of the women, to put himself at the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated like a servant by her, but, since the woman was either partially not a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and completely carrying out, or, at least put the undignified and humiliating position and treatment [illegible] Smerenkur, the Gilyak, the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged [illegible] and indicated to the Japanese that the status of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas those around them, the Gilyak, Aino, and Goldi people, and those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dirty, and sooty earth huts.

Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subordinate position among the Smerenkur, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Aina) that in their trade with the Santanar, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

/650 cont. /

and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy. 3-4, often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and [illegible] people are not sold, because they are valued as slaves, are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the Aino people in the island of Yezo from time to time sell people to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situation [illegible] country of the Santanar" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the Aino and Goldi people, who are generally considered to be very and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin, the Aino, and the Goldi, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Aino. Nevertheless, the Gilyak, the Smerenkur, as Rinsô reports, do have their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as captives the women, children, and children of those who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, they become slaves there. The Smerenkur, however, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main settlement, Nakamura, Rinsô's Tôkan, which belong to the Aino, which lay in the Gilyak province, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other tribes of a similar primitive culture. As Bunge (1) has set forth, the Aino practice of selling tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Goldi, or, in the case of the Sakhalin Aino, to the Russians or by other traders, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it is a matter of the Aino or the Gilyak, is the fear of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/650 cont. /

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9: Hawes--291 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 435

"We came to the first Gilyak village since leaving the bay. [LSS: The Bay of Ni] All the men-folk were absent, for it was the end of the Gilyak financial year; and although I did not hear of any accountants being called in or auditors appointed, a strict account of debts and payments was doubtless kept in the Gilyak memory. The current coin was dried fish, and the accumulation of this after spawning-time was now being applied by the men, who had gone up the river, to the payment of debts for rice and seal -oil borrowed, and in exceptional cases for potatoes advanced by the Russians."

436

436 MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE--articles circulating in exchange at their intrinsic value as standard money (e.g., salt, cattle, grain, shells, metal bars or coins); forms of representative money (e.g., warehouse receipts, certificates of deposit of standard money); credit money (e.g., government notes, bank notes); token money (e.g., subsidiary coins, shell money, bead money); coinage and mints; right of issuance; counterfeiting; etc. See also:

Foreign exchange 467
Government issuance and manipulation of currency 602
Punishment of counterfeiting. 687
Weights and measures 904

1: Sittenberg--165 E-5 (1880-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*614 628 537 •[436] /105 cont./
what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and [171] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the [789] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 628 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

2: Schrenck--889 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

114 325 326 192 [293] /568 cont./
Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008, Fig. 1.

325 326 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass [531] (Gilyak tussi), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the [435]

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna- [439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

•[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg 365 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have [197] borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East [194] Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relati

G
Gi /594 cont./
435 solely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade
177 with them. Among the Goldi, who live closest to the Sungari
Gi Chinese and have constant retail-trade relations with them, a tenth
[439] part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver
ounce comes into consideration, which makes it necessary for
them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
G (ja or dicha). For the more distant Olcha and Gilyak, however,
Gi who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods
439 in larger quantities in Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the tenth and
435 the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance --
177 for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its
multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it
expressly in making appraisals, but rather it suffices to give only
the number concerned. If I had made my investigations into this
Gi question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite
435 direction, going from the latter to the former, the unit of value
177 upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent
to me without any difficulty, automatically, as it were. Inci-
dentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it
is not represented among the latter by any coin, is always only
an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to
form only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or
quantity of the corresponding pieces of goods or other articles.
G As is well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver
[192] ounce is current in the form of coins -- the round brass coins
with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tschcha), which are
usually strung ten and a thousand on a string. On account of
G their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention
[436] to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellas, they are
[361] used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also
G as shirt and belt buttons. In my time Russian coins, likewise
435 called tschcha (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak,
436 were not accepted either by them or by the other natives of the
177 lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their
value and because the Chinese merchants likewise would not
accept them (1). Through their association with the Russians,

1. The only coins for which a use could be

G
Gi /594 cont./
435
436
177

1. (cont.)
found with respect to the Chinese merchants
during my time in the Amur region were
Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnados,
and even these were always first carefully
tested as to their weight with the help of
hand scales.

G Through their association with the Russians
436 however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the
177 use of their coins (2).
439

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even
Russian notes as payment. As proof of their
great shrewdness in monetary and trade
matters the following incident, which oc-
curred during my stay, might be mentioned.
The frequently mentioned Foswein, a Gilyak
from Kulj, who had been close to the
Russians ever since their first appearance in
the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk
to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging
with his countrymen there various small items
for all kinds of valuables and especially
gold and silver coins, which they had stolen
from a stranded American whaler after kill-
ing part of the crew, and then to make a
profit out of them with the Russians.

G
Gi /595/ By means of the unit of value borrowed from the
43 Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur
177 region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves
and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard
in that the in part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear
equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size,
quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units
of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

437

437 EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS--types of exchange (e.g., barter, purchase of goods with money, exchange of services for goods); negotiations (e.g., haggling, auctioning); formalities; guarantees; trading expeditions; special trading relationships; etc. See also:
Marketing 44
Property transactions in marriage 58
Gift exchange 431
Foreign exchange 457
Exchange of services 476

/202 cont./

* 174 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with
177 wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished
them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by
[221] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of
• [437] neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the
[487] Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes
of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their
[563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples
or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital
relations with them or carried off their women. And although
these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not
be without influence.

* 174 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has
177 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until
556 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was no
stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there
were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated
them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or success-
[437] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with
the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There
appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume,
but which they began to value, which were profitable to
accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possessors
of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished
to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousness
of their wealth and their importance, and together with this
the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the
[583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying
of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables.
The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the woman
was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and
with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circumvent
[581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti-
ʊʊ tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual
marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/379 cont./
556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of
life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling.
That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to
understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own
peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our under-
standing. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his
personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the
respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time
a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still
living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation
and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/
had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered
down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden
rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally
432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
• 437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have
487 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the non-
fulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract.
No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known
[184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but
177 even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan
of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
[614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
[612] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with
regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred
30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in
the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or
after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the
clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are
made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

A
G /17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
103 south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak
361 named only three to me, which makes the
113 designation of the place appear somewhat un-
called for. According to Schmidt, however
(op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually
been a large village in former times, but in
his time there were still only three poor yurts.
A Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v"
[114] sel'skokhozyaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin
Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/,
St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are
no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Poro-
kotan) is therefore not quite correct, accord-
ing to the above.

G
361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak fo
their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokoi-
nai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who h
G been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also
361
• 439

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit.,
p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the sout
point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the win
and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent in-
habitants of the place. The border conditions on the east co
G of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in
Gi that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together
A (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, end
181
361

G 3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl.
Gi physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de
A St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et
[113] chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

116, 435, 583

"Dr. Schrenck, speaking of the Amur Gi
their word 'to marry' (umgu genich) means
given, such as bear-spears, kettles, boats
case to as much as 310 rubles (31 guineas)
give a sledge with a team of dogs, or a spe
times an additional arrangement obtains, w
handsome price, and in consideration of th
parer, gives his services to his father-in-
days in the season."

lyaks whom he visited fifty years ago, says
'to buy a wife,' and the value of the articles
, and dogs amounts to large sums; in one
. The Sakhalin Gilyaks are much poorer, and
ear and two pieces of foreign stuffs. Some-
where the husband, who, unable to pay a
e value of his wife as fish-cleaner and pre-
law as hunter or fisherman for one or two

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use, and r
are large simple rings of silver, of one and
with an agate or two. These, with the rare s
shoes are regarded as family heirlooms. Th
surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family, and re
paper-money or a heap of silver pieces have
sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-blue silk
Moreover, they are just as useful in the bus
to dealing in the concrete, knows exactly the
and when he comes in his travels to a Russia
measure the value of his ruble notes."

nostly of Japanese and Chinese make. The
a half or more inches in [272] diameter,
ilk brocade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and
ey are bought one after the other with the
present the capital of the hut. A bundle of
little attraction for the native, whereas a
is a 'thing of beauty and a joy for ever.'
iness of exchange; and the native, long us
ir value, whereas money is unfamiliar;
an store, he has no standard by which to

'How important a part sewing must hav
agined, when clothing consisted of salm
dered over the counter by the yard, but
adequate covering. In early times bone
barter, a big ship's canvas-needle cam
asure. How eagerly [221] such was sou
ssessor handed it down as a family heir
such value that a wife could be bought w
much as a narta (sledge) and team of
ses (nookh-tses), curiously carved, we
principle on which they work is exactl
day in Korea.

The following shows the value they used
Gilyak family crying and howling.

'Why are you crying?' he asked. 'Is son
'No! What is death? It would have been
t!' "

e played in the domestic economy can be
non-skins, a material which could not be
had to be diligently stiched together to form
needles were used, but when, by accident or
ne into their hands, it was a priceless
ght after and seldom obtained. The happy
loom. In those days they tell us a needle was
vith it; whereas to-day a helpmeet may cost
thirteen dogs. To keep the needle safe, bone
re made; and it is interesting to note that
y the same as that of the little silk ones made

to put upon the needle. A Russian came upon

nebody dead?'
better had somebody died. The needle is

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husbar
thirteen years old to assist his ageing spo
keeping, is in possession of wealth enoug
fronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have
to live on in the paternal home, or, if [26
friends and comrades to help him build a
required, and this is a very expensive ite
forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have e
was the difficulty with our Vanka, who wa
his own estimate, but according to our no
desirous of marrying, and offered to take
summer to the 'end of the world,' with the
rate charge of forty rubles apiece. With t
and he had already saved sufficient for the

nd—not the old man who buys a second wife
use—but the youth who aspires to set up house
n to pay the price demanded, he is still con-
a separate establishment. He may be content
9] not, he will probably be able to get his
hut; but this is not enough, a cauldron is
m. He may have to pay in skins the value of
ven heard of them costing sixty rubles. This
s a capable young man of fifteen, according to
tions about twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was
me and my interpreter during the following
e aid of three of his companions, for the mode-
his sum he would be able to buy a cauldron,
e purchase of a wife."

"Scarcely had we disembarked when a bo
paddle astern, hove in sight. It was a party
to buy a bear. The purchase-money was no
them it would have been somewhat difficult
dog, a piece of Chinese silk, and some tob

at, impelled by four pairs of sculls ar
y of Gilyaks from Nivo going up to Der
t in their purses, indeed had they pos
to get it in, for the price proposed wa
acco."

/592 cont./

23 country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
84 express the suspicion that they were now only exploring the
48 country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Duĭ, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hostilely in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in
39 hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
23 I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was needed. With the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
39 other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
57 ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical utility excites their inclination to buy: on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "tsa-tsa-ä," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better ones, in the course of which they praise them and insist on the first demand. In short, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how very much this in fact fits them can be seen from the following more detailed statements.

Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and
37 hence also that of the Gilyak, is only barter and no money is used
35 among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

/592 cont./

437 trade or even otherwise in their life and household has been de-
435 veloped among them. This necessarily presupposes, however, the existence of an accepted absolute unit of value among them, through the multiplication of which the appraisal of the objects is made or their price standardized. What is this unit of value or of what does it consist? /593/ It was not easy for me to determine this, as one will see from the following reasons. Since the Gilyak are only familiar with barter, they answer any question about the price of an article, as a rule, by mentioning the quantity of goods desired in return (for instance, three bundles of tobacco, two fathoms of cloth, etc.). A question as to the absolute value of the foremost goods and objects, their price in themselves, the basis of even barter-trade, is rarely understood and only by the more intelligent, and even then the answer consists of only a number preceding the verb "to cost, to be worth" (Gilyak tschalhatsch), without the stating of any unit of value. In this connection, however, that form of the numbers which serves for the counting of animate objects is always used. I cannot say for what reason. To the question as to how much an article costs, properly understood in the above sense, the Gilyak will therefore give as an answer: "njunj, mor, tschor (1), etc.

[802]

1. Not njakr, mjakr, tschakr, etc., as the ordinary form of the numbers used for counting inanimate things runs.

tschalhatsch, or -- with the addition of the suffix ra meaning "is" -- tschalhara" (2), that is, it costs one, two, three, etc.,

2. Similarly, just as kauk means "not," kaukra means "is not"; or ngalskotsch, "bad," ngalskora, "is bad."

[435] and nothing more. The unit of value under consideration is never
[437] expressed, as if it were self-evident, as if it needed no special designation. I was therefore able to make a numerical list of the

nt./

r current prices of all the articles playing a more or
ortant part in the life and household of the Gilyak long
knew the unit to which the numbers referred. Not
as among the Olcha and thanks to my finding there a
no besides his mother tongue, also had a command of
ak language did I get on the right track, and my stay
he Goldi helped to give me complete certainty with
the questionable unit of value also generally current
he Gilyak. Chossiambo, as my guide was called (3),

3. He came from the Olcha village of Uda and owed his knowledge of Gilyak chiefly to the fact that he had a Gilyak woman from Tebach as a wife.

ed the value of various articles in exactly the same
as the Gilyak do, in that he put only the pertinent num-
ont of the verb "ssalé" (to cost, Gilyak tschalhatsch);
es, however, instead of "omu (one) ssalé," he said
n ssalé," etc. After the removal of the n, obviously
on phonetic grounds, it was clear that the unit on which
e of the object was based among the Olcha and Gilyak
-- as was to be expected, a magnitude of value of
origin. The further, confirming and illuminating in-
on concerning it was obtained without difficulty from
i. The term "ja" for the unit of value in appraising
ms and other articles is quite familiar to them; they
o able to say that the Chinese divide the ja into 10 parts,
icha among them (the Goldi), each of which is worth
ese brass coins (Goldi zirikta dicha), so that 1,000
f the latter equal one ja. This is therefore the Chinese
nce (liang or tael), almost equal to two Russian rubles
silver. The fact that the Chinese unit of value also
e peoples of the lower Amur region as the general
the evaluation of trade products and other property
better than anything else the dominant, in fact, almost

484
439 /601 cont./ the alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that
439 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
[157] is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodities, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like, in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these foreign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
[492] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests. Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time, the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods, and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same, the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese, they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting. Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodity always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

439 These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
439 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
484 on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak ivnk) and the Samagir on Lake
648 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
[487] and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter, aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone, they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

G /602 cont./
439 First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient
439 route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in
484 winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

G under these circumstances
439 the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the
439 Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where
484 the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from
487 those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake
361 Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, more-
G: over, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the
439 Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition
361 to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living
G: on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographi-
[197] cally as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the dwellers on it, closer to the Olcha than to the Gilyak.

/603 cont./

The Amur Gilyak find a field for their trading operations as middlemen that is far more favorable than among the Negda and Samagir among their own countrymen along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, which they reach in a short time, going either from Pali-wo to Kal via the lakes mentioned, or from Wair to Hinka, or by way of the Amur Liman, and where they are the sole suppliers of Chinese and, since the abandonment of the Petrofski post, also Russian wares. In exchange for these, they are supplied with animal pelts which the Gilyak living on the spot in part capture themselves in the coastal region and on the Schantar Islands and in part obtain from the Tungus hunting along the Tugur and in the Mitwatchan Mountains in exchange for the yield from their fishing and hunting of sea animals and articles previously procured from the Amur Gilyak. Furthermore, they buy eagle tails from their countrymen in order to use them in trade with the Japanese, and, finally, they cheaply procure there seal oil and skins both for their own use and for trade with their southern neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi.

The Amur Gilyak, and in part also the Tschoini Gilyak, get their greatest booty in animal skins for trade with the Tschoini, however, on Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the former chiefly in the northern part of the island, along the Liman and Tro coasts, and the latter on the west coast south of Poghobi and along the upper course of the Tymy River, without there being any strict division of these trade areas between them. It is strange that the Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their aforementioned countrymen, do little moving about and almost never come to the mainland, to say nothing of their undertaking more distant trading trips, but rather they are content to exploit their nearest neighbors on the island, the Orok and the Ainu, and, in turn, let themselves be supplied with the Chinese commodities coveted by them, too, tobacco, liquor, cloth, and the like, by the continental Gilyak, who come over to them. The Tymi-Chaselach route only rarely roam beyond the Liman in order to approach the Chinese traders in Pulj along the Tymi-Chaselach route, and, finally,

/604 cont./

will be discussed separately later, after we have first become acquainted with that which they carry on with the Chinese, and which furnishes them the means for the former.

As was pointed out at great length above (1), there is along

1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Olcha and Goldi area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants stay temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very cleverly chosen by them in order to carry on trade with the adjacent native tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious furs. They are cunning and sly traders, who do not shrink from any trouble and deprivation or from any means, in order to draw the greatest possible profit from their calling in either their own or their employer's interest. Outwardly they are very affable and courteous toward the native tribes, so as to win them over; when I was in the above-mentioned village of Pulj, in a yurt in which one of the three Chinese permanently living in the village had his domicile, and the Olcha and Gilyak in whose company I had come from the Liman entered it, the Chinese immediately took pains to help them shake the snow off their fur coats and then handed each of them a leaf of tobacco. After he had again taken his former seat on the plank-bed, he asked the newcomers to take a seat likewise, lighted his pipe at the basin filled with glowing charcoal that stood beside him, and passed it around from /605/ hand to hand. Conversation was soon flowing, and it was not long before the Chinese lifted a small can filled with liquor from the coal-pan, put several small porcelain bowls on the low table standing beside him, filled them, and handed them to his guests. During the conversation the Chinese talked boastfully and took pains to point out to his listeners and to me that his countrymen, the Nekan, were the best friends of the Olcha, Goldi, Gilyak, etc., because they provided for their needs and paid for every piece of his clothing materials, millet, tobacco, liquor, or the like, according to their desires, and were always friendly to them, whereas the Manchu were their mutual enemies and only exploited and

/605 cont./

mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal sprinkings of liquor, made to the native traders by Chinese merchants, and they never miss their mark, especially in the case of the Goldi who, living in the closest proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, have often personally experienced their cruelty and avarice and even give them the nickname "ningane," rau, to indicate that they act like the latter around their supplies and possessions. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortion, the flattering and seductive behavior of the Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit that the latter make by selling to the Amur peoples at retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchased cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their commercial sense, and, little inclined to contribute to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. This explains their above-mentioned opposition to granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the little encouragement that the latter find among them in general. The Chinese trade center on their border, in Pulj, is visited, apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Orok, almost exclusively by the Tschoini Gilyak, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and especially along the Tymy River. The Amur Gilyak, on the other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-merchant middlemen located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Sungari or, as the Gilyak usually express it, "to the Manchu," is the goal of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors. It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and that the trip to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

/605 cont./

barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is considered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the necessary payments of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment, for a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that in lesser degree (1) also on the small settlements of Tschoini Gilyak, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Usuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they must pass through Manchu territory, the fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does not do so in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not lend either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Stan-sisin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, as I have mentioned from first hand. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/606 cont./ They are not permitted

by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment, for a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that in lesser degree (1) also on the small settlements of Tschoini Gilyak, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Usuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they must pass through Manchu territory, the fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does not do so in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not lend either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Stan-sisin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, as I have mentioned from first hand. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/607 cont./

time they must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order to achieve their commercial ends, they behave, as they themselves told me, toward them on their part just like the latter, that is, they bend the knee before them in greeting or to make a request, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. The Gilyak in Stan-sisin put on an act of complete submission to the Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this, along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute and probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and otherwise leaves them in peace.

The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur appearing annually on the Sungari for trade on the part of the Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh, inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and shy Goldi, who live closest to them and are directly subject to them, have suffered most from them. According to the description by Chikhofalsj (1) and Barabasch (2), who traveled up the Sungari

1. Khilkovskii (Izvient. Russk. Geogr. Obsch., Vol. II, 1866, Sec. II, P. 227. In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1868, p. 345).

2. Iu. Barabash", "Sungarilsk. Eksped. 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tune (Bo-dune) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay for a permit for travel to Sun-sisin and for the trading itself, which was done in the village of Susu, lying somewhat below the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sturgeon and bauam-sage and also a fee to the Manchu judicial and national tribune. Upon reaching Sun-sisin, they first of all have to pay the tribute (alban) owed to the Chinese Crown, which consists of one sable,

/608 cont./

men and women, black woolens and velvet materials, silk fabrics, silk thread of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a quantity of Chinese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and bracelets, glass beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's robes, and the like, as well as, finally, a number of household utensils, such as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of goods acquired in trade in Stan-sisin, in part heavy and bulky, is too large to be transported without injury in the small boats in which the Gilyak customarily make the arduous upstream voyage to and on the Sungari, a so-called "bauam" boat is built by the Goldi there, is bought, in which the return voyage downstream can be made easily and quickly. And since, in order to have a stronger current, one usually stays far from the banks, he at the same time avoids the danger of being heavily fleeced even yet by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders stationed or residing here and there temporarily or permanently. After the return trip is completed, the boat can still be used for a second type of trading voyage -- the trip to Sakhalin (Japanese), to a consideration of which we must now turn.

Among the above-named commodities which the Gilyak obtain by trade in Stan-sisin, one article plays an especially important role. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric serving as designs of dragons and other figures and often with gold and silver interwoven in it, which is brought to market in part in whole pieces and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved dressing gowns. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the Gilyak primarily for their own use or for trade with their neighbors, these find their foremost and best purchasers outside of the Amur region, among the Japanese, and therefore give them the principal reason for direct trade with the latter. There is mention of this trade, which, however, does not take place in Japan, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin, even in the oldest accounts of this island which we have from the Japanese. The Japanese interpreter Kawamura, who visited Jesso /Yesso/ before 1852, already speaks of special fabrics which the inhabitants of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft"

/609 cont./

designation (1 810/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the Japanese is Naiwo, the foremost settlement of the latter and located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the designation of the island and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Sisian" voyages of the Gilyak, on which they, as already mentioned, visit the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari, or, for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these heedless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Blind Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaef (Gilyak Piljan-khy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which is open, and especially south of Dui as far as Pilia-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many dangers, and, in the Japanese interpreter Kawamura's view, is only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/410 cont. /
439 they take only a small supply of food with them and depend al-
439 most entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the
439
439

3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the short stretch, from Dut to Kusunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Sisiam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea dogs use a steep trail along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to go around the high land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arisai, shortly before Dut, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Pyr, or Kusunai, River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Mamia Bay then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrower point of Sakhalin, /411/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kusunai and which they then follow to Sisiranuri (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

439 As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Sisiam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

/413 cont. /
439 If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities
439 of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are
439 a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely
439 dedicated to it. Their tendency to obtain by trade what they need
439 for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale
439 in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them
439 from the tribes neighboring them, who are more of a hunt-
439 ing, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small be-
439 ginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primi-
439 tive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari
439 and to southern Sakhalin, to the Amur, and to the Sisiam,
439 and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for
439 those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two
439 greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the
439 Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing
439 them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who,
439 likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for
439 trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait
439 in order to trade for the last bagged by the Eskimo that lawning
439 and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not
439 make much of productions, but do it largely because they are
439 forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the
439 Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of
439 course, look before the Chinese officials. And probably the
439 Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating
439 expressions of veneration. [427]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Mamia-
Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the
streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has
deserved his countrymen. He is also the only one who can
be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about.
In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent
that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably
partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they
want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they
love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen
that this habit will become wide-spread.

XII. Contracts, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

/413 cont. / 439
439 changes must have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
439 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Stan-
439 ovin, as well as in Sisiam, have their officials and trade agents
439 who demand such carpatio benevolentiae in their own interest and
439 to the advantage of their countrymen, the Japanese and Chinese.

Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, /414/ and this is precisely what Indin did at first. Of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their greed from the strangers, but their pretense is so crude that they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex, as well as women and children, in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

It is impossible to describe the more subtle expressions of modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cheats. Their entire idea of cycle of life begins with the idea that lawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of productions, but do it largely because they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, look before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [427]

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533 **boats. However, there are some to be found among them**
534 **who are sufficiently well-to-do to be improvisers of a sort**
535 **who entertain the others with their song.**

The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
401 cludes in this category the spontaneous jumping with which a
537 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 special dance that they performed when the chief spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or undifferent. But I must
listen to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
abundance of ideas are always led by several men who
pulls up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all
sides. In the middle is placed the fish, milkey, and cran-
berries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyaks also
prosaicate themselves before him. This is by no means wor-
ship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun,
some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek
revenge on him for the slaying. Sometimes the bear is
not quite such expressions of veneration.

27 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo them-
selves. A particular bravery and brain is given a natural
blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty,
with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this
happens, the village is set free to make the change of him is often heard
to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak
seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are
passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237]
roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a
bear feast. The bear's skull and tongue which is here offered as ent-
ertainment has been described. Special music is produced
528 in the village of Kolo Bol. This village is the northernmost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curve of the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered - two
old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were
supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was
destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate
buyers. During this time the festival is a sort of fair, where
various things are bartered.

527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through
the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and
this is done in the following way. He has to go from one house
to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the
river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an
abundance of fish." He is always led by several men who
pulls up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all
sides. In the middle is placed the fish, milkey, and cran-
berries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyaks also
prosaicate themselves before him. This is by no means wor-
ship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun,
some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek
revenge on him for the slaying. Sometimes the bear is
not quite such expressions of veneration.

27 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo them-
selves. A particular bravery and brain is given a natural
blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty,
with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this
happens, the village is set free to make the change of him is often heard
to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak
seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are
passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237]
roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a
bear feast. The bear's skull and tongue which is here offered as ent-
ertainment has been described. Special music is produced
528 in the village of Kolo Bol. This village is the northernmost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

776 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
774 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Great care and the trash at times; the best ut-
776 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
the village to a place where the bear feast will take place. Such bears are
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their in-
voluntary fast by being allowed to gorge the night from house
to house and feed the choicest titbits, namely, fresh and dried
fish, berries and cakes prepared from millet.

776 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 treated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a bear
hunt staged in them with lances. The bears are then that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Ainu are also led by several men who pulls
776 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
At the end of the festival, the whole crowd, closely follow-
ed by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
Sometimes the bear's head is placed in the prison. The
the entire male population of Vaiza, together with the guest
chains, in turn—altogether there are more than 100 persons—and the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the
522 more or less by means of the tights attached to the back. Di-
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both part
would shoot the medicine-man's bear, which, as I said, was
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of
the spectators, and those that had shot him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, ho
776 the village, or, between two trees. The again, the bear
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the new
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped its last meal the evening before. He is a beam sho
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He is a beam sho
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about
776 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six
533 eight girls and women who were provided with cob-like st

ridently on a trading expedition. He had a boat about
twenty-five feet long by eight wide, with a single mast carry-
ing a square sail. His boat was full of furs and hides and
had a crew of four men. A small skiff was towed astern
for another single man. These Manjour merchants are quite
enterprising, and engage in traffic for small profits and large
risks when better terms are not attainable. Before the Rus-
sian occupation all the trade of the Amur Amoor was in Man-
chour hands. Boats annually descended from San-Sin and
Ninguta bringing supplies for native consumers, a mem-
bant would spend five or six months making his round
trip.

The merchants visited Go-ngingen on the route and bar-
tered their goods for furs. There was an annual fair at the
Gilyak village of Pul, below Mariinsk, and this was made
the center of commerce. The fair lasted ten days, and dur-
ing that time Pul was a miniature Nijne Novgorod. Manjour
and Chinese merchants met Japanese from the island of Sak-
alin, Tungusu from the coast of the Okotsk Sea, and others
from the head waters of the Zeya and Amgunya. There were
Gilyaks from the lower Amoor and various tribes of natives
from the coast of Manjuria.

A dozen languages were spoken, and traffic was conducted
in a jumble of all the dialects. Cloth, powder, lead, knives,
and brandy were exchanged for skins and furs. A gentleman
who attended one of these fairs told me that the scene was
full of interest and abounded in amusing incidents. Of late
years the navigation of the Amoor has discontinued the fair
at Pul. The Manjour traders still descend the river, but they
are not as numerous as of yore.

With a good glass from the deck of the steamer I watched
a native process of catching salmon. The fishing stations
are generally, though not always, near the villages. The
fishers use gill nets and seines in some localities, and scoop
nets in others. Sometimes they build a fence at right angles
to the shore, and extend it twenty or thirty yards into the

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Trade centers and markets 440
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/183. cont./

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of junks have come down in years past from Ninguta, Sansin, and Ningpo, but these are rare. I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups — but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inspire the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these boating nomads, dependent on the tributaries, are, as we said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, that they, in fact, are, as regards the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development than in the upper Amur region. The Amur peoples, in fact, show that here the sans and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in general, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples has had more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

1. See p. 467 above.

/184. cont./

Tale as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyaks stand first among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can well enough from the Gilyak's habitat conjure up how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next to fishing, hunting seals is their most important occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as we saw, they penetrate far up the stream where the Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development than in the upper Amur region. The Amur peoples, in fact, show that here the sans and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in general, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples has had more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

1. See p. 467 above.

/184. cont./

1/2 oz. a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 zo), whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these valuables. Nothing is more characteristic for the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 zo among them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 zo, tanned 2 zo). Like the fur, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Goldi than among the Gilyaks. The salmon, for example, costs 16 zo among the former, on the one hand because the Amur region is the most important salmon region, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in this respect as the Gilyaks, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Fish (and vegetable foods of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese, and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is should also be noted in this connection, that one "tang" of fish, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 zo (2.

2. At 20 zo to the Gilyaks, according to the above table (see p. 903).

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyaks, since the far stronger Russian (Caucasian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since primitive community of the Amur peoples in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sables, fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /185/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of the Gilyaks, the Amur-Gilyaks, the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To Gil and they trade with their

/185. cont./

neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyaks, who have the most dealings with the Chinese, also trade with their more distant countrymen living along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak, and in part the Tschonsi Gilyak on the lower Amur, are the active trade, through which the Chinese were are brought into circulation throughout the territory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Goldi, and even the Ulca, and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from it. For, there is no Chinese merchant in the coastal region and on the Schantar Islands and in part obtain from the Tungus hunting, otter, and sable skins, which they exchange for the Gilyaks from the Tymi-Chaselach route, and finally, the Amur Gilyaks, who are the mainland remains to the Ainu. Thus, the trade in Chinese commodities on Sakhalin was almost exclusively in the hands of the continental Gilyak. And they know how to draw great advantage from it for their own purposes. As we have already seen, the island is exceedingly rich in the furbearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully by all these nomadic tribes, and, in addition, by the bands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greatest quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, roaming and hunting throughout the whole winter, who, however, impelled or forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lazy disposition, do not depart from any trouble deprive part of it over to the sedentary and enterprising Tymi and other Sakhalin Gilyaks. The latter know how to take advantage of the scarcities that not infrequently occur among their wandering neighbors with regard to food and luxuries for themselves or food for their dogs, and, in this way, they obtain the furs of the island Gilyak or stored by them themselves, they carry on an extensively profitable trade with Chinese, Japanese, and Russian merchants, at times, at a great profit, even make them their debtors. They particularly know how to take advantage from the Ainu, who, when they can, prefer to turn to them with their hunting booty rather than to the Japanese, for they are always underpaid by the latter with only a few trifles and are not treated with good faith at all. Thus, the Ainu, even the Sakhalin Gilyak, though they lack the enterprising spirit of their countrymen on the continent, do not in any way betray the passion for trade and profit peculiar to their tribe. Inasmuch, however, as they sell to them the animal pelts captured by them themselves or bought from their neighbors, they furnish them with the means to carry on trade on a large scale with the Chinese, which also benefits them. Moreover, the continental Gilyak make their purchases on the island not only among their countrymen or through the Ainu, but, particularly in the north and south of the island, outside the Tymi region, occasionally trade directly with the Orok and Ainu. In fact, they obtain a great portion of the coveted animal skins from the Japanese. But this

/185. cont./

steals through from Pul along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the Negda on the Amgunj, but carefully avoids the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, and, in the northern part of the island, they will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and, along the upper course of the Tymi-Chaselach route, they assumed this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to shake it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is greatly to their advantage commercially. For the role that is played further upstream by the Chinese merchants living among the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or visiting them, as that they act as middlemen in the trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, inasmuch they are not always active in the Amur Gilyak territory, and the Amur-Gilyaks are the ones who draw the greatest advantage from the trade in Pul along the Amur-Liman, or, as we saw, the Chinese traders in Pul along the Tymi-Chaselach route, and, finally,

/185. cont./

the mainland remains remote to the Ainu. Thus, the trade in Chinese commodities on Sakhalin was almost exclusively in the hands of the continental Gilyak. And they know how to draw great advantage from it for their own purposes. As we have already seen, the island is exceedingly rich in the fur-bearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully by all these nomadic tribes, and, in addition, by the bands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greatest quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, roaming and hunting throughout the whole winter, who, however, impelled or forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lazy disposition, do not depart from any trouble deprive part of it over to the sedentary and enterprising Tymi and other Sakhalin Gilyaks. The latter know how to take advantage of the scarcities that not infrequently occur among their wandering neighbors with regard to food and luxuries for themselves or food for their dogs, and, in this way, they obtain the furs of the island Gilyak or stored by them themselves, they carry on an extensively profitable trade with Chinese, Japanese, and Russian merchants, at times, at a great profit, even make them their debtors. They particularly know how to take advantage from the Ainu, who, when they can, prefer to turn to them with their hunting booty rather than to the Japanese, for they are always underpaid by the latter with only a few trifles and are not treated with good faith at all. Thus, the Ainu, even the Sakhalin Gilyak, though they lack the enterprising spirit of their countrymen on the continent, do not in any way betray the passion for trade and profit peculiar to their tribe. Inasmuch, however, as they sell to them the animal pelts captured by them themselves or bought from their neighbors, they furnish them with the means to carry on trade on a large scale with the Chinese, which also benefits them. Moreover, the continental Gilyak make their purchases on the island not only among their countrymen or through the Ainu, but, particularly in the north and south of the island, outside the Tymi region, occasionally trade directly with the Orok and Ainu. In fact, they obtain a great portion of the coveted animal skins from the Japanese. But this

/185. cont./

trade will be discussed separately later, after we have first become acquainted with that which they carry on with the Chinese, and which furnishes them the means for the further.

As was pointed out at great length above (1), there is along

1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Olcha and Goldi area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants stay temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very cleverly chosen by them in order to carry on trade with the adjacent native tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious furs. They are coming and ty trades, who do not depart from any trouble deprive tion or from any means, in order to draw the greatest possible profit from their selling in either their own or their employer's interests. Outwardly they are very affable and courteous toward the natives in order to win them over, which is the aforementioned village of Pul, in a yurt in which one of the three Chinese permanently living in the village had his domicile, and the Olcha and Gilyaks in whose company I had come from the Limun entered it. the Chinese immediately took pains to help them shake the snow off their fur coats and then handed each of them a leaf of tobacco. After he had again taken his former seat on the plank—bed, he asked the newcomers to take a seat likewise, signed his pipe to the hum tribes with growing contact that stood beside him, and passed it around from /186/ hand to hand. Conversation was lively, and it was not long before the Chinese filled a small can filled with liquor from the coal-pan, put several small porcelain bowls on the low table standing beside him, filled them, and handed them to his guests. During the conversation the Chinese talked boastfully and took pains to point out to his listeners and to me that his countrymen, the Dakan, were the best friends of the China, Goldi, Gilyak, etc., because they provided for their needs and paid for every piece of fur with clothing materials, millet, tobacco, liquor, or the like, according to their desires, and were always friendly to them, whereas the Manchu were their mutual enemies and only exploited and

/186. cont./

mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal servings of liquor, made to the natives by Chinese merchants, and they always made a great impression on me. In the case of the Goldi who, living in the closer proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, are in a very unfavorable relation to their greedy and avarice and even give them the nickname "mangun," zato, to indicate that they act like the latter around their suppliers and their masters. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortions, the Manchu and adjacent Dauri and Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit they make on their wares and the ease with which people or retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchase cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their countrymen the natives in order to induce their countrymen to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. The Chinese merchants are very generous in granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the little encouragement that the latter find among them in general. The Chinese merchants, the center on their border, in Pul, is visited, apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Goldi, almost exclusively by the Gilyak, who, living in the Amur-Liman, are the most means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and especially with the Tymi River. The Amur Gilyak, on the other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-seeking middleman located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

As the Gilyak usually express it, "go to the Manchu," is the goal of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors. It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and the trips to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

140 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
141 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down by the steady
142 Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
143 of concerning themselves with the affairs of their neighbors.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

144 Among Gilyak there are no particular of a King of Laws, to
145 say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law
146 which functions in place of these statutes is equitable and
147 just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where
148 it is accompanied by social qualities. But even the preponderance
149 of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of
150 individuals among whom the capabilities and the other
151 assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly
152 distributed.
153a There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
153b be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who
153c is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare
153d exception. The "rich" man is usually one who has a number
153e of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value,
153f such as "beautiful" tinfoil (Sil), many and good dogs, etc.
153g and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely
153h for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which
153i in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The
153j above-mentioned clumsy items belong to such luxury articles.
153k There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple
153l hundred silver rubles in a box.
153m Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
153n capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
153o Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
153p no actual reasons for natural poverty. Fish, game, wood,
153q berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one
153r must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish
153s is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in
153t these years in which the fish is scarce (this usually coincides
153u with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have
153v reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various
153w species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up
153x the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, dogs have
153y more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position
153z to trade young bears for dried fish with the Japanese and Ainos.
If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eat other roots,
berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor
substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual
'famines' here.

/205 cont./

At we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with
174 wives by the Tungus, but, just like the Aino, furnished
175 them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by
176 seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of
177 neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the
178 Aino territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes
179 of trade and frequently brought Aino women back to their
180 homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples
181 or Aino settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital
182 relations with their women folk. Nevertheless, although
183 these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not
184 be without influence.
185 Finally, there was also influence in the economic sphere has
186 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until
187 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russian colony was no
188 stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there
189 were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated
190 riches, and the highest ambition of a poor man was to accumu-
191 late enough to make his acquisitions with others. Trade with
192 the Chinese created an incentive to accumulate, and there
193 appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume,
194 but which they began to value, which were profitable to
195 accumulate. These were primarily Chinese goods, precious
196 of valuables, and other who did not have them and wished
197 to possess them. In the men there was born a consciousness
198 of their wealth and their importance, and together with this
199 the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the
200 poor people there arose the temptation to make the marriage
201 of their daughter a source of the acquisition of valuables.
202 The old Gilyak with their simple, several articles of tradition,
203 was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and
204 there the slightest temptation arose /207/ tried to circumvent
205 the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti-
206 tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual
207 marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/277 cont./

of safety from evil magical influences and social, as a symbol
222 of friendship, analogous to the exchange of blood signs in con-
223 clusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the item which
224 are observed when the bride moves to the house of the groom that
225 the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism
226 of new relations.
227 And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price
228 there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely
229 religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly
230 prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according
231 to the logic of primitive minds, should be atoned for in some way
232 -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from the
233 point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the gods of the
234 clan offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this
235 alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the
236 nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the sly-
237 ing of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this
238 case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation
239 in the whole clan.
240 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the
241 same risk (mentioned in an earlier passage) as for blood re-
242 venge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken
243 long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of
244 the most cherished themes of the Gilyak epic.
245 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment.
246 An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular
247 kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called thygrund
248 (W.D.), thygrund (W.D.). These are valuables which are pre-
249 dominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade.
250 Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of
251 material, clothes made of silk, several articles of tegkine,
252 Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also
253 big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include
254 and sable fur coats and feminine articles of adornment, such as
255 ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ of iron stone, later

/283 cont./

deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will
284 end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak
285 have a good advantage in obtaining more fur-bearing animals than
286 they are farther from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
287 ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
288 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
289 Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native
290 settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who re-
291 turns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover,
292 work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /284/ and
293 more develops that primitive egoism which constitutes the dom-
294 inant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
295 Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the
296 new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that
297 environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new
298 phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still
299 unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

300 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
301 is its animism, nevertheless, the spirit of ancestor worship is
302 its foundation. This, among them, fare is a deity. "A small-
303 small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question
304 "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?"
305 It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging
306 the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
307 or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases,
308 it is considered a sin to bring the fire out of the yurt. It is a fire,
309 as to a divine element, that the Gilyak address the deities of his
310 dead. It is the intercessor of deities, however, fire is far from
311 occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is a taboo, the
312 power of that greatly diminishes in majesty in the eyes of the

/117 cont./ A'mur-tyuzic Olcha from Tyr, who
himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin,
named them for me as "Mangunsi" -- expressly noting that
this was the name that the Aino, and following them, the
Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, in origin from the Aino
language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for
"ur, kotu, guru" means "man" in it (8. Perhaps, however,
3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823,
pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p.
198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained,
for "mimat" among the Aino of Sakhalin means "fox" (6), and

4. According to Fr. Schmidt, see my
Bemerk. über die Mongolischen und Mandschu-
Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes
on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern
Sakhalin and the Southern Kurilian/"
(Bulletr. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad.
Imp. des sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg, t. XX,
p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 103).
According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p.
309) the Aino called the Gilyak "Mimat-
gdole" des trois royaumes /General Survey
of the Three Kingdoms/. Siebold, from the
Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p.
345; see also Langsdorff, "Bemerk. auf-
einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage
around the World/" Frankf. on the Main,
Vol. I, p. 201: "-schumat" and
"-schimat".

5. Dr. Sternberg, Ethnol. Bulletin, Vol. I, p. 103.
According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p.
302), mimat is said that the Japanese
name for Sakhalin is "Jasbur," one can
easily recognize in it, by both the initial
and the final syllables, the above-mentioned
Aino designation, through the mediation
of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur
peoples visiting their island.

so "Sisumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I
cannot say with certainty what made the Aino give this name
to the Gilyak perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade be-
tween the Aino and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

/117 cont./
buyers of the fur captured by them and among them the Ma-
Manchu common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to
me, because of the Manchu-Tungusic word for ice (Sakhalin
ice), greater wealth than the Aino, for the most part were them-
selves clothed in fox skins (9).

6. In the seventeenth-century tale from
the great Amur River (Yenisei), see Fr. Müller,
Geogr. Obsch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II,
p. 370 it is said that the Gilyak lived in the
large island facing the mouth of the Amur
were table and ice for clothing.

The situation is different with regard to the customary
Japanese designation of the dwellers beyond the Gilyak
tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I
must note at once that they are not only Orcha, but in like
manner Goldi, also, however, are not distinguished by the
Aino and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective
name "Santan" or "Jantan." In the Japanese language used by
them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after
the people (1). Mamia Rinsh's predecessor, the Japanese

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso
(Yezo) (1785), the Japanese explorer Mamia Rinsh
learned the speak of the "Sandan-ainu"
(Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin
to trade; he, however, took them for
Koreans (cf. Krusenstern, "Cursiv." --
Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obsch., Part
Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 450,
541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously
led by the Japanese to think that on
Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he
heard in Aino, even only its northern
part, was called "Sandan" by the Aino

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the
Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and
Chinese owe their name for the Aino. As we shall see later,
visiting with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried
to the Aino, the Japanese and the Aino received the Manchu-
Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those
tribal names.

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(cont.)
"Lan" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak
along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel
report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math.
de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part
XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 165).
Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to
him, the Aino and after them the Japanese designate his people.
And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name.
It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name
for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the
immediate neighbors of the Aino on Sakhalin and, on the other
hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their
trade with the Aino people up to the Manchu, it is scarcely
conceivable but that the Aino first became acquainted with the
most numerous and most dwellers beyond the Gilyak, through the Gilyak. And this it is understandable that they also
accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in
accordance with their language, and, in accordance with the
Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (6).

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789 which Middendorff
found among the archival papers in
Udskoi Ostrog (Reise; etc., Vol. IV,
p. 1.), mention is said that the "Japan-
ese" gave the Gilyak the "Sandan-aino"
(Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin
to trade; he, however, took them for
Koreans (cf. Krusenstern, "Cursiv." --
Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obsch., Part
Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 450,
541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously
led by the Japanese to think that on
Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he
heard in Aino, even only its northern
part, was called "Sandan" by the Aino

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used
by the Aino and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as
the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by
Mamia Rinsh. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

Gi 101 /136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the
G [015] Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kākal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-
G [361] Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at
G Gi [162] present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kākr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

G [192] 10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kākal or Kāk(
I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with
G. Gi 101 177 minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have al kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself ha repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a larg stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these tw
G [439] [484] peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in t interests of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Ssiranussi, the deserted mainland coast, onl very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown
G. Gi [133] to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact be tween the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

Tungus RU5
Daur

/174 cont./

Gilyak. For example, I often asked the latter about the peoples living upstream on the Amur, and they always named for me the "Jam-Manchu" beyond the Manchu. For a long time I did not know what people they meant by that. I now no longer doubt but that it is the Daur. Despite the prohibition of the Chinese government, Daur merchants from the sources of the Bureja or the Ssilimdshi come across the Jam-alin Mountains to Burukan on the Tugur (2), where at times Tungus from the Tugur and from the

2. Cf. also the statements of an eyewitness, the priest Djatschkovskij, in Kosmin, in Zap. Gidrogr. Depart. Morsk. Minist., Part IV, p. 36.

Sea of Okhotsk, Negda from the Amgunj, and Gilyak from the Amur appear for trade. In exchange for the always desired sable pelts, they obtain there from the Daur probably much the same commodities as from the Chinese on the Amur and naturally must have learned from them on occasion the role they play in the region beyond the Jam-alin, along the Bureja, Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, down to the Amur; that they carry on all trade there, collect the tribute from the Birar and Manegir for the Chinese government, etc. (3). If one now considers that the Gilyak, as

3. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1) says that the Daur, impressing even the Yakut Trofim, described how they occupied a large city on the Amur where the river was blocked by means of a strong chain across it.

has been noted above (4), not infrequently designate both the

4. See p. 144.

Manchu and Chinese simply as "Manchu," though they distinguish them by nationality, it is quite understandable that they also

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proportions in this respect and at the same time show other previously discussed details in the construction and interior arrangement of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse wall is very drafty, it is regarded as the worst place in the house and usually lacks the straw mats, whereas the bench along the front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is sometimes also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter, and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature, nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms. There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

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permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way and entering into permanent, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the customary one throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As was discussed above in detail (3),

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants who, in a few places where they have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese traders entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading down this river and the Amur from people to people, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

/355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts are driven out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level ground, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

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most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes surrounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals, in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,

/385 cont./

are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

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Section 5

External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our discussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and sealhunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only second place among them; furthermore they keep only one domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals, and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203 above.

Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, besides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak, possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/386 cont./

291 represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese.
439 Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange,
[199] besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

291 /387/ The clothing worn next to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are not taken off even at night, trousers (Gilyak warsch), an under and an outer shirt (Gilyak larkch) reaching to the knees and buttoned from left to right at the neck and
[199] chest. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese,
[296] or nowadays also of Russian, blue or grey cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, since the Gilyak never wash their clothing, very soon turns a more or less dirty gray. As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always serve as footgear. As a rule, the lower or foot part of the
[239] boot (Gilyak ki) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak kighitsch and kighitsch-langr), which, especially in the case of older specimens, is thicker and more durable than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (Ph. nummularis; Gilyak pyghi and pyghi-langr) (1) and

1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back keel-shaped in the middle, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

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000 possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all
291 the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a
435 conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese
439 conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real
237 worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions
825 of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the
171 active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese,
[439] they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

[113] 2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

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825 influence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has be-
171 come established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak
000
[113] 3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

825 The Trading Trips of the Gilyak
439 to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness
171 the extraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as well as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, the respect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former erect small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures of it (4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

even bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

[113] 5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

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825 about the tiger that the Gilyak bring home from these trips, espe-
439 cially the stories that they hear from the Chinese and Goldi about
171 the many human lives annually falling victim to it (6), undoubtedly

6. Przewalski reports (op. cit., p. 233) that in 1867 no fewer than 21 Man-dse were killed and six wounded by tigers along the Zymuche, a tributary of the upper Ussuri.

contribute no little to the panicky fear and superstitious ideas that govern them with respect to the tiger. I have already discussed this above (7) and intend to add more occasionally below.

7. See my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 90-97, where, in speaking of the distribution of the tiger and leopard in the Amur region, the beliefs of the Gilyak and other Amur peoples concerning them are given.

825 Since /392/, however, the tiger appears in the area of the Gilyak only as a most infrequent guest on its rovings from the south and is scarcely ever killed by them (1), it, and to an even greater

1. The Gilyak did not know of any instance of this kind to relate to me.

degree the leopard, belongs more in the category of mythical animals occupying only their imagination. On the other hand,
[439] they meet in their forests, and not so very infrequently, another animal, which through its decidedly predatory nature and its total appearance, the cat-like habitus, the spotted and in part striped marking of its fur, the black tip of its tail, etc., resembles the tiger as well as the panther (2), and whose fur is highly

[171] 2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 242) reports

439/392 cont./
825
[171]

2. (cont.)
that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

[113]

3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

25 to the lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their conceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or royal beast.

/399 cont./

31 and snail-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorate all the other implements in their household and their lives with all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the above-mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character of these decorations is always the same, as is described in more detail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less exact and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify to the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the use of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamentation, 31 294 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest development in the embroideries for the decoration of their clothing, utilizing for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of diverse lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting together various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular among the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liberal,

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as [439] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade from the Chinese.

531 170 I have previously described the general character of Gilyak ornamentation as unique and completely different from that of the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, much of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

/400 cont./

531 197 artistic interlacing of bands, tapering ornamental borders with multiple points, and the like, can also be recognized on ancient Chinese articles, costly garments and porcelain and ivory objects such as our museum has. Furthermore, quite similar ornamentation is found on some old Japanese objects, for example, on the brass mountings of half decayed wooden scabbards in our possession, which we obtained through Mr. Poljakof from ancient Ainu graves on southern Sakhalin and which undoubtedly are of Japanese origin. I therefore feel justified in concluding that the [439] Gilyak ornamentation has developed largely under the influence of ancient Chinese and, in part, ancient Japanese models, since in view of the anciently established and constant trade relations of the Gilyak on the mainland up the Amur and Sungari with the Chinese and on Sakhalin with the Japanese, and the Ainu completely subject to their influence, it could scarcely be otherwise (2).

2. The role that the Gilyak play as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and the Japanese will be discussed below.

531 170 /401/ Thus, as in other things, so also with regard to ornamentation, Chinese cultural influence spread along the natural route of trade, down the Sungari and Amur to the Gilyak. If, in addition to what has been presented above, more direct proof were needed, it is provided by the fact that the same type of ornamentation on clothing and other objects is found among all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, from the Gilyak upstream along the main river, as well as along its tributaries up to the Sungari. Though these peoples are from Tungusic tribes, they nevertheless have nothing in common with the Russian-Siberian Tungus with regard to the ornamentation customary among them, but rather are linked to the Chinese and Gilyak. In this connection, however, we are met by the striking phenomenon that the feeling for ornamentation and the development of the latter in the Amur region do not decrease but increase with greater distance from the civilized people concerned,

531 170 /401 cont./ the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned, 531 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep them- 170 selves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent 442 direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[439] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

294 Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must 412 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it. [439] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the 294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles (Gil. nugis, 415 412

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal [114] obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2) $\frac{3}{4}$ worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the [See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

415 /402 cont./ 170 on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be 531 removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by suc- 170 cess -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

294 The thread with which garments are sewed varies accord- 283 ing to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd., etc. (5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophthalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fish- [199] ing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed [439] 171

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the 294 work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak 412 woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although 197 they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chata) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing 531 the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pam), which is

/428 cont./

226 2. (cont.) 262 europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few 113 Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

114 On March 6/18, 1856, when returning from 226 Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tcheharbach at the mouth of 262 the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup- 332 plies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the 439 sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tsche which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular, 226 since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they 262 themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it 439 very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which 252 they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities 196 of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival. 231 Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these 439 fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/434/

262 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of 23 a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained 237 inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of deafity or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fi diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilya 123 palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy 439

114 1. I could not bring myself to taste even the 122 dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo 113 one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

/434 cont./

231 *262 [123] [134] from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of a few traveling Tschomi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being added to the jukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duĭ, I was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disemboweled, the meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

[114] [782] [189] [252] 252 *262 23 [114]

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

/437 cont./

231 *262 171 113

1. (cont.) d'un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambass. Franç. en Chine /A French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, p. 249. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32.

231 *262 171 [113] the popular enjoyment of dog meat in Korea (2) may perhaps be

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. O.Genest, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. LII, p. 61).

traced back to Chinese influence.

Birds furnish the Gilyak much less food than do mammals, merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on account of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus albus Gm., Gilyak parrā, on Sakhalin tschleola-nga) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Duĭ, I saw them consuming with great relish the Phaleris cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochla-nga), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and freeze to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its nest and raise with fish in order to sell the tail to the Japanese, is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls.

223 *262 [136] [136] *262 231 439

2. Schrenck--676 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/441 cont./

252 *262 [137] [192] prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe, finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chitwyrk) (3), and

3. Among the Olcha: chity.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwalch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and piula (blue) tschwalch), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vegetable food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak putsch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, whereupon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in small stocks for the winter, which they may have learned from the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

[177] [171] [251]

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

While the natural vegetable products discussed above are of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are available to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

*262 439 177

/442 cont./

*262 439 177 [554] matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods that the region itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals and legumes, are to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life they are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During the bear festivals, however, great quantities of them are consumed, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently and, in keeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are attended by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese. The most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria italica (Gilyak budā), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudī). Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak ssjussj) (2).

*262 439 177 [554] 177 [114]

[192]

2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ssjussu by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1856 in the village of Tebach, still had the remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Sisam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

*262 439 177 [137] [137] [137] [137]

*262 /442 cont./As soon as the Russians settled in the lower Amur region, in Petrofskoje Simowjo, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk, the Gilyak began to obtain small quantities of various cereals from them. Buckwheat groats in particular found the greatest approval among them, and I saw it served in great quantities during the above-mentioned bear festival of 1856. They greatly liked the inexpensive Russian rye flour (Gilyak dwa), which they /443/ could obtain from the Chinese only small quantities, wheat flour (Gilyak rhak) at a high price. All the above-mentioned cereals are cooked by the Gilyak to a thick dry mush and eaten with fish oil, which, like melted butter among us, is poured with a spoon or a small stick into a depression made in the groats. It has a variety of uses among them. The principal one is in the preparation of a kind of cake or small loaf of bread. For this purpose, it has fish oil poured over it and is kneaded into a dough, a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of water and, while kneading the dough, let as much of it as is in run into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the hearth, and finally, broken into pieces and sprinkled with fish oil. They another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing the flour with fish oil and partly crushed bilberries or cranberries (Empetrum nigrum /crowberry/) and stirring this to a mush. one garden vegetable is used among them, and this almost solely on festive occasions. It is the common white or yellowish bean (Phaseolus vulgaris L., Gilyak tursch), which they obtain from Chinese living farther up along the Amur and Sungari. They first cooked and then mixed with fish oil, chopped kyp (see above) and finely chopped dried leeks (hagi), and sometimes also berries from Empetrum nigrum -- a truly peculiar culinary achievement owing to its curious composition.

*262 439 177 [554] 252 439 177 [137] [137] [137] [137]

*262 Thus, not merely the various native vegetable foods, which serve more as supplements, but also the few really nutritious exotic ones which the Gilyak use as food are not eaten by them other than with a more or less strong addition of fish oil. The ichthyophagous nature of the Gilyak remains true even here. thus, in spite of the not inconsiderable vegetable foods listed a

/A84 cont./

resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they became acquainted with talk, as can be seen from the fact that they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a somewhat modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation tahsch for talk was probably /A85/ borrowed from the Manchurian dahsun (dangolian. dahsun) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[115] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298;
Xenothalias (Longinotic Asia) p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with talk at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Dzutschwen, engaged in agriculture, livestock breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Chinese in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

[116] 2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then talk has found no acceptance among the Gilyak —certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

Whereas the Gilyak aversion to talk is so pronounced and [117] generally signified (tahsch tahsch), on the other hand, there prevail very [118] great sympathy, and to be sure, in the form in which they become acquainted with it from the Russian (3). The Chinese

[119] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian (Tsachar?)?

[120] tsachar (tsachar) known to them earlier, brown in color and only [121] [illegible] sweet in taste, but not so important for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/A86 cont./

4. Mamia Rinsô (Sôbôtô, Nippon, VII, p. 189) says that the Gilyak (Smenenkur) on Sakhalin have a Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

[122] In the upper Amur, they are very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the chief object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the chief-item forward, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar, but subsequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to [123] add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned Dzur-cakes and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the [124] dishes prepared for the bear festival; it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows they entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there [125] follows here a brief mention of those more important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the same. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be [126] discussed later at the proper place. At was already stated above, [127] that in the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other bowls [128] [illegible] is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke *PN*, *FIIIA*, Fig. 1 and *F*. [illegible] (also made of birch bark, respectively). /A87/ Similarly consideration has been given to the large iron kettle (Gilyak [illegible] [illegible]) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[See Category IIa, P. 1015—Analysis]

/A87 cont./

various places on the Amur and especially on the Ussuri and have small gardens and farms. Apart from the dog and the house cat occasionally present among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak /A88/ and treated merely as a luxury item (1), the first domestic animal

1. Concerning the distribution of the house cat in the Amur and Ussuri and its potential among the Amur peoples, see what is said in the first volume of this work, pp. 88-100.

met among the Amur peoples, going upstream, is the pig. It was discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (p. 155), individual typical forms were shown in Figs. 1 and 2 (Olcha (?), but

2. There was none among the Gilyak in my time. Later, when there were pigs raised by the Russians in Nikolayevsk, the Gilyak occasionally bought some in order to consume them in festive fashion (Yantschouse Schrenck, 1868, p. 58).

a regular breeding of pigs is found first among the Goldi, up the Amur from about Staaga and Naiche on and along the Ussuri. The animals, fed on fish, are sold by the Goldi to their country men or to Chinese traders, through whose mediation they reach the Olcha farther downstream. The Goldi get the breeding animals, however, in part from the Man-zhe (Chinese) along the upper Ussuri (3), but for the most part from the Sungari region

3. F. Busse, "Ochota" usiv. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Gazp. dla chtenia inoper. [illegible] Ussuri, Sungari, Sakhalin, Obscr. Ussuri, p. 120).

where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

/A88 cont./

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where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

/A89/

Chinese (Sataria italica, Panicum miliaceum, etc.), or from a mixture of the latter with one another and with barley (3).

3. For more details concerning the Chinese liquor and its preparation, especially in the Ussuri region, see Sadaouf, Sarayang-Tsinkest, pp. 101 ff.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinsô (1) reported

4. "Tôrum tahs" (Sôbôtô, Nippon, VII, p. 190).

/A90/

Southeast Siberia RXI
Goldi RX3

the Smenenkur (Gilyak) on Sakhalin hardly know of the Japanese sake at all, to say nothing of /A91/ making it themselves, but, on the other hand, "obtain a type of it, called [illegible], from the Ainu Smenenkur, which in taste is very similar to the Japanese [illegible]." Like all products of civilization, liquor, too, is very neglected by the Gilyak and the other peoples of the lower Amur region chiefly from the hungari region, where there are numerous and some very large distilleries established and run by Chinese (1) and in part also from the Ussuri, where the production

1. Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East Mongolia, Vol. II, Appendix, Chinese Empire, 1872 g." (Vosem. Sbornr., 1874, No. 6, p. 201).

of liquor is likewise carried on by the Chinese, and, to be sure, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1. (cont.)

"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 594). also Vambéry Ferne v. 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the ur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and ve the children are given the opportunity to become accustomed it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-known, scharia is the country from which China, at least the northern ART obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking. acco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction of acco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

2. Hue, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Pousielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 188. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wassiljef ("Chinesische Mandschuria." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the Manchu Dynasty.

Distribution of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

1. (cont.)

the Manchu (dambago) and Mongols (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too, thus, among the Goldi and Olcha dambe, tamche, and tamacho, among the Gilyak tamgich, among the Ainu tambako, etc.

Later, after the Manchurian Tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Orochons, Tungus and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which they exchanged goods with them as well as with the other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was entirely predominant among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Olcha, etc. What made it especially popular among them is its much greater strength or acridness in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as its being far cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

Like tobacco, the Gilyak and the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe (Gilyak tai), which is also widespread throughout China and consists of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

1. (cont.)

at St. Pétersb., Vilth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[a], and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is made of fine skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesque, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. Thus it never done, however, that a party passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the usual or ideal difference between the existing bet-ween those present. As a rule, however, one seat the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

[See category 114, Pl. 104 - Analysis]

1. (cont.)

durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

The dogs of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as we mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

The Gilyak sled (7a) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Tungus-Siberian sled, on the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, it is less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Dikolayevsk as temporary quarters and never had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated in Plate XXXVI, p.104/, Fig. 1, had the following /487/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective sides to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regard as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ Gilyak tunlej, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided by the understide-

Fortunately for the Orok, however, the Gilyak intellect, directed him toward warfare than toward gain and profit, since made them recognize that they did not have to fear any curtailment of their interests by the immigrating newcomers, but rather could get considerable gain, for the treasures of precious fur-bearing, as skilled hunters, brought to light on their migrations in the remote mountainous forests of the island would have to benefit them the most as the fast buyers and inevitable middlemen in the trade with the Chinese and Japanese. I don't intend to that trade later. The advantage that the Gilyak derive from the Orok by means of it sufficiently explains the tolerance and forbearance that they show toward the latter in allowing them, despite the many inconveniences to themselves, to pass unhindered with their reindeer on the /485/ paths made by their dog sleds through the Tymy Valley. Such a possibility for the Orok, growing out of their good relations with the Gilyak and enabling them to use the paths made by the Gilyak sleds through the entire Tymy Valley and beyond, across the mountains and the Laman to the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, may have prompted them to use these paths for their annual migrations in the same manner as the Gilyak and Ainu did with their dogs, that is, to harness them to sleds constructed for this purpose. Indeed, they must have come to it all too soon readily since, as a result of their relations with the Gilyak, they were sometimes forced, for example, when they came into the latter's villages for trading purposes, to use dogs for driving. Furthermore, a few sleds harnessed to dogs are indispensable to them on their migrations in order to hasten in front of the reindeer expedition and prevent sudden encounters with Gilyak or other dog-teams. The sleds that I met near Pilb we were of this kind. Later on I repeatedly saw Orok traveling on dog-drawn sleds near Joj and in the upper reaches of the Tymy mouth. Thanks to their contact and intercourse with the Gilyak, the Orok on Sakhalin represent for us the certainly very rare, though not wholly unique case of a primitive people that has no less than three methods of locomotion by land, in that the reindeer is ridden and driven, and in addition the dog is used for

boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their yurts on the same pattern as the Gilyak and in the same form that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their number of persons and powers. Indeed, in all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, at in done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled labor that both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximovicz (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIII, p. 186) describes a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a price of two feet silk and a foot-wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars tied on each side, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; in the other hand, it occurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jezo (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 27 -- but these divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military Tsupik of China and are supposed to inspire the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inconsiderable to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as we said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries who do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Iron Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing, increases the more in immediate importance and significance the farther we upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, where fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, at the most sedentary, the most fishing-peoples, and at general the most precontrived fishing peoples of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 83. Zoographisch-osteo-anat., Part I, p. 275.

Only at along the Oby River.

1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 83. Zoographisch-osteo-anat., Part I, p. 275.

Only at along the Oby River.

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which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which not far away in the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bow-string (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chat) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (Nu) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtus albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /See p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation; it is known that they are called uch, but the latter winnger. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, just above the vane on the bowstring, is called lorm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In ancient times among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak kich) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak kranghch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points are intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /See p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bow and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, table, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

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to fishing or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among them, hunting does not by far stand in the foreground of life to the degree that fishing and seal-catching do.

In discussing the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak, the hunting of wild fowl was also considered above in passing. A few pertinent remarks might in addition follow here. By far the greatest number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are not killed by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which on the whole are used very little, but are caught in nets during the molting season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally, but not infrequently, they capture birds that get their food by diving into the water and become entangled in the nets. Among these they pay special attention to the divers (Colymbus septentrionalis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which however, is done, not for practical, utilitarian reasons, but out of superstition, about which I shall speak later when discussing their methods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hang) and white grouse (Gilyak parrâ, along the Tymy on Sakhalin tschkoia-ngâ), with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied the Nikolayevsk post during the winters of 1850-1851, are caught by them in snares (Gilyak kun). With regard to the white grouse, which one also finds represented on amulets among the Gilyak, although in a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion, I likewise noted among them the above-mentioned superstition relating to the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird they greatly desired to remove the head first.

For the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the fishing eagles Haliaëtus pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tscharngaitschkam) and H. albicilla Brins. (Gilyak mygir-tscham, in the interior of Sakhalin ach-tschar). The former, however, occurs only rarely in their territory and only along the seacoast, but the latter, on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout the region, and it is therefore always meant when merely the eagle (eagle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive from it consists in the fact that the feathers are an important

/565 cont./

article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former said at the time, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they tell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks by feed and with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them in the fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the mygir-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors, the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and the Orochi occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha guni, Goldi kâktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show their religious veneration or to keep

1. Puteshi, na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

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Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /See p.1008/, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wrtschi), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass (Gilyak tussi), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make ornaments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg is in full agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

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their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those who saw, swear, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and that Steller himself had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

For the moment the most certain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter. The originality of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 585) has recently been attacked by Braun ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahrerber. der Frankfurter Verein für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

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Gilyak have gained far greater scope among all the Tunguzic peoples of the lower Amur region and must be of more essential significance for their entire lives than is the case among the Gilyak.

Among the Tunguzic peoples of the lower Amur region, too, just as among the Gilyak, the catching of precious furbearing animals, such as sable, river otter, and the fox, comes first, simply because by trading them they obtain not only clothing materials and foodstuffs, but also the universally popular luxury items, and especially tobacco, which has become indispensable to them. It is also practiced in the same ways and with the same means, but over a greater area and with more adroitness and skill and, therefore, with more success.

But whereas among the Gilyak hunting is limited almost solely to the catching of fur-bearing animals and fish, which by the interests of trade, among the Tunguzic Amur /579/ peoples it also extends to no less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of red deer, big game, wild boars, and, to be sure, they are not merely slain and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but are pursued regularly and zealously, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. This has already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points. With regard to food, however, all the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Tunguzic Amur peoples, for it takes up much more of their time than among the Gilyak, and the further upstream and inland the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tunguzic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak content himself with a relatively small sphere for hunting, sets up his traps and self-firers in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the spots suggested by animal tracks in the snow, visits them from time to time, and at night always returns again to his

Section 10

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all of their needs; they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region had as much interest and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that in the first information which the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Pyrlitsyn had heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilka) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do more trading with the Chinese and Japanese than the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /581/ live farther from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the two civilized peoples with each other.

1. According to the Gilyak "belkowtj." i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting.

/591 cont./

439 in that of the two civilized peoples with each other. Thus, they stand in the center, so to speak, of all international trade relations in the lower Amur region. This is especially true of the
439 Amur Gilyak, while those on Sakhalin and the southern coast
184 of the Sea of Okhotsk have hardly less a peripheral position in this respect than the other peoples of the region. The former, however, are also favored more than the latter two by their geographical position, in that, besides the sea route to the Japanese by way of the Liman and along the west coast of Sakhalin, they also have a second water artery on the Amur River, which leads them to the Chinese living on it as well as on the Sungari. Finally, in the trade with the Russians, too, the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River, occupy a central and intermediary position, so to speak, in contrast to the neighboring peoples, merely as a result of the fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the Russians started at the mouth of the Amur and the first settlements were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the Nikolayev post, which for some time remained the headquarters of the Russian administration and from which the further exploration of the lower Amur region and of Sakhalin took place.

If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with
195 which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seven-
648 teenth century (1) and considers that by nature they are by no
157

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but rather, far to the contrary, are malicious, spiteful, and deceitful, while at the same time energetic and even ready to shed blood if humiliation or greed are involved (2), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brnière by the Gilyak mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) is evidence of this. Shortly before my arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

/591 cont./

195 2. (cont.)
648 whaler that had run aground in the vicinity
157 of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak
[114] of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very
439 essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to
[174] exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the
184 Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa
648 Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening,
[123] when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

/592 cont./

123 country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
184 express the suspicion that they were now only exploring the
648 country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Duĭ, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hostilely in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in
439 hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
123 I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was needed. With the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
439 other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
150 ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical utility excites their inclination to buy: on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "tsa-tsa-ā," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better ones, in the course of which they praise them and insist on the first demand. In short, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how very much this in fact fits them can be seen from the following more detailed statements.

Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and
439 hence also that of the Gilyak, is only barter and no money is used
435 among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

G
Gi /594 cont./
435 solely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade
197 with them. Among the Goldi, who live closest to the Sungari
G Chinese and have constant retail-trade relations with them, a tenth
[439] part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver ounce comes into consideration, which makes it necessary for them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
G (ja or dicha). For the more distant Olcha and Gilyak, however,
Gi who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods
• 439 in larger quantities in Sian-sian on the Sungari, the tenth and
435 the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance --
197 for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it expressly in making apparatus, but rather it suffices to give only the number concerned. If I had made my investigations into this
G question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite
Gi direction, going from the latter to the former, the unit of value
435 upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent
197 to me without any difficulty, automatically, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not represented among the latter by any coin, is always only an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to form only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of the corresponding pieces of goods or other articles.
G As is well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver
[142] ounce is current in the form of coins -- the round brass coins with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tscheha), which are usually strung ten and a thousand on a string. On account of
G their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention
[436] to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellae, they are
[361] used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also as shirt and belt buttons. In my time Russian coins, likewise
G called tscheha (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak,
436 were not accepted either by them or by the other natives of the
197 lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their value and because the Chinese merchants likewise would not
G accept them (1). Through their association with the Russians,

1. The only coins for which a use could be

/594 cont.)

1. (cont.)
found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the Amur region were Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnados, and even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

G Through their association with the Russians
436 however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the
197 use of their coins (2).
• 434

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian notes as payment. As proof of their great shrewdness in monetary and trade matters the following incident, which occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. The frequently mentioned Foswein, a Gilyak from Kulj, who had been close to the Russians ever since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging with his countrymen there various small items for all kinds of valuables and especially gold and silver coins, which they had stolen from a stranded American whaler after killing part of the crew, and then to make a profit out of them with the Russians.

G
Gi /595/ By means of the unit of value borrowed from the
439 Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur
197 region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard in that the in part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

/595 cont./

G
Gi either the buyer or seller. The price or the value of the trade
43 commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser
197 demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian merchants began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese.
G More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept in mind in
[128] connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that my descriptions refer to a period when this contact had first been made and had not yet had the consequences that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved
435 in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their households and the rest of their life and activities, the decisive factors are to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following.

By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak
G and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to
435 learn the values, given in the following table, of both the most
• 439 important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russians, and the foremost articles in their life and households, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

A table pelt, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-2 ja
A pelt from the red fox (pasi(1)-ngā) . . " 2 "

G
[104] 1. The ā is pronounced soft, like the French e.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pladi) . . equals 3 ja

/595 cont./

435 A pelt from the black fox (hādi), depending
439 on its quality, ... equals
A lynx pelt with head, the leg pieces, and the tail . . . . . .
A lynx pelt without head, leg pieces, and tail . . . . . .

/596/
A river otter pelt is estimated according to its size, each finger-span of it is equal to . . .
A sealskin, either Phoca numminiana (pegbi) or Ph. barbata (highsch), provided it is very good, equals . . . . . .
Four fathoms (1) of ordinary cotton cloth (possi) cost

[804] 1. That is, arm spans, since the Gilyak do not have any measure other than arm and finger spans.

Two fathoms of terry velvet (poihrō-possi) cost .
One and a half fathoms of cloth (dshangta) . . . . . .
Four fathoms of Manchurian (2) (very colorful) silk fabric (tscharp) are equal to . . . . . .

2. More correctly stated, Chinese. Four fathoms of it constitute one piece.

The value that the Gilyak give to their various clothing is judged according to the quality and price materials; thus, it costs for:

A long, wide-sleeved robe of Manchurian silk (tscht) . . . . . .

3. Perhaps reckoned somewhat too low.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/550 cont./

224 439 only indirectly inasmuch as it furnishes them with those articles by means of which they can acquire through trade with the neighboring civilized peoples the foreign clothing, food, and stimulants which have become necessities for them. Hence, among them hunting is principally directed toward those animals for whose furs there is a sure and good market among their principal trade-lords, the Chinese, and since, merely in order to preserve the pelts as intact as possible, it is practiced for the most part by means of various kinds of traps, snares, poison pellets, etc., one can designate it, in accordance with its greatly predominant purpose and character, as the catching of fur-bearing animals.

224 /551/ Obviously, the Gilyak engage in hunting only in the winter, for they are then occupied with fishing only a little, have enough time for it, and, on the other hand, the animals are in their full, valuable winter-fur. In addition, the deep snow then covering the dense underbrush in the forest facilitates to a great extent movement through it, so that, as experience has taught, the Gilyak, too, know without any doubt that the heavier the snow is in winter, the more rewarding and successful the hunting will be. Nevertheless the Gilyak do not devote [171] themselves to hunting in winter nearly as much as their Tungusic neighbors do. Whereas the latter, as we shall see, frequently move then from their own habitation area into distant forest and mountain wildernesses, in order to live there for weeks entirely by hunting, the Gilyak content themselves with practicing it only in their own territory in a certain area, larger or smaller according to the locality, around their winter dwellings. For this purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes even quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which have an especially favorable location for hunting.

The most important fur-bearing animals for the Gilyak, because they are generally highly valued in trade and are present in great numbers in the Amur region, are the sable (Gilyak lumr, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak oghrob and myghr-nga, i.e., brown animal), the otter (Gilyak ngy, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak pehyik), and the fox (Gilyak käkch, among the Tymy

ont./

nally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine, they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price n accordance with the use that they make of it, call -ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

hen I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all, they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two ons: in the first place by way of their northern and western ors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among , thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small- r, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (póroki"): póroke.

onally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their n neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though lie- nly rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy e matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/557 cont./

411 177 439 113

5. (cont.) Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 192 The Gilyak also have their own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," 000 and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 177 152 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun, whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

/597 cont./

435 A very large hausen (patch-tscho) equals . . . . .
439 " live, still young, and small bear equals . . . .
" " full-grown bear, depending on its size, equals . 3
" dog of ordinary quality and size, equals . . . . .
" ordinary sled equals . . . . . .
" pair of Tungusic ski with elk-skin covering (Gilyak rdhy-enj, i.e., Samagir ski equals . . . .
The local ski covered with sealskin, on the other hand do not reach the value of one ja.
A small to middle-sized boat, depending on its size, equals . . . . . .
A large, new boat equals. . . . . .
" sail made of fish skins equals . . . . . .
Each ten fathoms of fish netting comes to . . . . . .
A bow covered with a whalebone plate equals . . . .
" " " " " buffalo or rhinoceros horn plate and with silver clamps (ngynif-puntsch), depending on the number of the latter, equals . . .
A gun with one barrel is valued by the Gilyak at . . .
" Russo-Siberian rifle " " " " " " . . .
One double-barreled gun " " " " " " . . .
A spear approximately an ell long without inlaid silver figures equals . . . . . .
Such a spear with inlaid figures of silver equals . . .
A spear point about as long as an arm without silver decorations equals . . . . . .
A like-sized spear point with silver and other decorations will be valued, depending on the amount of the latter, as equal to . . . . . .
A Manchurian ax is equal to . . . . . .
A coat of old Manchurian iron armor (wytsch-petsch) is valued by the Gilyak at . . . . . .
A coat of old armor of local workmanship (kä-petsch) on the other hand, is valued at only . . .

apron skirts of sealskin, ordinary wi
birch bark, sleeve bands, ear muffs
the value of one ja, though the last
vided with embroidery. Furthermo

One sack of flour as equal to . . .
Four Manchurian sacks (tall, but na
as equal to 4 sables, that is, abo
/597/
One wooden case (kylmr-wakke) of
garded as equal to . . . . . .
Ten bundles of tobacco leaves, and
scarcity even only 5, cost . . .
A very large sturgeon (tukki-tscho)

nter caps, summer hats of
s, gloves, etc., do not have
three are, as a rule, pro-
re, the Gilyak value:

. . . . .	2 ja
rrow) of millet	
ut 6 or	4-8 "
liquor is re-	
. . . . .	10 "
in times of	
. . . . .	1 "
equals	2 "

/597 cont./

The value of the kettle embedded in the hearth and the portable kettle is reckoned in part, on the basis of size, but in part and chiefly on the basis of their origin, because the Manchurian (Chinese) kettles are far inferior in quality to those of Japanese: the former easily crack over the fire if they contain no water, but the latter will not. Accordingly, it costs for:

A large Manchurian hearth-kettle (tsch) (ormoz-wunj)	4 ja
/598/	
A smaller Manchurian hearth-kettle	3 "
" Manchurian portable kettle (matsch-wunj) with handles, depending on the size	3-7 "
A small Japanese kettle (Gilyak kughi-wunj, i.e., Ainu kettle)	7-8 "
A large kettle of the same kind	20 "
" " Japanese kettle with three handles . . .	30 "

The evaluation used among the Gilyak for their houses is very peculiar, inasmuch as it costs for:

A winter yurt (tschadryf) with two hearths only . .	4 ja
" summer yurt (käryf) only	2-4 "
A storehouse(njö), on the other hand, depending on the number of compartments	10 " and more.

A number of conclusions concerning the trade of the Gilyak, as well as telling numerical evidence of certain of their customs and beliefs, can be drawn from this table, some of which have already been discussed in the previous sections and some will be discussed in the following. For the moment it will suffice to draw attention only to the following points:

1) Furs, the most important barter item of the Gilyak in their trade with the Chinese, have a relatively low price, which

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435 undoubtedly can be explained b
439 as yet still undiminished wealth
region. Only two types of fur c
with their high prices: the blac
owes its high price, not only to
also recognized and highly app
certainly also to its far greater
other hand, as was pointed out
value in the eyes of the Gilyak
great quantities.

435 2) Like the lynx fur, seve
in the above table by their very
sponding to their real value. A
old Manchurian iron armor and
length and the Japanese kettles
fortunately, I did not see, but
surpass in quality the kettles fro
otherwise somewhat different fr
[556] the great difference between th
special marks of wealth and dis
the otherwise practical Gilyak,

825 3) The same motive, var
556 of a live bear among the Gilya
no material /599/ advantage,
advantages, for the killing and
only in a festive fashion which
host; in return, however, it br
of a rich and renowned man.

435 4) Among the various cl
439 the principal barter item of the
291 Gilyak, the latter most prize t
dragons and other Chinese patt
interwoven through them, but
special pleasure in them and li
one sees them used among the

/599 cont./

439 435 291 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 273 435 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evaluation of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

1. See p. 719 above.

of my stay among them. On the other hand, their gaze, constantly looking for advantages and profit, could not miss the value of so generally popular a commodity in the trade relations with both their own countrymen living farther away from the source of supply and in particular their less energetic Tungusic neighbors. Thus, their genius for trade also proved itself with respect to liquor and, as has already been mentioned, with the help of it they were even able to obtain many an advantage in their barter with the Russian Cossacks and sailors.

435 6) The articles that they themselves make for their household and the rest of their life and activities, such as utensils of all kinds, pieces of clothing, etc., however neatly made and adorned with decorations they might be, are not very highly valued by the Gilyak, unless they contain a precious material acquired from the Chinese, such as bows covered with buffalo horn, or the lances furnished with inlaid figures of silver, etc. It is not the fineness and beauty of the work or the time and labor spent on them, but the bit of silver or horn that gives these objects their high value in the eyes of the Gilyak.

/603 cont./

the mainland remains remote to the Ainu. Thus, the trade in Chinese commodities on Sakhalin rests almost exclusively in the hands of the continental Gilyak. And they know how to draw great advantage from it for their own purposes. As we have already seen, the island is exceedingly rich in fur-bearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully by all three tribes on it, but chiefly concentrated in the hands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greatest quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, roaming and hunting throughout the winter, who, however, impelled or forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lighthearted Tungusic nature, /604/ turn the largest part of it over to the sedentary and enterprising Tymy and other Sakhalin Gilyak. The latter know how to take advantage of the scarcities that not infrequently occur among their wandering neighbors with regard to food and luxuries for themselves or food for their dogs; with the help of supplies bartered from the Amur Gilyak or stored by them themselves, they carry on an extremely profitable trade with them, indeed, by means of advances, sometimes, at a great profit, even make them their debtors. They similarly draw advantages from the Ainu, who, when they can, prefer to turn to them with their hunting booty rather than to the Japanese, for they are always underpaid by the latter with only a little rice and sake and not infrequently are not paid at all. Thus, even the Sakhalin Gilyak, though lack the enterprising spirit of their countrymen on the continent, do not in any way belie the passion for trade and profit peculiar to their tribe. Inasmuch, however, as they sell to them the animal pelts captured by them themselves or bought from their neighbors, they furnish them with the means to carry on trade on a larger scale with the Chinese, which also benefits them. Moreover, the continental Gilyak make their purchases on the island not only among their countrymen or through their agency, but, particularly in the north and south of the island, outside the Tymy region, occasionally trade directly with the Orok and Ainu. In fact, they obtain a great portion of the coveted animal skins from the Japanese. But this

/604 cont./

trade will be discussed separately later, after we have first become acquainted with that which they carry on with the Chinese, and which furnishes them the means for the former.

As was pointed out at great length above (1), there is along

1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Olcha and Goldi area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants stay temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very cleverly chosen by them in order to carry on trade with the adjacent native tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious furs. They are cunning and sly traders, who do not shrink from any trouble and deprivation or from any means, in order to draw the greatest possible profit from their calling in either their own or their employer's interests. Outwardly they are very affable and courteous toward the natives in order to win them over; when I was in the above-mentioned village of Puli, in a yurt in which one of the three Chinese permanently living in the village had his domicile, and the Olcha and Gilyak in whose company I had come from the Liman entered it, the Chinese immediately took pains to help them shake the snow off their fur coats and then handed each of them a leaf of tobacco. After he had again taken his former seat on the plank-bed, he asked the newcomers to take a seat likewise, lighted his pipe at the basin filled with glowing charcoal that stood beside him, and passed it around from one to the other hand. Conversation was soon flowing, and it was not long before the Chinese lifted a small can filled with liquor from the coal-pan, put several small porcelain bowls on the low table standing beside him, filled them, and handed them to his guests. During the conversation the Chinese talked boastfully and took pains to point out to his listeners and to me that his countrymen, the Nekan, were the best friends of the Olcha, Goldi, Gilyak, etc., because they provided for their needs and paid for every article of fur with clothing materials, millet, tobacco, liquor, or the like, according to their desires, and were always friendly to them, whereas the Manchu were their mutual enemies and only exploited and

/605 cont./

mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal servings of liquor, made to the natives by Chinese merchants, and they never miss their mark, especially in the case of the Goldi who, living in the closest proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, have often personally experienced their cruelty and avarice and even give them the nickname "sungaru," rats, to indicate that they act like the latter around their supplies and possessions. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortion, the flattering and seductive behavior of the Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit that the latter make by selling to the Amur peoples at retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchased cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their commercial sense, and, little inclined to contribute to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. This explains their above-mentioned opposition to granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the little encouragement that the latter find among them in general. The Chinese trade center on their border, in Puli, is visited, apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Orok, almost exclusively by the Tscholi Gilyak, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and especially along the Tymy River. The Amur Gilyak, on the other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-seeking middlemen located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Sungari or, as the Gilyak usually express it, "to the Manchu," is the goal of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors. It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and the trips to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

/605 cont./

barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is considered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is also arranged for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Uturi to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

/606 cont./ They are not permitted

by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, the so-called Sachalin River -- a prohibition whose observance the Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-ssin at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchi-choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/607 cont./

time they must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order to achieve their commercial ends, they behave, as they themselves told me, toward them on their part just like the latter, that is, they bend the knee before them in greeting or to make a request, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. The Gilyak in Ssan-ssin put on an act of complete submission to the Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this, along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute and probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and otherwise leaves them in peace.

The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur region appearing annually on the Sungari for trade on the part of the Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh, inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and shy Goldi, who live closest to them and are directly subject to them, have to suffer under them. According to the description by Chlikofaklij (1) and Barabasch (2), who traveled up the Sungari

1. Khlikovskii (Izviest. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. II, 1860, Sec. II, p. 227. In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph. Mitthei., 1868, p. 343).

2. Ia. Barabash", "Sungariisk. Ekiped. 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tune (Bo-dune) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay for a permit for travel to Ssan-ssin and for the trading itself, which was done in the village of Susuu, lying somewhat below the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sturgeon and hausen cartilage and glue to the Manchu official stationed there. Upon reaching Ssan-ssin, they first of all have to pay the tribute (albun) owed to the Chinese Crown, which consists of one sable,

/607 cont./

and, to be sure, the best, per man. In order to find it, however, the officials in charge of this rummage through and inspect the entire collection of sables of each of the newcomers -- a procedure during which the owner in question must continually kneel down in respect, and many a one remains on his knees for an hour and longer before the best sable has been selected from his collection. It is obvious that, as a rule, this does not stop at one, but no protests or resistance would help here, since for the slightest offense of this /608/ kind the one concerned is punished immediately by beatings with bamboo. When the officials are satisfied, it is the merchants' turn to plunder, and they have at their disposal, among other things, so powerful a means as liquor, which no Tungus can easily resist. It is said that not infrequently the Chinese traders confront the Goldi with fabricated or false claims and demand from one or another of them the repayment of so many sable pelts allegedly still owed by his father or grandfather -- demands which the Goldi, out of fear of the punishment threatened and especially of the withdrawal of their trading permit by the officials, who have an understanding with the merchants, usually obey.

For furs, especially sable, otter, and fox furs, and sturgeon and hausen cartilage, spinal cords, and glue, the only products of their region that the Gilyak bring to Ssan-ssin, they get in trade from the Chinese various commodities produced by them in part for their own subsistence and in part for trade with the neighboring peoples. Among these are the aforementioned cereals and vegetables used in great quantities at the bear festivals, such as millet, barley, wheat flour, white and yellow beans, and then liquor and tobacco, along with the implements customarily used in enjoying them, the small porcelain bowls and the Chinese pipes distributed everywhere and provided with brass, glass, or stone (agate and chalcedony) mouthpieces. Of special importance for the Gilyak, furthermore, are the clothing materials which they obtain from the Chinese: the indispensable blue and gray cotton cloth worn by

/608 cont./

439 men and women, black woolens and velvet materials, silk fabrics, silk thread of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a quantity of Chinese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and bracelets, glass beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's robes, and the like, as well as, finally, a number of household utensils, such as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of
439 goods acquired in trade in Ssan-ssin, in part heavy and bulky,
437 is too large to be transported without injury in the small boats
484 in which the Gilyak customarily make the arduous upstream
[501] voyage to and on the Sungari, a so-called Manchu boat, made by the Goldi there, is bought, in which the return voyage downstream can be made easily and quickly. And since, in order to have a stronger current, one usually stays far from the banks, he at the same time avoids the danger of being belatedly fleeced even yet by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders stationed or residing here and there temporarily or permanently. After the return trip is completed, the boat can still be used for a second type of trading voyage -- the voyages to the Ssisam (Japanese), to a consideration of which we must now turn.

439 Among the above-named commodities which the Gilyak obtain by trade in Ssin-ssan, one article plays an especially important role. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric bearing designs of dragons and other figures and often with gold and silver interwoven in it, which is brought to market in part in whole pieces and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved dressing gowns. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the Gilyak exclusively for their own use or for trade with their neighbors, these find their foremost and best purchasers outside of the Amur region, among the Japanese, and therefore give them the principal reason for direct trade with the latter. There is mention of this trade, which, however, does not take place in Japan, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin, even in the oldest accounts of this island which we have from the Japanese. The Japanese interpreter Kanmemon, who visited Jesso /Yesso/ before 1652, already speaks of special fabrics which the inhabitants of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft"

/609 cont./

439 (Sakhalin), and which he therefore calls "Kraft-ori" (1).

[113] 1. "Jesoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, publ. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 162, 164). Cf. also p. 262, note 3, above.

175 There is an even more definite statement in Rinsifée's work, San
439 kokf tsou ran to sets, published in Jedo /Yedo, or Tokyo/ in 1785 or 1786, where it is said that the inhabitants of Jesso (Matsmai) exchange their products on Karafuto with the "Mantsiu" for blue glass beads, eagle wings, tobacco pipes, silken fabrics embroidered with dragons, and colored linen and cotton materials (2). This undoubtedly refers to the trade which

[113] 2. Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 190. Cf. also Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 487.

the Manchu-Chinese, Gilyak, and Olcha, with the above-named, mostly Chinese commodities, but in part also indigenous products of the Amur region (such as the eagle tails), conducted on Sakhalin with the Japanese and Ainu of this island and, through their intermediation, also with the inhabitants of Jesso, and which the last-named indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region and some of the Goldi still conduct. To be sure, they are not named there, but this is not to be expected in view of the lack of knowledge about the peoples of the lower Amur region at that time on the part of the Japanese, and, rather, it is to be assumed that under "Mantsiu" in the collective sense they meant all those people there carrying on trade with Manchu-Chinese

/609 cont./

175 commodities. The Gilyak and Olcha coming to Sakhalin to trade
439 with the Japanese are simply designated as "Manchu" even by many a more recent Russian reporter (3), though at present

[113] 3. For instance, by Rudanofskij (cf. P. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii i dieistv. eia do nastoiashch. vrem. /Historical Survey of the Founding of the Russian-American Company and of Its Activities up to the Present/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 127), Busse, (Otrov" Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 62, 72, 85), and others.

neither they nor the Chinese merchants referred to as a rule under this name by the Russians visit Sakhalin. The first Russian report concerning the trade in question is almost as old as the last-mentioned Japanese account. In 1792, Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese on Jesso speak of the "Sandan-aino" who bring beads and fabrics to "Karap" (Krafto, Sakhalin) and barter for animal furs, sable, fox, etc. (4). To be sure, he thought that

[113] 4. Cf. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, pp. 493, 541). Similarly see p. 245 above.

these "Sandan People" must be Koreans, but since, as was discussed above at length (5), "Santan" is the Japanese and Ainu

5. See pp. 245 and 247, as well as the footnote.

/609 cont./

175 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no
439 doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

439 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the
437 Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and
484 located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,
487

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea
[501] voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the
[103] higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Duĭ as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/610 cont./

439 they take only a small supply of food with them and depend al-
437 most entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the
484
487

3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the worst stretch, from Duĭ to Kussunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Ssisam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea does not always freeze along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to cover this stretch by land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arkai, shortly before Duĭ, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Plyi or Poronai River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Manuê and then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrowest point of Sakhalin, /611/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kussunai and which they then follow to Ssiranussi (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

439 As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Ssisam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

/611 cont./

well as on the west coast. A principal center for this trade
however, is the village of Najoro, not far from Kussunai,
which the Ainu come for this purpose from considerable di
tances themselves, from Aniwa Bay and elsewhere (2). Fo

2. Busse, op. cit., p. 84. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 92.

egoistical reasons the Japanese view this trade with great d
and try as far as possible to prevent it, because they want
for themselves the furs captured by the Ainu. Since they
in a way which is very injurious to the latter, in that they
their goods far below the price in part under threats of pun
and other coercive measures, and, indeed, sometimes for
ing, as payment for alleged debts (3), the Ainu, whenev

3. Busse, op. cit., p. 71.

can, avoid trading with them and try to sell their furs, ke
hidden from them, to the Sakhalin Gilyak or, preferably,
the Amur Gilyak and Olcha from abroad. The latter are s
[435] pay them two to three fathoms (arm spans) of Chinese cott
cloth for one sable pelt, depending on its quality, and jus
much for each quarter of an arshin (finger span) of river-o
skin, so that the latter, with a length of 5/4 arshin, which
easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of
fur in skinning, will bring about ten fathoms of the materi
named (4) -- prices which generally correspond to the val

4. Busse, op. cit., p. 84.

given above for these articles among the Gilyak.

Having reached Ssiranussi, the Ssisam voyagers, be
[648] may begin to trade with the Japanese, submit to a cerem
introduced by the latter which consists of two or three blo
across the back with a stick received by each of them, as

/600 cont./

1/2 ja, a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these worthless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like the furs, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon, for example, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand because the fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in this respect as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of it, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to the above table /see p. 935/.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable, fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

/601 cont./

439 438 184 Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyak, who have the most dealings with the Chinese, also trade with their more distant countrymen living along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak, and in part the Tschomi Gilyak too, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are brought into circulation throughout the territory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Orok, and even the Ainu, and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from it. There is not a single Chinese merchant in this whole area. 439 648 [487] The northernmost and easternmost point in the lower Amur region where such a one stays temporarily is the village of Pulj, located still in Olcha territory on the Amur, near the Gilyak border, which can easily be reached in winter, even from Tschomi, via the oft-mentioned Tymi-Chaselach route from the Liman (1). It was said that sometimes a Chinese merchant

1. See pp. 144 and 909 above.

steals through from Pulj along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the Negda on the Amgunj, but carefully avoids the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, because they, as they themselves told me, will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and 25 years ago killed one who ventured it. Whether they assumed this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to shake it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is greatly to their advantage commercially. 439 For the role that is played farther upstream by the Chinese merchants living among the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or visiting them, in that they act as middlemen in the trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, intowhich they are not allowed to come, to the Amur Gilyak themselves. And the latter perform their role of middlemen with great skill and success. The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that

484 437 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spi

439 [157] they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes, is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commod ties, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the lik in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these for eign articles and with some of their own products, such as stur or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to the places named. This is done especially in winter when ther [221] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dog [492] which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish i the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests. Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to take only a small quantity of commodities with them each tim the frequency and common practice of such trading trips amon them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goo and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same, the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese, they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting. Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodit always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using

439 437 484 648 [487] These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose m tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Neg on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak Hynk) and the Samagir on the Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhots and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter, aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone, they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportu

Goldi KKS
Negida!
Samagir

/602 cont./

First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

Under these circumstances the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, moreover, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographically as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the

/603 cont./

The Amur Gilyak find a field for their trading operations as middlemen that is far more favorable than among the Negda and Samagir among their own countrymen along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, which they reach in a short time, going either from Pall-wo to Kulj via the lakes mentioned, or from Wair to Hisska, or by way of the Amur Liman, and where they are the sole suppliers of Chinese and, since the abandonment of the Petrofski post, also Russian wares. In exchange for these, they are supplied with animal pelts which the Gilyak living there in part capture themselves in the coastal region and on the Schantar Islands and in part obtain from the Tungus hunting along the Tugur and in the Mäwatschan Mountains in exchange for the yield from their fishing and hunting of sea animals and articles previously procured from the Amur Gilyak. Furthermore, they buy eagle tails from their countrymen in order to use them in trade with the Japanese, and, finally, they cheaply procure there seal oil and skins both for their own use and for trade with their southern neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi.

The Amur Gilyak, and in part also the Tschomi Gilyak, get their greatest booty in animal skins for trade with the Chinese, however, on Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the former chiefly in the northern part of the island, along the Liman and Tro coasts, and the latter on the west coast south of Poghobi and along the upper course of the Tymy River, without there being any strict division of these trade areas between them. It is strange that the Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their aforementioned countrymen, do little moving about and almost never come to the mainland, to say nothing of their undertaking more distant trading trips, but rather they are content to exploit their nearest neighbors on the island, the Orok and the Ainu, and, in turn, let themselves be supplied with the Chinese commodities coveted by them, too, tobacco, liquor, cloth, and the like, by the continental Gilyak, who come over to them. The Orok likewise only rarely roam beyond the Liman in order to approach the Chinese traders in Pulj along the Tymi-Chaselach route, and, finally,

/611 cont./
token of their submissiveness from the highest Japanese official. After this is done, the goods are taken away from them and brought to an official building of the Japanese, which no one except them may enter, in order to be subjected to a close scrutiny (5). It can hardly be doubted that some of the pieces

5. According to Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's Istorich. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 127.

and certainly not the worst ones, never find their way back to their rightful owners. The Japanese, however, do not permit themselves to treat the newly arrived Gilyak and Olcha in the same inconsiderate and predatory manner as they do the Ainu, simply for the reason that otherwise they might easily shy away altogether from trading with them and the coveted commodities that they bring to them would be lost. Besides /612/ this trade is all the more profitable for them since they principally use sable, fox, and river-otter furs in it, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their systematic extortion practiced on the Ainu on Sakhalin, as well as on Jesso, and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among its inhabitants. They further owe great profit to the popularity of their iron kettles, provided with handles, among the Gilyak. Finally, rice, tobacco, sake, porcelain and lacquered wooden bowls, and the like are readily marketable articles for them in this trade, in exchange for which they principally try to obtain from the Gilyak and Olcha those colorful, red and blue Chinese silk materials and the eagle tails likewise mentioned several times. How popular the one as well as the other is among them can be seen from the high prices that they pay for them. According to Poswein, the Gilyak from Kulj, the Japanese give for a piece of silk material seven fathoms long and one arshin wide five river-otter pelts, five fox pelts, and five sable pelts, and for an eagle tail from Haliaëtos pelagicus 12 otter pelts, and from the far less

/612 cont./
439 prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm,
[435] at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin
484 for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often ex-
487 tends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they
[231] still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

648 order to raise them at home.
439 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go
484 beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the
[823] southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

/612 cont./
439 their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of
484 the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin
648 (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk).
[823] /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the
175 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried
648 to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo,
439 their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

[113] 2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Sziranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

Chukches RX
Golj RX3
Olcha

G /613 cont./
439 If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are
G a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely
[181] dedicated to it. Too indolent to obtain by hunting the means for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them from the tribes neighboring them, who are more skilled at hunting, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small be-
G ginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primi
[439] tive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari
[484] and to southern Sakhalin, to the "Manchu" and to the "Ssisam," and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the
C Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing
439 them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who,
437 likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for
484 trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait in order to trade for the furs bagged by the Eskimo in the Yukon territory with the commodities of the Russo-Siberian merchants, and, conversely, along the Anjui, the latter for the former, and so in the polar north they act as trade intermediaries between Europe-Asia and America (3). None of the Siberian peoples can

C
[113] 3. Concerning this trade of the Chukchee, see the detailed and exhaustive account by Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/ (in Wrangell's /Vrangel'/ travel account, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.), Ditmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., Vol. XIII, 1856, pp. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 39 ff.), and others.

Gi None of the Siberian Peoples Can
439 be compared, with regard to its trade activities, /614/ to these
197 two Paleo-Asiatic peoples, except perhaps the Olcha, whose strongly developed genius for trade, however, as we shall see in a moment, must be traced back to the influence of the Gilyak.

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
G to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
Gi
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

SS /622 cont./
G Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rinsô
Gi with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation
648 to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century
178 later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed
439 in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at
A all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin
[648]
B
[622]

1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro): it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha; the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the
Gi granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand,
178 were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities,
439 and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin,
648 there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it
SS must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's
174 travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-
648 Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the
439 Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had
178 taken place.

Gi /626 cont./
361 Goldi, in order to escape pressure by the Manchu, have moved
167 into the deserted area -- a movement which was still going on
Gi in my time (3). It is therefore not surprising that the inhabitants
[443]
[439]

3. Concerning this, too, see p. 56 above.

of Dyra, just such Goldi who had immigrated later, could give me no information in answer to my inquiries about the trade center of Deren which had once stood there.

SS
Gi
T
439 With regard to trade in the upper Amur region, which I only became acquainted with on a journey through it along the main river, I must limit myself to pointing out a few general features particularly characteristic of it in contrast to the lower Amur region. If we first consider the peoples of the former which are analogous to the indigenous tribes of the latter, the Birar, Manegir and Orochon, both the articles that they bring to trade and those that they take away in exchange are practically the same for the one as for the other. For the former, which in both places are obtained solely by hunting, show only the /627/ minor, almost exclusively quantitative differences and modifications pointed out above in discussing hunting, and, concerning the latter, they are in general also the same clothing, food, and luxury items often mentioned above, which have become indispensable for the primitive peoples of both regions. An essential and characteristic difference between the upper and the lower Amur peoples with regard to trade, however, is to be found in their disparate relations with the neighboring civilized peoples caused by the location and other geographical and political conditions of the region. As was pointed out above,
G the peoples of the lower Amur region, prior to the occupation of
Gi it by the Russians, had practically no trade relations with them at
SS all, apart from some slight contact along the Tugur. Instead,
439 such took place only with the Japanese and Chinese, and the latter was centered on the Sungari, from where Chinese goods, through the intermediation of the Chinese merchants as well as

G /627 cont./
Gi of the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, were carried down the Amur
SS to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and along the island of Sakhalin
439 to the Japanese. Therefore, as far as trade was concerned, the lower Amur region was a region closed toward the west and completely dominated by the Sungari, to a certain extent a continuation of the Sungari region extending as far as the sea and including the island of Sakhalin stretching out in front of it.

T The situation is different for the upper Amur region. Be-
439 cause of its continental location and great distance from the sea, it is out of reach for communication, and its population is kept away from the lower Amur and the Sungari by the political measures of the Chinese government. Following the policy of keeping the Sungari cut off from the upper Amur, adopted in the seventeenth century in order to ward off a Russian invasion, it permits no direct trade and shipping connections between them and also prevents free communication between the inhabitants of the upper and lower Amur on the river connecting them. As a consequence of these geographical and political conditions the trade of the upper Amur peoples, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, turned toward the west and north, that is, first toward the source region of the Amur River, or so-called Russian Dauria, and the Lena area, and in the south, following the uppermost Amur, the Desja /Zeya/, and the Bureja /Bureya/ downstream, is concentrated in the culture area of the Amur River located between the mouths of these last two rivers and occupied by Manchu, Chinese, and Daur, in which Aigun, the Ssan-ssin of the upper, or more correctly, the middle Amur, is located, which, in turn, is oriented toward Tsitsikar, the administrative center of the Chinese Helong-Kiang district, which embraces the upper Amur region. The trade link between the upper Amur region and the Sungari region is, therefore, not the mouth of the Sungari, but Tsitsikar, which is located on the Nonni.

The extent and complexity of the trade ties which connect the Orochon, Manegir, and Birar with the Russians and Yakut of the adjacent sections of Siberia have already been indicated above in the discussion of the indefinite, overlapping, fluctuating, and

/666 cont./
556 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

426 435 When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly [439] think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed, 426 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

507 /672 cont./ with regard to me,
123 however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I, [935] too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not thinking now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

431 On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to
123 exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer, perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, sev-
431 eral buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not
• [439] by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

431 /673 cont./ this
• 439 custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
177 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Ssan-
648 ssin, as well as in Ssiranussi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such captatio benevolentiae in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

439 Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, pai. And this is precisely what Judin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

439 I must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can
123 trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them,
157 for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy, in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they occasionally even warned me against the thievish instincts of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously
114 bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very diffi-
157 cult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspi-
123 cious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and cleverness. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf larch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/677 cont./
805 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for
184 January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound
805 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-
184 month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the
825 former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas
• [439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese 000 origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

805 825 171 113 3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/682 cont./

33 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
14 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song;
instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only
praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
26) the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to
me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of
two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words
in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in
them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides
my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn
was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under
the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list;
see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p.
41 /this appendix is not included in the book
translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection
with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a
place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who
die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but
are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the
shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
439 musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them
is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an
instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, ac-
cordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction
that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed
among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood,
and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The
first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into
which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining at-
tached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced
and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front
of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/684 cont./

545 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc.
171 whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts
and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these
and such great delight in these entertainments that there are
complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance
of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected
[157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of
the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov",
Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the
Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg,
1840. Part II, pp. 85. 93. With regard to the
Eskimo, see above, pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind
[526] as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade
their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and after-
ward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, ex-
cept for their very active participation in preparing the latter,
play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a
128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section,
devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their
immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on
the program for it and in the order in which I myself became
acquainted with them.

524 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game
•439 which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese;
I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small,
Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the
Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory
of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198)
saw for example, these Chinese playing

G /685 cont./
524 2. (cont.)
•439 cards, the game being played with 120
171 cards, in use among the Goldi of Ykka.

G The latter have only the expression pai, that is, gratis or free, for
524 card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been
525 practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played
171 for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each
pipe of tobacco as a rule, even more reveals it as an entirely
harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese)
made a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes.
Przewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the
Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, espe-
cially along the Zymu-che and Ssutschan, where during the winter
unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and
cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie
/Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Peters-
burg, 1870, p. 90.

these circumstances it is surprising that it has not spread more
rapidly down the Amur and that it has not found favorable soil in
particular among the greedy and acquisitive Gilyak. It is un-
doubtedly because of the energy with which the latter have been
able to keep the Chinese away. In the meantime it may also have
been carried to them by the Russians.

Gi Before I start the description of the bear festival of the
648 Gilyak, I must cast a brief comparative glance at the peoples
immediately adjacent to them, the Olcha and Goldi, with re-
gard to the social and co-operative relations touched on above.

/686/ In my time, after the official Manchu-Chinese trade
center of Deren was abandoned sometime in the twenties the
Olcha, like the Gilyak, were not tributary to either China or
G Russia Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade
[439] did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

1. Cf. p. 950.

10 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of
[361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast
and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-
Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct
place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-aggluti-
native languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal
and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-ǧan—big dog). The agglutinating
[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics
of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of
speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives
have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting:
802 in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects,
instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1)
long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects;
3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4)
thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits;
7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one
bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—
one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled;
and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian
peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common
with the languages of these peoples.

174 In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants.
There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of
the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numer-
ous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone im-
plements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral
ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin.
There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi
habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur
peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of
the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was
expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the
Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data
indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the
Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once
lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources,
tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th
century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or
Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According
to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to
travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasilly
Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba,
the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack
reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to
[361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
[251] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[33] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[362]

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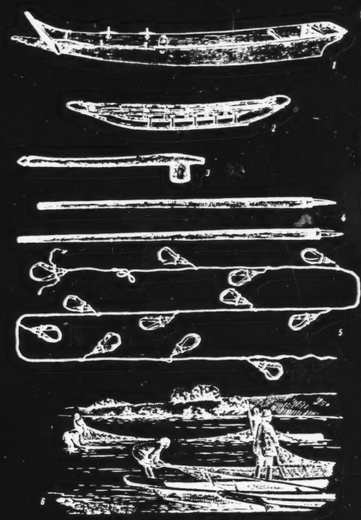

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Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was Prepared with
fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, 26
seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite 25
dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi 42
became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded 42

/630 cont./

Manchu officials there, in that the privilege of collecting tribute among the Manegir and Birar is conferred upon them by the latter, though presumably in return for a suitable guarantee and substantial payment, for which, however, they know how to get ample repayment in the trading. If one looks at their entire trading activity briefly outlined above, they can be compared, on the one hand, with the Chinese carrying on trade in the lower Amur region, and, on the other hand, in an even more striking way, with the Gilyak. For like the latter they carry their own and, even more, Chinese goods and products great distances to the neighboring tribes and, through trade, use their hunting booty for their own advantage. In any case, with regard to trade, these two peoples, the Daur and the Gilyak, are the most prominent and the most significant characteristic formations in the Amur region -- the former in the upper and the latter in the lower part of it. But it is noteworthy that these two peoples nowhere come in direct contact with each other except in that one place on the Tugur located outside the Amur region -- a consequence of the above-mentioned mutual isolation determined by geographical and political conditions in which the upper and the lower Amur region are found with regard to the trade of their peoples, and which has essentially contributed to the formation and preservation of peculiar ethnographic conditions in them.

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a woode

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, howeve
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlà, tammlà, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growin sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride p

/646 cont./

567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, [170] indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is [648] rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought [181] by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is [439] the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

567 435 On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in [583] particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kufk, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr: as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because [556] of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems [584] so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does [583] not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in [556] exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the purchase price in some other form.

/650 cont./

114 and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4, 175 often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and 567 stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services, [435] are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the [439] Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations [304] named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

[184] customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be- 175 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get 567 their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, [648] they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

567 Before I go further in describing the family relations of the 171 Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak RX2
Historical
Manchuria AG2

441

/Information on itinerant Chinese merchants in the Amur and Manchurian areas will be found in categories 439 and 563./

/590/

Section 10

000

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

433
439
171

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all of their needs; they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

439

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that

[195]

in the first information which the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Perfiliev heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (chitka) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do more trading with the Chinese

[441]

and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /591/ live farther from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the two civilized peoples with each other.

452

452 CREDIT--extension of credit by producers and middlemen; methods and terms; advances and discounts; bills of exchange; credit ratings and rating services; credit institutions other than banks (e.g., loan associations, finance companies); etc. See also:

Bankruptcy	498	Credit money	498
Interest, usury, borrowing and lending	498	Cycles of expanding and contracting credit	498
Mortgages	498		

/278 cont./

583 554 735 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come [183] to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with [614] his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do [406] clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of 583 554 lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her 452 majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment 735 buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment 583 735 with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. 554 The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

583 As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. 614 At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes [627] necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

/281 cont./

583 422 428 She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

583 585 After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and 583 no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families, 585 the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom 556 lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. 583 But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the 585 wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged [452] in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

454

454 SAVING AND INVESTMENT--saving; hoarding; safekeeping (e.g., safes, safe deposit boxes); savings in relation to income; funds available for investment; available and preferred forms of investment (e.g., in land, buildings, cattle, business and productive enterprises, corporate securities, government obligations); savings accounts; postal savings; and savings banks; underwriting and issuance of corporate securities; investment banking; specialized personnel (e.g., investment brokers); regulation; etc. See also:

Food preservation and storage	440	Food stock companies	474
Interest, loans, and mortgages	446	Accumulation of wealth	456
Income	448	Government finance	466
Participation in investment capital	450	Fraud	468

/115 cont./

555 556 156 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself his advantages (1).

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite-special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods. [789]

614 156 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and [454] fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoa [783] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole pe sonality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ cluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for ea person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freed and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his re 557 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the g in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence no

middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On fete-days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy. Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia, are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the double function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

441

441 MERCANTILE BUSINESS--extent of specialization in commerce; types an
tribution of mercantile businesses; social status and special characteristi
of merchants; business men's organizations (e.g., merchant guilds, trad
sociations, chambers of commerce); general characteristics of merchand
special mercantile privileges and restrictions; etc. See also:

Urban commercial facilities 366
Occupational specialization 463
Craft guilds 467
Competition 47
Business schools 87

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

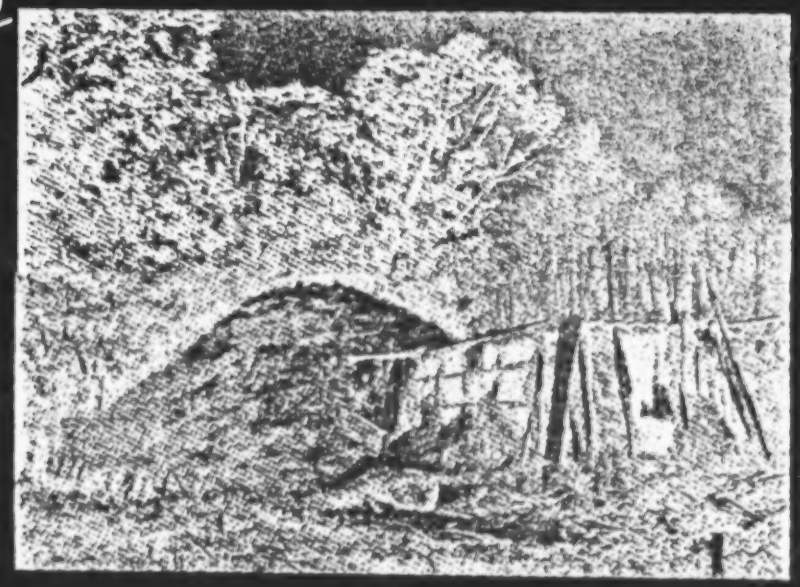
The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,



Mud hut.

the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and layout of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summertime, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually surrounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northernmost Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

91 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
77 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
91 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are [illegible] attire. Sometimes this jacket con-

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
● 439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly.

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

> 1. Sometimes young bears roam
> about so far from their mamas
> that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand

224 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
278 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
339 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

224 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Only when [illegible]

[illegible] During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of

[illegible]

[illegible] amounts to 400-500 rubles. There are no special religious ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must [illegible] by the bridegroom last a rather long time, a week or more. Besides millet, fish and ice, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between boy and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the bride and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with his husband; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the other hand, there were far fewer villages.

439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their primary occupations they spend their summers on the river banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the [illegible] are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand, [illegible] found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a [illegible] of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable [illegible] the river bank, while the summer settlements [illegible] by their nature as fishing villages used to be [illegible] by the river. One might conclude from this, [illegible] these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing [illegible] the summer, but served as dwellings for the [illegible] unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were [illegible] withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the [illegible] because of the partically marshy and there- [illegible] river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was [illegible] of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those [illegible] above; rather, the huts were only small and half [illegible], so that they had a certain similarity to the [illegible] the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They [illegible] unenviable abode for the European traveller, [illegible] confined space one can hardly avoid close con- [illegible] inhabitants and the dangers connected with that, [illegible] being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition [illegible] were created by the crowd of people present, by [illegible] of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up [illegible] for smoking, and by the smoke which can only [illegible] difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses [illegible] land are in better condition, but they, too, have

N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new

1 N. V. Slîunīn, Sovremennoîe polozhenīe nashevo Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares. It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mləṭ) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋγəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

According to the Gilyak ¡argun (?) now living in the village Cγarvaγ (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Ṭəlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

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/373 cont./

583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ather's /Ather's/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is concluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round maintenance of the family and dogs. It is she who sews not with horsehair, sinews or wire thread, and so smooth, therefore, the two [illegible] seam, [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] family, [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

23] The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, con-
[136] sists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in the rivers in shoals at certain seasons on which the existence of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially kyghi-ucho and tengi-ucho (Salmo lagocephalus and Salmo gorbuscha), and in winter chiefly the ubiquitous kanji fish (Cottus cochinus), which, however, on account of its smallness, stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (2).

2. See p. 646.

so-called chark in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head and backbone with a little flesh attached to it (3). Only if there is no

3. The Russians in the Amur region and throughout Siberia very aptly call it kosstj, that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it available is the jukola intended for the people used as dog food. Next to this, seal and white-whale meat, and along the seacoast not infrequently the meat and blubber of stranded whales, serves the same purpose. With the exception of the farmer, which, as was mentioned above, may not be brought into the yurt, according to Gilyak superstition, /480/ food is never given to the dogs in the raw state, as the Russians do, but rather cooked to a soup. This, the feeding does not take place outside, but always in the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In the [illegible] the cook found in the yurts [illegible] is used for this purpose, in the [illegible], the platform in the

4. See pp. [illegible] above.

[illegible] beach. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned ma-
[illegible] terials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is al-
[illegible] ways one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a couple of

23] long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the
[illegible] hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs
[illegible] tying outside and held by straps or chains are untied. As soon as
this is done, the dogs, already impatient, dash straight into the
yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the
[illegible] kang or on the ground in front of the troughs. Meanwhile, the
women, with the help of large ladles (2), have filled several

2. See p. 685 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, bubbling and steaming in the kettle, an
now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously
and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo
other and to snatch everything for himself, furious struggles an
fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are still
by blows on the heads of the animals delivered with sticks by t
women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leashe
chains. Plate XII /see p. 992/ illustrates the feeding of the do
in one of the large, Chinese winter-yurts of the Gilyak. In the
earth yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are sepa
from the hearth platform by only a narrow passage, this takes
place so close to one that he finds himself almost surrounded
by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold streaming in
the floor through the open door and the steam rising from the
fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure
not exactly contribute to the comfort of a stay in the earth yu
Beyond this meal the Gilyak dog gets nothing to eat from the
in home rearing. In times of scarcity, however, [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] about noontime they do not reach a village in which the dogs a
[illegible] given their usual meal, those then some chark or ma twice a
day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such tim

/363 cont./

deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting, or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/378 cont./

422 clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately.
422 And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
594 together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
[431] Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
[224] as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
[465] success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
[224] the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but
[465] he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
[226] same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
422 of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
606 prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
422 tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
556 the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
[454] "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
556 brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

46

/380 cont./

contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet. In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone; he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

461

461 LABOR AND LEISURE--ideas of the value and dignity of labor; notions of pleasant and unpleasant tasks; distribution of labor and leisure time; incentives to labor (e.g., pride in craftsmanship, prestige, material rewards, compulsion); time and motion studies; intensity of effort; palliation of labor (e.g., with drugs, rhythm, music); work tempo (e.g., steady, intermittent); standards of productivity and production norms; laziness and malingering; rest periods; loafing and loitering, etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Unemployment 464
Leisure-time activities 517
Holidays 527
Slavery 567
Social offenses 689

/114 cont./

*614 33 461 47%

Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first o
at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or th
simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishi
The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the m
meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can se
his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animal
is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but th
whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of
masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; eve
performs that for which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreov
the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never oc
to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than accordi
to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those
have not participated in the hunting, for do the clan gods gi
only to some and not all the members of the clan? The sam
true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, a
ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along per
well without the aid of others. [illegible]
During season everyone sets off for his hunting [illegible]
there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a [illegible]
for weeks.

[illegible]

[illegible]

225 distribution of the sivuchs. The number of sivuchs he re-
476 ceived was the same as that received by the others. If at all it is Nigin who received a tiny bit more than the others; he received one extra strap but did not get a qorna and so he
225 really got no more than the others. My report of my obser-
476 vation in the year 1931 of the primitive Communist method of
561 the distribution of the quarry in the village Kul can be appropriately concluded with the following passage from L. IA. Shternberg's work "Sakhalinskiie Gilyaki" (The Sakhaline Gilyaks), mentioned by F. Engels and published in "Etnograficheskoie Obozrenie" in 1893, i.e. 40 years ago. "During the common hunt, for instance, during a seal or dolphin hunt, when a group of Gilyaks banded together for this purpose set out in a single boat, the quarry is shared equally by the participants. The owner of the boat receives a share equal to that of the young man sitting na grebkakh. The skill of the maker of spears and arrows is not specially rewarded. Moreover, during a long expedition, i.e. from Amur to the South of Sakhalin, it is not the owner of the boat who receives more than his share of the quarry, but rather the man who in the voyage performs the most duties connected with the steering of the kind of the collaboration of man Onkha [illegible] in a public hunt [illegible] extra [illegible]

476 It is necessary to give one more example of the
225 distribution of the quarry in the collective of Kzoun, for in it we come across an entirely new phenomenon.

The quarry of Kzoun's collective consisted of 16 sivuchs. They [illegible] of 20 sivuchs on arrival. They [illegible] the hunt of the Kzoun's hunters [illegible] and the hunt of the [illegible] hunt. There were seven hunters in an [illegible] of [illegible] of the remaining sivuchs Kzoun gave one and a half sivuchs to each of the seven members of the collective. [illegible] half sivuchs. The lot of the remaining one and a half sivuchs was divided unfortunately, [illegible] the hunters decided to let them try and then [illegible] Kzoun's and [illegible] for about [illegible] Kzoun there were a women [illegible] and [illegible] were [illegible]

"After all, regrettable as it is, the decline of
th the wh.te man. The immediate result of the
ent of the native hunting preserves; and though
de of their main settlements, made little impr
g-grounds, e.g. the river Tim and the west co
an, and in so far limited the possibilities of th
d especially the fires—in some cases careless
turally driven off or destroyed the wild game
[274] Some of their elders told us that 'before
bears, sables, and reindeer, but since they a
come poor. In those days the poor man could
e. with as large a following of helpers and as

the race must be attribu ted to contact
latter's presence has be en the curtail-
it is true that the Russ ans have, out-
ession on the taiga, yet the best fish-
ast, have naturally attra cted the white
e Gilyak fishery. Then th e clearings,
ly left to spread destruc tion—have
and restricted it to small er compass.
the Russians came there were plenty
rrived and burnt the woo ds the rich had
go into the taiga as the ri ch man to-day'
many snares to collect f rom)."

"At this village of Nivo, which with Ch
heard much of the 'good old times,' and
in physique and in numbers. Yungkin tol
but now were small, short, and dry."

In explanation of this the Russians acc
notions there is a good deal in the accus
teeming with fish; he has made a catch
his stores will have given out. For this
sible. It would savour of greediness, an
exceed the usual custom. 'The Great Spi
reply to the stranger's inquiry. And prob
vidence was not misplaced, when their h
were practically limitless. It is said tha
spawning-time, 300 kita in a day, where

aivo is the best known on the east coast, we
he latter-day degeneration of the Gilyaks, both
how they used to be "big and strong as giants,

se them of being lazy, and according to our
tion. A Gilyak may be found sitting by a river
nd wants no more, yet before winter is over
tate of things habit and tradition are respon-
perhaps even of distrust of Tol ni vookh, to
rit does not wish us to catch so many' is the
ably in the olden time such dependence on Pro-
nting-grounds and the wild denizens thereof
twenty years ago a Gilyak would spear, during
s now he secures but eighty."

"From Nivo a start was made with our rive
the Tim. Both had been ostentatiously pleased
to pack I found Armunka averse from helping.
Vanka all the work, save what little I and my
so going up to him I took him by the shoulders
only refrained from boxing his ears at the req
tude of the dozen Gilyaks who were looking on.
companion, explaining that he had been making
There was, however, more than this in it; and
later that Armunka was, as we should say, of
cratic family; and therefore his pride of ances
fused to do menial service! It was several day
village of Irr Kirr, but in vain I looked around
of this Gilyak peer. The hut was [278] compar
him justice, however, for there was no doubt
previous year he had killed three bears and ca
and would gain him wealth."

r crew, Vanka and Armunka, to ascend
l to welcome us back, but when we came
I remonstrated with him for leaving to
interpreter were doing, but to no effect;
and shook him. I was really angry, and
uest of Vanka, and from doubt of the atti-
. Vanka good naturedly apologized for his
g merry and the effect had not yet worn off.
d we were considerably amused to learn
independent means, came of an aristo-
stry at times asserted itself, and he re-
s later that we arrived at his home in the
l for the paternal acres, the vast estates
atively small and rather bare. I must do
of his being a great hunter. During the
ptured two, which had brought him honour,

Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board. Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

"These people might
months they almost liv
continually. For their
this source nearly excl
dogs; but this is very li
dingy, smoky habitatio
before renewing their o

These exercises, ro
the muscles of the uppe
see men among them po
limbs are comparativel

7: Kreinovich--27 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzɲisnər.
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).
77

There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Supplement
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate. "Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. I.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

9: Hawes--270-271
116, 372, 462, 562

"We have already se
at the lying-in-state o
ni vookh, the god of fi
rightful domain, so is
daughters may interfe
of putting on the cauld
into the cauldrons may
and the new one evide
her rightful position a
forth her status is als

with propriety be called an aquatic tribe. During the summer
upon the water, paddling here and there in their lotkas
ood, likewise, both during summer and winter, they rely upon
sively. What traveling they do in winter is accomplished with
tle, their preference being decidedly to lie and vegetate in their
s during the cold weather, waiting for the advent of spring
t-of-door exercises.
ing and fishing principally, are only partial, benefiting merely
portion of the body. Owing to this fact, it is not uncommon to
verful and robust about the chest and arms, while their lower
so small and puny as to convey the impression of deformity."

een how sacred the hearth is to the Gilyak, and in the rites adopte
f a deceased woman, her intimate relation and duty towards Tur
re. [LSS: See category 116, pp. 242ff.] Even as the fire is her
the cauldron her special care, and [271] hers alone; not even her
re in this her private and sacred sphere. She alone has the right
ron; this is her right as hostess. Whatever the putting of the feet
symbolize, the fact that the bride does it to both the maternal
ently witnesses for the first time to her equality with her mother,
s a hausfrau and head of her own domestic establishment. Hence-
o guaranteed among her husband's kindred."

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The men often sleep at home during the day, and they
up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often
up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak s
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not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this hel

/528 cont./

The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and children participate in this work, and within a short time one boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken. While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces, drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish; even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about
283 the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is
[824] provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first
[462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are,
[114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kulk. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksi) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/638 cont./

36 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

62 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In 62 general, the man only has to attend to providing the most 22 important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, 51 make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods insofar as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, 62 roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to 83 cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex- [251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the [252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The 462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does 264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men [574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women 467 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and [281] dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations 462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work 411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting [517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/640 cont./

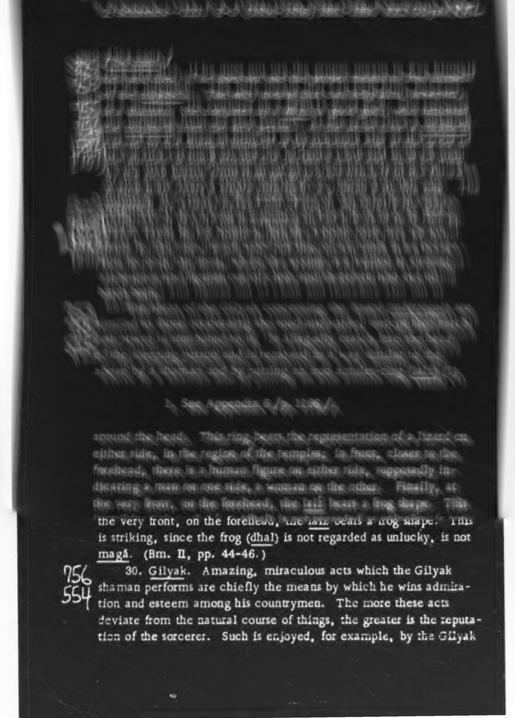
462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack 411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every- [463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert [439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the 467 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows, 321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly 322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the 517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

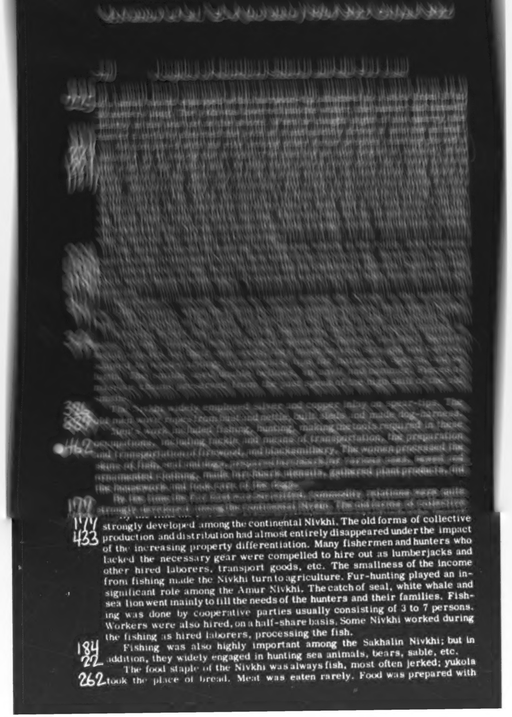
593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, [462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.

[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak 593 of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every 842 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlä, tammlä, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however, [592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from The help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.



the very front, on the forehead, the last bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magä. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak 554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak



179 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective 433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

[illegible] taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated sums, bar[illegible] and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fish-skin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ŋ[illegible]) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (ta) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanʒ 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanʒ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

193 (93) A propos the interpretation of the words hemanʒ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anʒ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anʒ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmɣar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmɣar can be easily

remember only two instances when Europeans were assaulted by it without having been the attackers. The one case occurred in the year 1875 in broad daylight on the ice near a post station. A post servant was gored by the tiger. The skull of this animal which was itself killed the next day now belongs to me. It measures seven and one-half vershok (33 centimeters), the upper canines are as long as a finger.

himself takes the offensive, does the monster lose his instinctive fear of him, and then suddenly shows all its terrible natural qualities, to which belong an amazing toughness. Even with five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes enormous leaps, and even in its death throes it can still overcome a man. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is supposed to aim at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart finishes it off. Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dangerous that bear hunting may be considered child's play in comparison, and the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in dire necessity when the tiger breaks into their stables and cannot be got in any other way. In that case 15-20 men with bayonets on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on the place where the animal was scented. But the regular method of capture is poisoning with strychnin or the setting up of rifles which go off when the tiger approaches the bait. The corpse of an animal that was killed by the tiger himself usually serves as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of returning the day after his assault.

The wolf exists on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself and does no harm. It is seldom shot.

223 Birds, especially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel grouse are now usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set for partridges on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel grouse are lured in spring with whistles, in winter they are openly hunted in spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the surrounding country are the chief purveyors of wild game for Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

462 We mentioned above the other occupations and embryonic handicraft and trades. Specialization [124] consists in not much more than a division of labor between men and women. The man hunts, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

takes trips on various business matters and so forth, he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs. Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial materials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter, moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

572 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

[illegible] and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier. [illegible] (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses [illegible] were invariably indignant whenever he left the house with a lighted pipe in which his companions [illegible] the fire burning in it, but by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to confuse up their position not only over the inhabitants of the one but but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Vaiki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious con-
ceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems
to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223),
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi
pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are
fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden
spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually
held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of
the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now
give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the
opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a
festival was to take place on that day. From several other
villages, some of which were considerable distances away
large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole
place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The
opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

"Now and then we encountered 'tolk
almost invariably propelled by the wo
a skill and grace really to be admired.
make the strokes alternately, allowing
stroke is being made with the other.
management of the boat, though their
in the stern of the craft and guide it wi
their long-stemmed pipes with small

as,' or canoes, gliding from shore to shore,
men, who handled the short carved paddles with
. They use the paddles much as we do oars, but
one to trail along the side of the craft while the
The men display equally as great skill in the
duty is comparatively light, being simply to sit
th a light paddle, in the mean while smoking
brass bowls and enormous amber mouth-pieces."

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

462 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of qosk-qəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanŋ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (maʒt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

463

.1 OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION-- number of partially and fully specialized occupations; major occupational categories (e.g., learned and artistic professions, independent industrial and business entrepreneurs, managerial personnel, independent and tenant farmers, government officials, clerical and white-collar workers, skilled artisans, semi-skilled and unskilled industrial workers, farm laborers, domestic servants, slaves); general information about occupational specialization; vocational guidance; specific information on occupations not classifiable elsewhere; etc. This category is designed for summary statements about occupational specialization; in nearly all instances specific information will be classified elsewhere under a wide range of functional and occupational headings. See also:

Stratification of occupations by class and caste . .06 Status, role, and prestige 664
Occupational composition of the population . . .162 Vocational education 874

1: Shternberg--362 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement, they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
491 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-
law" --akimalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
674 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

2: Schrenck--1042 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
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[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak
of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was
boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlà, tammlà, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing
sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing,
and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from
The help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending
the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza
Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the
A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
[463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethno-
graphy of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are
working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and
club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
474 committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is con-
[64] ducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first
of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the
Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of
the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of
Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year
schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding
schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women
entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the
songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also
participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the
[545] Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely
spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic
clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi
began to present plays in their own language.

The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know
[526] how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusias-
tically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki
(canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the
[182] collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unifi-
cation in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to
different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors
have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous
remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
562 Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the
house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to
them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had
to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they
attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their
fiancés, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure
and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome
the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built
near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had
to remain under these conditions for several days without any help.

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he
also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets
and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive
manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man
and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their
existence, although not in the same degree. For instance,
with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a
knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few,
finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp
(to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as
for example lances with silver decorations.

572 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making.
The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing
flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder,
flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they
should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive
peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which
is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of
wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a
string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands
and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is
produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except
his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife con-
sists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and
half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn
on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and
arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have
obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale
bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like
best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i.e.,
the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125]
small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched
bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use
it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The
string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires
some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The
arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is
somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

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464 LABOR SUPPLY AND EMPLOYMENT--availability and scarcity of labor force; skilled and unskilled labor; incidence and types of unemployment (e.g., voluntary, intermittent, seasonal, cyclical, residual, technological); employment opportunities; labor mobility and turnover; employment agencies; regulation (e.g., age and sex restrictions); etc. See also:
Internal migration 168
Immigration 167
Business cycles 458
Unemployment insurance 746
Unemployment relief 746

/363 cont./

177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will
end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak
have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since
they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
178 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
• 464 Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native
[439] settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who re-
turns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover,
work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and
more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the domi-
nant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the
new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that
environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new
phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still
unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

796 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
397 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
[971] at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-
small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question
"why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?"
It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging
the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases,
it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire,
as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his
dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from
occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the
power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/376 cont./

593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
475 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[126] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[866] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[124] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[125] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
• 464 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
594 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[768] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equip-
ment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations
of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual
aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between mem-
bers of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among
these barbarians than in a civilized family.

[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,
• 464 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
[162] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
[197] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
[244] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-
224 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
433 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
198 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
648 vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer.
Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very suc-
cessful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
348 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
[231] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead
of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe.
Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters
enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly com-
plex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The
horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch
along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these
latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a
high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
[184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
[171] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from
[177] whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
133 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
[137] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
[491] taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the
settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, be-
ginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

[illegible] the boat; [illegible] as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they [illegible] unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the [illegible] yèzdka.

166 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
614 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan [illegible] Tf-nu, was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi, Potaq from clan Neo-afi, [illegible]t from clan [illegible]a-amla, Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from clan Tf-nu.

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, [illegible]l tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
556 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
[illegible] with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
[illegible] of hunters is called pila (bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
202 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve-l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea [illegible]afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila[illegible].

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pila[illegible] exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi[illegible]d and t[illegible]aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

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471 OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF CAPITAL--major forms of productive capital (e.g., land, cattle, industrial plants); extent to which the instruments of production are individually, collectively, internationally and publicly owned; forms and elaboration of governmental control (e.g., nationalized industries); etc. Only generalized data will be filed here: for information on specific ownership and organization, see the more specialized categories below. See also:

Capital goods industries	39	Accumulation of wealth	556
Property	42	Social classes	565
Government enterprises and government regulation	65	Political doctrines	668
General statements on different types of economic activity	133	Ideas about economics and political systems	829

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called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tətr-paγ. Large wooden floats (vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Lo ri, and ət.

According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul owned seal hunting places in the past.

Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej, 3. ət.

Lulv -p r and a reqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock(β)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paγ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot terd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomivər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə- vər - a stone.

[84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilaγ was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
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427 1 N. V. Sliunin, Sovremennoie polozhenie nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋγəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ŋargun (?) now living in the village
471 Cəarva (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Təlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board. Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

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465 WAGES AND SALARIES--wage levels (e.g., real and money wages); range and variation by occupational categories; composition (e.g., proportion paid in money, in board and keep, in share of product); fees and percentages; determination of wages (e.g., by custom, negotiation; edict or legislation); payments (e.g., daily, weekly, monthly); regulation (e.g., minimum wage legislation); etc. See also:

Income and purchasing power . . . . . 434 Standard of living 611

/378 cont./

clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately. And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisitions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 46 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.

[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as

226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In

465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same

433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;

554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling

476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but

466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

466

466 LABOR RELATIONS--respective rights, privileges, and powers of employers and employees; hiring and firing; tenure of employment; instruction and supervision, promotion and retirement; pension plans; working conditions (e.g., hours, hygienic conditions, safety provisions, recreational facilities); prevalence and types of forced labor; indentured labor; regulation (e.g., labor legislation); etc. See also:

Business and industrial organization	47	Slavery	567
Domestic servants	357	Bride-service	683
Peonage and serfdom	566	Taxation through labor levies	651
Prison and penal labor	697	Social insurance	745
Military labor battalions	708	Vocational training	874

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 46 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.

[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as

226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In

465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same

433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;

554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling

476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but

466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

782 225 766 415 they keep for a long time. When some one is drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and run. In this connection I wish to note that in the valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left 262 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the 225 ui-ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and 561 young hunters must not taste this mos.

225 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed 782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large 501 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of 476 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul 422 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting 565

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

for their families.

I observed analogous facts on the very same island in 1927 and in 1931.

In the village Vaz-vo (cape Vasin) from which the Gilyaks were driven out in 1934 or 1935, the system of exploitation on the basis of ownership of the instruments of labor was, it seems, even more cruel. According to the expert of Gilyak life, the inquisitive Gilyak n-ish, an owner of a zayedok claimed one share for himself, one share for the boat, one share for the plank-bench in the boat (mlrt) and one share for the n-gmr-tin - the shelf over the door in the entrance-hall. I failed to find the reason for the claim to an extra share in connection with the n-gmr-tin. I am inclined to think that no such reason exists and that n-gmr-tin is used by the owner of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

The Gilyak Miskin, inhabitant of the village Puir, told me of an incident that sounds like an anti-Semitic incident too: place in that village in 1931. An old Gilyak, called for one reason or another Telkin, asked the young Gilyaks Pnadaimu, Lashkaiku and Kondinu (?) to come with him to hunt (ABI: fish?) kajuga. On return Telkin took for himself four shares: one for himself, one, for some other obscure reasons for some Russian acquaintance of his in the village Maxarevka, one for a daughter in the village Langer and one for a daughter in the village Charbakh. As for his companions he gave a single share to each. I later confirmed this incident the Pnadaimu. Pnadaimu confirmed Miskin's story and further clarified it. Unfortunately, I wrote down Pnadaimu's information on a separate piece of paper and, it seems, lost it.

My lengthy discussion is meant as a very general introduction to the problem. It is meant to show how the kulak, the Gilyaks, the owner of the tools of work, as still found in the village Kul, could under the influence of Russian capitalism turn into a kulak-exploiter. This discussion is also meant to show how he utilized the old forms of the distribution of the quarry into shares for the purposes of exploitation. This interesting process deserves careful study.

After the distribution of the quarry the hunters and their wives at once start to work. There is a lot of work to do. The suet has to be separated from the hides. The hides have to be stretched on special frames. The skins are then sewed. Some hides have to be cut into straps and those have to be stretched to dry, for one cannot make dry hides into straps

474 COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION--producers' and consumers' cooperatives, relationship between ownership, control, and management, organization (e.g.: Kolozhi, Kolozhi-sovkhoz, machine-tractor, collective farm, etc. See also: wholesale marketing . . . . . 102 Cooperative work group 476
craftguilds 467

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered the techniques of production in collective farms, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, they made rapid strides after the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, and were inhabited by the owners of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

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In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Urevd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Urevd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the formation of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well-planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Since the Revolution, most of the Nivkhi have lived in dug-outs, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese hutz.

The most widespread of the new dwellings in the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings: a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses: a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio, in the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees bedstead and sideboard walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, calendars and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also wear sheepskin, which was unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear silk-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and fur-lined fur-coat or short sheepskin jacket. Formerly, clothing was made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and boots are remnants of the traditional out-door attire. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the traditional costume, the holiday, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of raising the improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Upvala during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical and Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 18 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Lisa Dekhak' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chunar Taksami of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, engineers on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have been elected to leading posts in collective farms and in various institutions, many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the culture and enlightenment institutions. The first Nivkhi school was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Noglikl, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinsky Rayon. The second school was founded in 1930 in the village of Pad on the Amur River. In 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenki children, and also dormitories boarding schools.

At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women sing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the collective-farm performances were limited to amateur theatricals, or merely spectators at performances organized by Russian, Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi put on present plays in their own language.

The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochai (cames) with a single oar, in which young men and women take speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different tribes, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which survived after the Revolution. The old religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The greatest change has occurred in the position and customs, in the home, of the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fiances, husbands and mothers. Some were married against their wishes and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the old ideas in the Nivkhi. Upvala during the early years of the Soviet regime, a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

476 MUTUAL AID--cooperation in economic activities (e.g., mutual aid); exchange of services, cooperative work groups; material and social rewards of cooperation; relationship between relations of cooperative and competitive activities; etc. See also:
Administration . . . . . 19 Interpersonal relations 87
Organization of labor and division of product . . . . . 19 Competitive relationships among kin . . . 56, 61, 81
Ownership of means of production . . . . . 102 Change from kin to peer groups 157
attitudes . . . . . 22, 23, 24, 31 Mutual benefit societies 156

/60 cont./

Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and. /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense. Because besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

There is no ceremonial organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins — the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of ground. In which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of posts. Crest the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/91 cont./

very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

/121 cont./

in practice, as we know, these bonds extend far beyond the confines of the original four clans. First of all, in addition to these last, every clan with which at least one clansman has formed matrimonial ties is already an akhimal'k or ymgi to all his clan. On the other hand, we know that every akhimal'k and every ymgi retains its appellation not only with respect to those clans with which it is directly bound matrimonially, but also with respect to those who consider themselves the corresponding ymgi and akhimal'k of the former, so that in addition to the akhimal'k and ymgi of the first degree, each clan has still others of the second, third degrees, etc. All these clans call each other pandfy, individuals of a common origin.

[528] Thus we see that the basic principle, simple and clear, which lay at the basis of the family and clan, a principle according to which a man preferably marries the daughter of the brother of his mother, becomes the basis of blood ties and sympathy, not only within each separate clan, but of even more extensive unions, interclan and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, these bonds could not take formal shape in such completed organizations as the phratries and tribes, for example, of the North American Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social unity which led the clan from an egoistic isolation onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/122/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which arise between the pandf clans, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak takes his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real forms.

First of all, there is the obligation of mutual sustenance and hospitality. This in essence is only an extension of that same obligation existing within the clan to the blood pandf; the extension to them of that benevolence of the clan deities

/122 cont./

which belongs to them by right through the female line. "Ymgi (son-in-law /syat'y/ must be fed" -- such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

This rule, however, does not find expression at all in an obligation of the akhimal'k to support his son-in-law /syat'/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of matriarchy when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan site of her spouse's habitation. Nevertheless, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a definite role in the institution of the clans.

It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last moment before the bride is carried away from the home of her father, there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled cast-iron kettle brought by the bridegroom as a part of the bride price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle belonging to the father of the girl. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle; the former remains with the father-in-law, the second is borne home by the bridegroom -- ymgi. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the akhimal'k, the same ceremony is repeated before their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged, as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nich (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nich aychyvnd (trampling of the nich). It is also called lymya'n-zand -- trampling of the threshold, which points to the religious element of the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymya'n-mam -- an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-forbear, the guardian genius of the home, whose

/122 cont./

blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of the bear (the akhimal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance, since the akhimal'k'i each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /syat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /syat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

Similar fraternal relations between akhimal'k'i and ymgi are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

/114 cont./

Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first of all at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the most meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs that for which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, for do the clan gods give only to some and not all the members of the clan? The same is true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, but ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without the help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master departs to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting balagan and from there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, in consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dimension and social differences, does not show its thorns here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal talents and virtues. His accumulation cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

/91 cont./

to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

This same principle of the communality of the material goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento. In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price; 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

*[i.e., in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir. Cf translation on p.512.--Ainsley]

*614 /123 cont./
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224
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from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation, not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general, i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know, with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan the ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their generation are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male population, they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i, where they meet the same reception from their "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1), as a result of

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1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage, the most touching relations are established. It is in these surroundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such services. But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example, especially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both friends, "navkh'i," lived in one yurt; they had everything in common, went about together like lovers, almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both,

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chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come

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to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of

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lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A

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curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

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As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the

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shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

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593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
476 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[226] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[866] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[224] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[225] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
464 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
591 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[768] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equipment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between members of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among these barbarians than in a civilized family.

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one
46 cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.
[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In
465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;
554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling
476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

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484 /473/ The northern primeval forest, inaccessible in summer on account
224 of the thick underbrush and the many fallen, half-rotted, and mossy trees, is accessible under certain conditions to foot-travelers and light sleds, thanks to the deep layer of snow leveling out all the unevenness of the ground, precisely at the time when it shelters the fur-bearing animals in their valuable winter coats. As a result,
[222] the forest, empty of human beings in the summer, or at most visited only here and there along its edges by women and children gathering berries and roots, becomes in winter a theater of action for the hunters. Through the impassable forest and mountain wilderness hunters and merchants make paths and trails which temporarily connect otherwise remote villages. Moreover, the ice of the Amur-Liman does away with the insular position of Sakhalin for months at a time, and finally and primarily the smooth ice-cover of the Amur River provides for the Gilyak a main artery of communication from the Liman up to the Sungari.

481 Let us now survey in greater detail the means which the Gilyak use for winter locomotion. With all the similarity, and, indeed, in part even identity, with those of other northern peoples, they offer enough deviations and peculiarities. The great amount of snow in the lower Amur region makes it necessary for the Gilyak to use ski at every step. Even for only a short walk from the house, indeed, for merely a few steps off the trodden or traveled path, ski are required if one does not wish to sink into the snow up to the waist and deeper. They are, of course, even more indispensable on longer trips through the forest, where the snow is especially deep and loose, or after snowstorms, when, driven by the wind, it accumulates in places, and especially along mountain slopes, in valleys and gorges, in such colossal quantities that crossing them without ski is unthinkable. For such trips as the Gilyak has to make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowstorms surprise him, it is necessary, for easier and faster progress, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also permit gliding over it. In order to satisfy these various needs the Gilyak have two types of ski: small ones -- lakk; and large ones -- enj.

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481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards without a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet long and five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level except for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curving upward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front end, several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among the Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual tapering of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Figs. 1 and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. Below Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form shown in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sakhalin there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of the front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an illustration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensable /47 item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside the yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need them for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his feet when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can get off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in order to facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come back
481 later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spend the
484 night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serves him
412 as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for fillin
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1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when he sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his legs crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a tray, taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for eating

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

G /474 cont./

481 As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

G [824]

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3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 [824] with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

G [237]

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481 the feet are like the ones on the small ski, but wider and stronger throughout. The tip of the foot, beyond the toes, is stuck under the front loop fastened to two straps running through the ski and its cover; the rear loop lies over the heel, and the two lateral straps, provided with several holes, are also fastened together there, and, to be sure, by one /475/ strap being passed through the other and wooden peg inserted to prevent slipping. In fastening the ski to the foot in this manner, the heel retains full freedom of movement up and down as well as to the right and left, and forward motion takes place merely by a forward push of the ski with the tip of the foot. The ease and speed of the motion thus depends chiefly on the ease with which the ski glides over the surface of the snow, and this is effected to a high degree for the Gilyak ski by the cover with the short-haired and smooth sealskin and the whalebone rails or the wooden ones rounded off on the outside and polished. The principal advantage of the Gilyak ski lies in this extraordinary smoothness. The rails, whether of whalebone or of wood, also serve to prevent skidding toward one side or the other. The more easily the Gilyak ski glide over the snow for the above-mentioned reason, however, the less suitable they are for mountain climbing, since only slightly cross-grained sealskin can offer only all too little resistance to sliding backward, and this resistance is paralyzed by the smooth whalebone or wooden rails projecting beyond the fur. As in the case of great unevenness of the terrain, another essential disadvantage of the Gilyak ski appears with a slight unevenness of the ground such as the northern primeval forest exhibits everywhere. This disadvantage is their lack of flexibility. The Gilyak take for their ski, perhaps for greater durability and because they count on the smoothness provided by the fur cover and the rails, not especially thin boards and, moreover, as was already mentioned, make them so flat and level that, when they are placed upon the ground without weight, they rest on it with their entire lower surface, apart from the front end curving upward. As a result of their lack of flexibility, however, they cannot accommodate themselves sufficiently to the unevenness of the ground and therefore sink in more deeply, which understandably, greatly impedes and

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/365 cont./ Just as the
342 Gilyak houses are not erected by individuals, but rather are erected
161 more or less with the help and participation of all the fellow-
592 members or people belonging to a place, so also as a rule, in
[476] accordance with the communistic spirit which characterizes primitive peoples, are they not inhabited by a single family, but by several together. As may be seen from the above description, a winter yurt of the Gilyak, built following the Chinese pattern with its four long sleeping benches, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 occupants for each Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, as I myself have repeatedly seen, and occasionally one even comes across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire winter. On the other hand, over and above the family members mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of kinship or in return for certain services, find fixed and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family assumed above is undoubtedly not any too large. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 persons for a Chinese winter-yurt, and for an earth yurt, since it contains only three sleeping benches, and much shorter ones at that, and in general provides considerably less space, only half as many, that is, only eight persons on the average. On this basis, approximate counts of the population for the individual parts of the Gilyak area mentioned above can be ascertained without difficulty. The available data are inadequate for this for only one part, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, for the number of the winter dwellings of the Gilyak along this coast, with the exception of the small stretch between the Amur-Liman and the village of Kulj, is still unknown to us. Hence
161 estimates must be made here in another way. The part of this coast which is unfamiliar to us, from Kulj to Tugur Bay, is about six to seven times the size of the stretch between Kulj and the Liman, and one therefore only needs to multiply by six or seven the population figure ascertained for the latter according to the

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342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on
[574] it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
[427] and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is
[427] arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

Economy and Everyday Life

226 The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most
[433] important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this
[433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the
[476] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber.
223 They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the
282 shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from
[177] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

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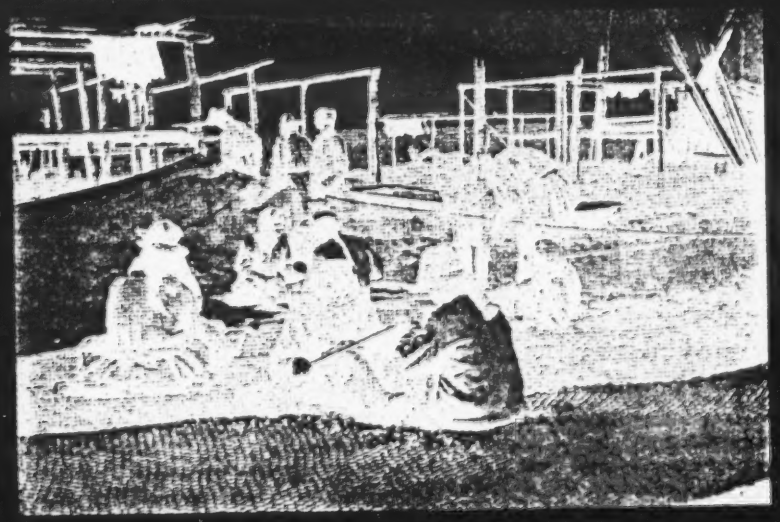

Sewing together a seine.

e boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
nite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
ayezdka.

When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat
arts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
e hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
unters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
f nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans:
tag from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo-afi , t from
an a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from
an Tfanu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who
ent hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is some-
mes named after the owner of the boat. For instance,
l tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyuh') Xitkun-mu-nim (one
oat of Xitkun).

The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
ollective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
ith him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
f hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

e big. - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:

1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be, effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips amra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his llow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the a-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afu-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the sup-plement to "Seal Hunting."

re the property of the pilaf

3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies efore setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In is capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs u-zi d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
782 of the pila to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
476 he has to use the implements of the pila instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
476 in this respect completely on the pila. One Gilyak told me:
502 "If the pila observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pila performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pila is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
501 to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋ-tivd, the second - taŋpuf, the third - alx-gid, the fourth - meyerq-pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth - lele m -pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋtivd, is oc-
479 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
554 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
561 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pila often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak pila Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals. At the same time Gilak st tended the rudder which the pila had turned over to him. The Gilyak pila Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
476 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
554 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
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If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
225 are five oarsmen, one pila and one other man, then the pila
476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
561 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
883 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example:

if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl skuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl skuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pila is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pila tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pila Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and it, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

225 [82] As mentioned above the pila performs mu-zi d
789 and t aj.
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751 Mu-zi d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform zi d on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

452 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
552 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time they are born, and when they grow up they are given away, in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that takes the woman, i.e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also, women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat. They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts. Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, otherwise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
412 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the t aj where the pila attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
479 the pila distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes apparent that the sivuch, which is the pila's legal property and whose blood he used in feeding the t aj, is included in

225 the division of the quarry. Why this ceremony should have
422 stopped at the pila appropriating the first sivuch rather
476 than asserting his full title to it on top of his share of the quarry is hard to tell. It seems to us that this can be explained by the essential preservation of the primitive Communist method of distribution of the quarry among the Gilyaks of the village Kul which do not permit a single individual to assert his title to an entire extra sivuch.

225 [89] I gave here a few examples which I have recorded
476 of the distribution of the quarry among the Gilyak hunters on their return home to the village Kul on August 2, 1931. These examples demonstrate clearly the primitive Communist character of the distribution.

The quarry of pil tun's collective consisted of 18 sivuchs 9 p i, 11 qoma and 1 a . They sold 3 sivuchs, 5 qoma and the fat of two seals on Cape Litke at the branch of the Rybaksoyuz [A, B Fisherman's Union]. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares. (1)

1. Unfortunately I did not write down how they distributed the money.

-1 tun.....received 2 sivuchs 2 pəyi
Jotkun.....received 2 sivuchs 1 pəyi 1 qoma 1 strap (2)

281 2. The hide of a young sivuch nav-ɔa is cut into three pieces and that of an older one - into four. Out of each piece the Gilyaks cut one thin long strap which is immediately spread out to dry.

225 Nərp (a shot)... received 1 sivuch 1 p i 1 qoma 3 straps
476 Rəntik..... " 2 " 2 " - " 1 "
Təvus..... " 2 " 1 " 1 " - "
Zabojko..... " 2 " 1 " 2 " 1 " alx
Tuns..... " 2 " 1 " 1 " 1 " strap

13 sivuchs 9 pəyi 6 qoma 6 straps = = 2 sivuchs 1 alx

On straps	2	
Sold	5	5

Total.....18 Sivuchs 9 pəyi 11 qoma 1 alx

225 The quarry of Nitgin's collective consisted of 19 sivuchs,
476 and 8 qoma and 1 pəyi. They sold 3 sivuchs and 4 qoma on
the cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the
remainder of the quarry into equal shares.

Nitgin.....	received	2 sivuchs	--		2 straps	
Niamin.....	received	2 "			1 strap	
Kizgun.....	"	2 "	1 qoma		1 "	
Verun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "	
Ozgun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "	
I nun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "	
Izgun.....	"	2 "	1 pəyi		1 "	
		14 sivuchs	4 qoma		and 8 straps	
			1 pəyi		2 sivuchs	

On straps....2
Sold.....3 4

Total.....19 sivuchs 8 qoma 1 pəyi

The quarry of Norp's collective consisted of 26 sivuchs, 1 pəyi and 12 qoma. They sold 8 sivuchs and 4 qoma on cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal parts.

Norp.....	received	2 1/2 sivuchs	2 qoma	2 straps	
Ete.....	"	2 1/2 "	2 "	2 "	
Potaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Otaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Tesq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Onkan.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2	"and 1 pəyi
		15 sivuchs	8 qoma	12 straps	
				3 sivuchs	

On straps....3
Sold.....8 4

Total.....26 Sivuchs 12 qoma 1 pəyi

[90] The fact that Norp received an extra qoma does not prove that he received more than the other hunters. The qoma is not a valuable seal and it is really of no account whether one does or does not get an extra qoma. What is important is the

225 distribution of the sivuchs. The number of sivuchs he re-
476 ceived was the same as that received by the others. If at all
it is Nitgin who received a tiny bit more than the others; he
received one extra strap but did not get a qoma and so he
225 really got no more than the others. My report of my obser-
476 vation in the year 1931 of the primitive Communist method of
481 the distribution of the quarry in the village Kul can be
appropriately concluded with the following passage from L.
IA. Shternberg's work "Sakhalinskiie Giliaki" (The Sakhaline
Gilyaks), mentioned by F. Engels and published in
"Etnograficheskoie Obozreniie" in 1893, i.e. 40 years ago.
"During the common hunt, for instance, during a seal or
dolphin hunt, when a group of Gilyaks banded together for
this purpose set out in a single boat, the quarry is shared
equally by the participants. The owner of the boat receives
a share equal to that of the young man sitting na grebkakh.
The skill of the maker of spears and arrows is not specially
rewarded. Moreover, during a long expedition, i.e. from
Amur to the South of Sakhalin, it is not the owner of the boat
who receives more than his share of the quarry, but rather
the man who, on the voyage, performs the bothersome duties
connected with the preparation of food and the collection of
firewood." Apparently, it is for this kind of work that old
man Onkan received not only a participant's share but an
extra pəyi.

476 I find it necessary to give one more example of the
225 distribution of the quarry in the collective of Xitkun, for in
it we come across an entirely new phenomenon.

The quarry of Xitkun's collective consisted of 14 sivuchs.
They cut the hides of two sivuchs on straps. They cut the
hide of the youngest sivuch nav-ŋa into three straps, and the
hide of the tje-ŋa into four straps. There were seven straps
in all. There remained 12 sivuchs. Of the remaining sivuchs
Xitkun gave one and a half sivuch to each of the seven mem-
bers of the collective. This made a total of ten and a half
sivuchs. The fat of the remaining one and a half sivuch was
divided (unfortunately, I did not find out how) and as for the
hides, the hunters decided to let them dry and then make ki
(vamps and soles for shoes) of them. Including Xitkun there
were six men in the boat and they divided the quarry into
seven parts. It turned out that the seventh share was mu-ar,
the share of the boat (or as the Gilyaks say pay), that is,
what they were supposed to pay to the Gilyak Arban from whom
they rented the boat for the hunt. Xitkun and the other hunters

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pila- was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for
supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organiz-
ing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that
arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation
is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing
tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the
hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the
quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
478 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the
town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed
most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until
recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the
hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents
another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative
relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the
Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the
boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part
whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the
fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian
salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of
the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese
began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no
importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese.
Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs
supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others.
They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among
Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them
from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of
Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of in-
come, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle
and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
427 1 N. V. Slûnin, Sovremennoîe polozheniie nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our
Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
477 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new
content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of
labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began
to claim shares for members of his family who did not
participate at all in the process of production such as wives
and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even
for the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick
over the door of the house (nəmr-tis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ;argun (?) now living in the village
471 C/arva? (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from
the village Təlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and
worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island
Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the
island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked
with him. In all there were seven men working. When the
fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and
his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks re-
ceived five shares, one share per man. The six shares ob-
tained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for
Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of
the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one
share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom
took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

481

481 LOCOMOTION--walking and running; gaits; speed and distances cover
artificial aids (e.g., canes, crutches, stilts, snowshoes, skis, skates
cial modes of locomotion (e.g., crawling, jumping, climbing, swimmi
diving), etc. See also:

Crutches	202	Exercise	
Ladders	417	Figure skating	
Riding	492	Therapeutic apparatus	
Footgear	516	Transmission of skills	

225 [108] Hunting of the Beluga by the Gilyaks of the Village Puir
476
433 As L. Schrenk (1) rightly points out, hunting of the beluga

1. L. Schrenk, Ob Inorodtsakh Amurskovo Kraia, v. II, [Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region)

(white dolphin) does not play an important part in the economy of the Gilyaks which is based on fishing and, to a lesser extent, on seal hunting. Nevertheless, hunting of the beluga, which is now of an accidental rather than systematic nature, contains some features which merit description. These features are:

1) The primitive Communist character of the distribution of the catch. The hunters as well as the other village folk share the beluga. Not so in seal hunting, where the quarry is shared by the hunters only. (2)

2. E. A. Kreĭnovich, Morskoĭ Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Fishing Industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul), Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.

2) The religious ceremony held by the Gilyaks on the occasion of a successful hunt.

124 We did our best to authenticate the facts we are about to
225 report by writing them down in the Gilyak language under the
115 dictation of the informant. Besides writing down texts, we collected maps, plans of summer and winter settlements, plans indicating the location of landed property, drawings, etc.

In the present article we publish drawings by the Gilyak Mytka which depict all the important phases of a hunt of the beluga and two accounts of the hunt; one told by the author of these drawings, the other--by the Gilyak Khor.

115 Mytka lives in the village Puir. He is about 35 years old. He is one of the most outstanding and talented Gilyaks I have met. He has a tremendous thirst for knowledge. When I went to see him for the first time, he was lying on his plank-bed and reading Goroda i Gody [Towns and Years] by K. Fedin, a book that he took out from the library at his place of work. Mytka is very much interested in problems of technology. The model of the airplane that I brought to the anthropological and ethnographical museum was made by him for his son. Mytka likes to draw, but, unfortunately

225 533 824 182 Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.).

225 476 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their 225 782 778 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol- ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol- ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

82 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
62 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
25 ul - ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
61 young hunters must not taste this mos.

25 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
82 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

25 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
91 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
76 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
2 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
6

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

9: Hawes--306 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 224, 483, 527

"He [LSS: Vanka, the author's Gilyak boatman] was
days since there had been a bear-hunt by his friend
two cubs had fallen to their prowess. One old Gilya
gone. Starting out with the dogs, they had come up
and the dogs immediately began to worry the cubs,
mother bear called to them to 'take care,' and run
while, the dam was shot. An experienced hunter th
a seal-hide noose in his hand. With this he lassoed
to climb down by degrees. The carcase of the dead
drawn by the dogs, and the orphaned cubs were led
Hence on the morrow there was to be a great holida
were coming in to celebrate it."

in high spirits, for two or three
s of Ado Tim, in which a dam and
k described to me how the hunt had
with the ch'uff and cubs in the forest,
biting at their hind-legs until the
up a tree. This they did, but, mean-
en proceeded to follow the cubs with
them, and, descending, forced them
animal was then placed upon a sledge
, pushed, and dragged to the village.
ay fête, and Gilyaks from all around

75 cont./
ows travel on such ground. All things considered, and on the basis
their construction and their entire nature, the ski of the Gilyak
e less suitable for traversing uneven mountain and forest wilder-
sses than for rapidly sweeping over broad, flat surfaces deeply
overed with snow, such as the ice-cover of the Amur River, the
mur-Liman, the many gulfs and bays, and other level stretches
fered to them by their homeland. In conclusion, mention must
made here about the stick which the Gilyak, like other northern
oples, use when traveling on ski and which serves both as rudder
skiing down mountains as a support in ordinary forward motion.
he latter is made possible by the fact that there is attached to the
ick a little above its lower end, which tapers into a straight or
rved tip, a wooden hoop which has a somewhat movable connec-
on with it by means of several straps drawn like spokes from its
riphery to the stick and through it. Thanks to it, the stick has
fficient resistance in the snow to give some support, whereas
movability facilitates pulling the stick out of the snow again
d thus avoids unnecessary effort. Finally, the upper end of the
ick, widened somewhat like a shovel, is used /476/ /illustration
ppears here/ to remove the snow that collects and packs together
nder the foot.

Both types of ski, the small and the large, are also used
hong the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region who neighbor the
lyak. The small ski, called kángulta by the Olcha and Goldi,
ve the same form and nature among them as among the Gilyak.
e large ski among them (the Olcha and Goldi ssultá, or also
ch-ssultá), however, in comparison with those of the Gilyak,
ow very considerable and characteristic differences, which I
ust discuss here in some detail. As a whole they correspond
the ski, described in detail by Middendorff, "of the nomadic
nters of Siberia," a general designation which in this case, as
hink can be definitely concluded from the pertinent description
d illustration (1) refers to the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, in whose

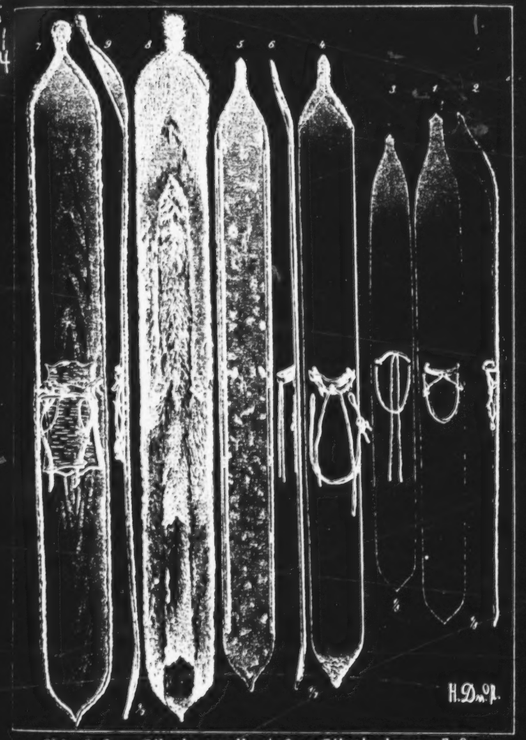
1. Middendorff, Reise in den Nord. und Ost. Sibir. /Travels in Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1349.

492 /486 cont./
longer sufficient to make them run, he climbs down, continues on his way on ski, and pulls the dogs with the sled behind him. Incidentally, thanks to the circumstance that he is seated astride and has ski on, he can be more or less helpful during the trip: if the movement is impeded because the sled-soles /runners/ cut too deep into the snow or otherwise meet an obstacle, he gets up on the ski, and not until the dogs have got the sled, relieved of its chief burden, moving again does he let himself down on it again. If the snow is too deep and loose and the dogs sink into it, the Gilyak helps them by going ahead on ski and making a firmer path for them (2). But if in this case the sled is heavily

2. Often enough this must also be done in the case of the broad-soled Russian sleds, and on Sakhalin I myself have had to go in front of my sled on ski in order to probe the path, drifted over by snowstorms, with a long stick and make a new trail.

loaded and the route uneven and sloping first toward one side and then toward the other, he will even harness himself in front of the sled, in order, in part, to help pull it and in part to prevent it from overturning in the deep snow. This is done in the following manner: across the front end of the sled a braking stick or a similar stick is tied, and by means of it two long poles gently sloping upward are attached to the sled. The Gilyak stands on
[192] ski between these poles /Pfiémerstangen/ (Gilyak tádf), embracing the poles with his arms, and, by a timely lifting of the one or the other of them, prevents the overturn of the sled and at the same time helps to pull it, while the guide-line to which the dogs are harnessed runs between his legs or, as I have also seen, is tied
[481] to his belt. /487/ In a similar manner, incidentally, the Gilyak sometimes has himself pulled, standing on his ski without any sled, by a couple of dogs which he holds by a line in his hands and urges to run over a level surface of ice or snow, whereby he moves forward exceedingly fast, especially going homeward. Just

G.
G1
481
284



Ski: 1-3 -- Gilyak, small; 4-6 -- Gilyak, large; 7-9 -- Goldi, large.

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.
492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.
481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

VII. Trades and Occupations

226 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable
285 tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.
226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

482

482 BURDEN CARRYING--methods of carrying burdens (e.g., on head, shoulders, back); gear (e.g., head pad, tumpline, carrying pole, pack basket); specialists in burden carrying (e.g., porters, coolies); uses (e.g., on safari); etc.

See also:

Water carrying	312	Transport of corpse to place of disposal	764
Gathering of firewood	313	Methods of carrying infants	854
Litters	493		

263 /445 cont./
439 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are
600

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
824 bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for
482 dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
482 hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1
415 and 2/ Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
177 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak ormotsch(?)-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of
[See category 116, P. 1013--Analyst]

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop, 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

483

483 WEIGHT MOVING--application of human energy in the transportation of heavy weights (e.g., logs, heavy stones, carcasses of large animals); mechanical aids and cooperative techniques employed; use of weight-moving machinery; lifting or raising of heavy objects (e.g., in loading vessels, erection of megaliths); etc. See also:

Building and construction	33	Weight-moving machines	406
Logging	313	Vehicles	493
Knowledge of rollers, pulleys, and inclined planes	401		

484

484 TRAVEL--volume, frequency, range, and occasions of travel; trips and expeditions (e.g., tourist travel, exploring expeditions); routine of travel (e.g., marching, caravans, camping); commuting; etc. See also:

Means of travel	49, 50	Traveling salesmen	446
Internal migration	166	Vacation resorts	529
Immigration	167	Guest friendship	572
Seasonal migrations	221	Visiting and hospitality	574
Hunting trips	224	Government-supported exploration	634
Trading expeditions	437	Military expeditions	726
Itinerant merchants	443	Pilgrimages	788

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
●[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
159 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

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Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/55 cont./

776
787 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers. Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacrifice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary. The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the meat of animals.

782 If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he
●[484] respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out, he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacrifice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not demanding.

123 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime
776 stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself. It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost without provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I unexpectedly informed my companions that I had decided to betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" intention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offering as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had attempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape, perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat, Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially agitated.

/174 cont./

*835
614 In clans where a distinction is made between the wives of younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for me still more boldly: "among clansmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ('good'), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his tuvn is invariably exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the woman and, as far
*835 as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse,
593 of course, is peremptory -- he can demand from his wife fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that she
[597] follow him through /175/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that she bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tuvn of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group husbands in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the home), to enjoy their rights, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the
●[484] greater part of his time away from home; either he is at the
[512] river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at
[222] a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the
*835 taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor tuvn most of all
[837] fully enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group ang:ei, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
157 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
152 sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
●484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --aldmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
574 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/248 cont./

836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gynd --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

• 484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous reception always awaits him.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
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[126] 2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
• [484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
492 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Hemlen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

175 come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth
131 of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for
489 another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

175 There is still no mention of these islands in the reports
131 cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports
• [484] concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon
[224] accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

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/109 cont./ purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

[113] 3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

ততু however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

[192] 4. In Gilyak "island" is pólło-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 When the Russians
131 under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar
648 Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

/110 cont./

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4. (cont.)
to the number of Russians originally present on the island, in which case the number of years of the stay would have been omitted, for the Russian original reads: zhit'ya ikh" bylo na tom" ostrovie liet" s" 20, kotorye khodilp v" tu zemlyu dlya rybnoi lovli..., etc. This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (not 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others), Schestakof had actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (op. cit., pp. 130 ff.), expresses doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schestakof on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated around the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. The latter assertion, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schestakof's trips, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself never expresses doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schestakof had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regrets being unable to give more detailed information about this trip because of the absence of the logbook.

175 It is noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the tempora
131 visits of the Gilyak to the Shantar Islands are inadequate and
• 484

sidered particularly lucky. It has ha
t the bear, because of negligence on t
nsporting him, has crushed a child to
cidents are not mourned by the parents
ood omen.

The bear is kept in a special enclosure
old woman is appointed to feed him an
e latter is offered him in a long woode
erted through a little opening. His ch
ed fish, sometimes he also gets mille
raps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore
lages usually assemble for the festival
ces that had their own bear festival an
ned their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak
d at this time, although they themselv
h bears.

Besides feasts, various amusements ta

ppened now and then
he part of the people
death, but such
s, who regard it as

in his new home.
d give him water.
n spoon which is
ief food consists of
t and various

people from different
, even from those
d had already con-
come to the main-
es are well supplied

ke place at the

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[1] [illegible] far as it knows, the Gilyak were never met there directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands. The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned statement by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on singular notes that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these islands has left behind. According to Middendorff (Reise, Zoologisches, Theil II), the island of Chobui (i.e., bad) Shantar

1. "Ojasaisa nemli Kamchatka
/Description of the Kamchatkan Peninsula/"
(Poln. Sobr. sochin. potesh. po Kom.
Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 130)

said to have inscribed its name because there had no forest at it, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the Gilyak had to extirpate the fur bearers, the Tungus had to leave the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Kranchenninikow,

2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the island of Chobui (i.e. Schantar, "which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Kranchenninikow's description, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Maly Shantar) is meant (2), as it is also by the name "Bachui (ity) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Kara von der Lage von Kamchatka" (Karta po Kom. Lagu, Location of Kamchatka) in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Bach Schantar" west of the island of Reitinchi, just as Kranchenninikow, too, gives it, but this

2: Schenck—221 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/111 cont.)

2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar Islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

[2] [illegible] Middendorff thinks that information from traditions and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, the Tungus near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which, however, does not exactly prove its credibility. Komisa's statement in the northeastern part of Large Shantar Island nor the Tungus near Chobui Island has been dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (2) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty

3. Cap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 89.

even with respect to this report, in that the tradition that Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostrog expressly attributed these yurts to Russian fur hunters, and the ruins of these few and

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1: Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

uncertain reports, I do not doubt that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungus, which came with the Russian fur hunters concerning these islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Chibom are primarily hunters and come to the coast only temporarily in July, the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better informed than the former, as Middendorff also expressly mentioned (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

5. Reise, Zoologisch. Theil II, p. 108.

3: Schenck—222 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/111 cont.)

they visited the large islands within sight from their coast, namely, Sakhalin, and, at least, they could have visited small islands (2) [illegible] pass-fully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that wherever their westward expansion could have reached on land at first did not reach the Tugus and later did not go beyond it, that did visit the islands, which, in the southwestern part of them, and Bear Island (Medvéjki) located beyond Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ogorbach," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (2), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ogorbach" /113/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nap — animal, and pach — stone, rock (see above, p. 175, note 3). Similar Tungus names of the Ussuri, the Tschebarach, Tschordon, Tschuka, etc.

[2] [illegible] Gilyak, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his country, [illegible] Gilyak, he nevertheless will be a welcome guest, judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have fairly become acquainted with the Chuchi through the Golds. If one

4: Schenck—223 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/111 cont.)

[3] [illegible] Tungus gave to this island (2), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

responsible for this name is /113/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kihsi or Kihsyn, which, in contrast to Ogorbach, are not of Gilyak origin, the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Golds and, with minor modifications, among the Tungus, although the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For being the [illegible] Gilyak, who, because of the dwarfing of the Orochi, the Golds are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of contacts with the latter and, in the same time, I may repeatedly met Orochi passing through Gold territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there exists a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the [illegible] of Gilyak and Orochi, the Gilyak who were cast of Tymovsk, the fleeting nature of ice, the frequent fog, the [illegible] Gilyak, I do not doubt that they visited and trade with them. The ice, too, becoming wider toward the south and [illegible] Gilyak, which came with the Russian fur hunters from Golds, [illegible] Gilyak, they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Tugur which, as we mentioned before, is a winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Ulchin (2). It is very probably

5: Schenck—224 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/111 cont.)

[1] [illegible] Gilyak, though they visited the large islands within sight from their coast, namely, Sakhalin, and, at least, they could have visited small islands (2) [illegible] pass-fully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that wherever their westward expansion could have reached on land at first did not reach the Tugus and later did not go beyond it, that did visit the islands, which, in the southwestern part of them, and Bear Island (Medvéjki) located beyond Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ogorbach," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (2), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

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6: Schenck—225 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.
Southern Sakhalin RY1

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Section 7

[1] Means of Moving and Going from Place to Place by Land, Water, and Ice. Sledges, Sledding, and Pack Animals — Dogs, Reindeer, Horses, Cows, Donkeys

As has already been mentioned frequently, the three principal occupations which provide the Amur peoples with clothing and food, as well as the luxuries that have become necessities, are fishing, hunting, and trade — occupations that cannot be pursued except with various and more or less considerable moving from place to place. The Amur peoples have been considering these principal occupations, I think that it is necessary to go into a special discussion of the means of locomotion and of the means which the Amur peoples and the means used for it. This will naturally fall into two parts in a little more detail than the other, namely, locomotion by land or on the ice-cover of the water and, on the other hand, on water.

A fishing people like the Gilyak, who always set up their fishing places in the vicinity of rivers, streams, lakes, and seas, they get their food almost exclusively, and, furthermore, before whom, on the Amur River as well as along the vast coast of Sakhalin, the Russian fur hunters and the Russian fur traders met with the neighboring tribes and with the closest civilized peoples, the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari and the Japanese on southern Sakhalin, such a people must naturally spend a great part of their time in winter on the ice-cover of the water, and, in the summer, make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowwater-regime is, or is unusually low, and, in the winter, however, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak have two types of ski: small ones — [illegible] and large ones — [illegible].

7: Schenck—226 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/113 cont.)

[illegible] undertaken a long [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak,

/487 cont./ Dwir

as the Gilyak on trips usually tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always seem to be in a hurry to have the necessary refreshment and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were fastened to each of them.

Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness is the one, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other tribes or peoples, but, on the contrary, it must be considered indicative to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their neighboring tribes-all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples not any more than there is probable.

Among the Ainu or Saxhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak, even the construction of the sled, the harness and the manner in which they are fastened and driven are said to be the same (?). But the Ainu do not

1. N. Bunge, Ocherk Sakhalin's i Eksped. 1850 - 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1850 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1879, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanovskiy's manuscript diary, the Ainu-Sakhalin used the same of the peoples /Tlemenengan/ on especially difficult routes in also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

use the method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their

/501 cont./

55 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and Reindeer Tungus, the reinder serves only as a riding and pack animal, but on the latter, similar to the one, also known as a Tungus animal, and in this in use joins that of the dog.

As dwellers on a great river and in tributaries of the sea and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are more or less oriented toward moving and travelling from place to place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The dwellings of the women on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sled, always built after one and the same pattern, the boat used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the form is adapted to the character of the waters and represents with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

Since of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live in fishing huts who are inclined by their gentus for trading to undertake long journeys and so on. Nevertheless, it is proof of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by nature bold and skillful seamen and hunters of marine animals, who instinct, only rarely venturable small, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarka, /Kiy/ would be inclined and able to undertake the high seven seas. Chief only concentrated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers them, in addition, a relatively favorable climate, a fertile natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Sakhalin-Gilyak along the Mongols, and, on the other hand, the Amur-Gilyak, a very large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cut them off from the open sea, and, on the other, the meridional expanse, given them a bridge, to the peak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their overall parts

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for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are more, in contrast, oriented toward the sea and its inlets and islands. And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the coastal Gilyak for fishing and for trade and communication and trading voyages matches this. It is a bateau, shallow-draft boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of single hewn log, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Fig. XXXVIII/ZM 1/ /Fig. 1/). It is not level, but, rather, curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but always built after one and the same pattern, the bank used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the form is adapted to the character of the waters represented with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

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and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is continually in danger of being capsized. Also, because of the sail and its attachments, the Gilyak, who accompanied me as guide or oarsman, could not leave the boat and swim ashore and experienced in a brisk wind, in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate rust bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and imploring me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. Their boat, which, by the way, is not at least without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and be greatly capsized, and, when it is not unballast seaworthy, in order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to the side wall. This is the case, for example, with the boat with such shapes (Gilyak /ebkch/) in particular, which they undertake sea trips, and these are generally used in the Amur region, in the bottom board (Gilyak /mach/), about 2-3 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned oscarian curvature. For the bottom board, which, as a rule, ends on two low textiles erected on level ground, each of which consist of two curved pieces of wood, joined along the grooves. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down further until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. When it is fixed in the proper way, it is kept and stiffened from the ground on either side and grapping the board from slipping, and, on the two side-boards (Gilyak /ebkch/), a strong rope is laid and pegs fitted with their loops fitted to correspond to the holes in the board, and, in order to be accurately, the latter at a very slight obtuse angle and temporarily held in that position.

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Tungus, Ainu, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with the necessary fishing animals and bear skins.

Some data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the western shore of the Amur-estuary, are found in Maximovich. In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and particularly the salmon species at least at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northern eastern Asiatic, June 22 is given as the arrival time of /p. gorbusa/ as the month of the Gilyak, and July 9 as the arrival time of /p. keta/ among all the same coast (2).

2. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that 1. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ale and Uda (that is, Udi) fairly regularly about June 20, and 2. ciliatus also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, it given with the Gilyak name of /ulu/ for the latter. It is regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the original sources, which are the observations which are used for the sources

/501 cont./

of many years in summer-dwelling along the river or on the seacoast, the Amur Tungus not infrequently undertake long hunting expeditions which may last many days or, indeed, weeks. This is particularly especially particularly true of the Orochon Tungus, in contrast to the Gilyak. Although on the whole they have likewise permanent dwellings, their original inclination for bearing animals, such as sable, river otter, and the fox, comes first, simply because by trading them they obtain not only clothing materials and foodstuff, but also the universally popular luxury items, and especially tobacco, which has become indispensable to them. For a long time they used to the same way and with the same means, but over a greater area and with more intensity than the Gilyak, with more success and profit.

But whereas among the Gilyak hunting is limited almost only to the coastal and river-dwelling animals and bear wholly in the interests of trade, among the Tungusic Amur /179/ peoples it also extends to too an less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of sable and fox, but, in a considerable degree, to bear, which are not merely skin and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but, rather, constitute a hunting game, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. As I have already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points, they are related to food, however, of the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples, for he takes pleasure in hunting more than among the Gilyak, and the farther upstream and inland, the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak confines himself with a relatively small area, where he pursues his hunting and self-defense in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the most, in exceptional years, he ventures a little farther, and, if it is regretable, as I must note here in passing, that the original sources, which are the observations which are used for the sources

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/605 cont./

numerated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal swirings of the Chinese tobacco pipe, sometimes, however, with, in the Amur region, only in winter only short distance separates them from the Tungus Lamut, who have adopted the Chinese customs and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Sakhalin, the chief northern tributary of the Amur, by only a few waterways, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 186 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Kais. Russischen Geographischen Gesellschaft" Bericht über die Sibirische Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 ff. Cf. also Dr. Radloff, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 ff.

the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the Tungus are very slight, and, in comparison with the Gilyak, where the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from the Amur-Tungus, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and, rather than, try to utilize the route offered them by natural evolving the profit-seeking middlemen located on Sakhalin, is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, by the Tungusi themselves.

To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Tungusi in the Gilyak usually assists a person, "in the blanche," is the good will of the Tungusi, who, in contrast to the Gilyak, are generally, in a manner practically independent, and, in their relations with the Gilyak, in a manner practically independent, and, in their relations with the Gilyak, in a manner practically independent, and, in their relations with the Gilyak

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barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is considered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Ussuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

/606 cont./ They are not permitted

439 439 484 648 823 by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance the Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-dshu at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the *Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal* observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchk-choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, [103] above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The 439 439 484 648 fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

G /607 cont./

439 439 484 648 time they must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order to achieve their commercial ends, they behave, as they themselves told me, toward them on their part just like the latter, th is, they bend the knee before them in greeting or to make a request, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. Th Gilyak in Ssan-ssin put on an act of complete submission to the Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute a probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and otherwise leaves them in peace.

G' 439 648 The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur region appearing annually on the Sungari for trade on the part of the Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and shy Goldi, who live closest to them and are directly subject to them, have to suffer under them. According to the description by Chilkofakij (1) and Barabasch (2), who traveled up the Sungari

G' [113]

1. Khilkovskii (Izviest. Rusck. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. II, 1866, Sec. II, p. 227. In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1868, p. 345).

G' [113]

2. Ia. Barabash", "Sungariisk. Eksped. 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tune (Bo-dune) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay for a permit for travel to Ssan-ssin and for the trading itself, which was done in the village of Stussu, lying somewhat below the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sturgeon and hausen cartilage and glue to the Manchu official stationed there. Upon reaching Ssan-ssin, they first of all have to pay the tribute (alban) owed to the Chinese Crown, which consists of one sable,

/608 cont./

439 men and women, black woolens and velvet materials, silk fabrics, silk thread of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a quantity of Chinese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and bracelets, glass beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's robes, and the like, as well as, finally, a number of household utensils, such as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of
439 goods acquired in trade in Ssan-ssin, in part heavy and bulky,
437 is too large to be transported without injury in the small boats
484 in which the Gilyak customarily make the arduous upstream
[501] voyage to and on the Sungari, a so-called Manchu boat, made by the Goldi there, is bought, in which the return voyage downstream can be made easily and quickly. And since, in order to have a stronger current, one usually stays far from the banks, he at the same time avoids the danger of being belatedly fleeced even yet by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders stationed or residing here and there temporarily or permanently. After the return trip is completed, the boat can still be used for a second type of trading voyage -- the voyages to the Ssisam (Japanese), to a consideration of which we must now turn.

439 Among the above-named commodities which the Gilyak obtain by trade in Ssin-ssan, one article plays an especially important role. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric bearing designs of dragons and other figures and often with gold and silver interwoven in it, which is brought to market in part in whole pieces and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved dressing gowns. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the Gilyak exclusively for their own use or for trade with their neighbors, these find their foremost and best purchasers outside of the Amur region, among the Japanese, and therefore give them the principal reason for direct trade with the latter. There is mention of this trade, which, however, does not take place in Japan, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin, even in the oldest accounts of this island which we have from the Japanese. The Japanese interpreter Kannemon, who visited Jesso /Yesso/ before 1652, already speaks of special fabrics which the inhabitants of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft"

/609 cont./

175 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no
439 doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

439 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the
437 Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and
484 located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,
487

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea
[501] voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless
[103] vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Duï as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

VII. Transportation Methods, Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

493 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclosed
516 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]
231 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
492 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

484 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
492 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.
492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.
481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

226 VII. Trades and Occupations
286 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.
226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

487

487 ROUTES--footpaths and trails (e.g., character, distribution); sea and air lanes; trade and caravan routes; marking of routes (e.g., blazes, signposts); route maps and charts, etc. See also:

Maps and place names	10	Railways	196
Topography	133	Aids to navigation	502
Streets	363	Map making	823
Highways	191		

G Gi 174 167 • G Gi A 101

/21 cont./

words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G Gi 101 361

Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

G Gi [487]

G Gi 361 101 [487]

/21 cont./

by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the populatio of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

G [114] [113]

1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

Gi 101 361

It is different

with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to t sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep a protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, hav their permanent habitation sites in it.

/670 cont./

took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather takes him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the consultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions, however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 5-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

/671 cont./

tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluws (1)

1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Duĭ to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the storm ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/673 cont./

114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kullj before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

● 484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

484 804 805

/674 cont./

● 484 804 805 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the [192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

805 821 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

805 184 [171] The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months,

/674 cont./

484 804 805 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the [192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

805 821 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

805 184 [171] The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months,

"Beaching our canoe
river, Vanka leapt ou
brodyagi in the near
Satisfied that there
reference to a bear]
landed. The shoal wa
by the willows, which
to cut down willow br
consisted of supports
fire lighted with marv
the rugs."

9: Hawes--126 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 487

"Our road [LSS: Near Arkovo on Sakhalin Island] continued to rise until it reached level of about 700 feet. The backbone of the island is crossed by practically only thr passes, of which this is the chief. Another, used by the natives, leads from the rive Tim to the west coast, north of Arkovo, and the third lies 200 miles to the south, be tween Kusunai and Manue. Rumour told of one in the extreme north, used by the nat Gilyaks; but I believe no white man has ever trodden it. Arriving at the top of the pa our route led us across an undulating plateau for several miles, until finally it desc to the bed of the upper reaches of the river Tim."

t a pleasant, clean, sandy shoal, dry from the recent fall of the
to take the omens, in other words, to note if there were signs of
eighbourhood.

vas nothing more than the footprints of Master Petz, [LSS: Russian
ho had been down to drink and fish during the previous night, we
of considerable length, but narrowed to about twenty feet in depth
formed here the van of the forest. Our natives ran into the taiga
nches for our bed, and stakes for the tent and fire. The tent, which
vith a piece of canvas thrown over, was quickly erected and the
ellous despatch, we meanwhile unloading the canoe and spreading

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489 TRANSPORTATION--extent of transportation; carrying capacity and volume of traffic by types of transport; transportation systems and their integration; regulation of transportation (e.g., permits, customs inspections); etc. See also:

Land transport	49	Foreign trade	439
Water and air transport	50	Tariffs and tolls	651
Postal service	205	Government ownership and control	471, 655
Articles entering into domestic commerce	438	Military supply and transport services	705

/610 cont./

they take only a small supply of food with them and depend almost entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the

3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the worst stretch, from Duĭ to Kussunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Ssisam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea does not always freeze along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to cover this stretch by land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arkai, shortly before Duĭ, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Plyi or Poronai River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Manuë and then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrowest point of Sakhalin, /611/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kussunai and which they then follow to Ssiranussi (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Ssisam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

/612 cont./

prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjel at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimate the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often extends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

/612 cont./

439 484 648 [823] their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk). /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the

175 648 439 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo, their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

[113] 2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Ssiranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

Gilyak RX3' Olcha

/613 cont./

G 439 If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely

G [181] dedicated to it. Too indolent to obtain by hunting the means for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them from the tribes neighboring them, who are more skilled at hunting, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small be-

G [437] [484] ginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primitive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari and to southern Sakhalin, to the "Manchu" and to the "Ssisam," and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the

C 439 437 484 Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who, likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait in order to trade for the furs bagged by the Eskimo in the Yukon territory with the commodities of the Russo-Siberian merchants, and, conversely, along the Anjui, the latter for the former, and so in the polar north they act as trade intermediaries between Europe-Asia and America (3). None of the Siberian peoples can

C [113] 3. Concerning this trade of the Chukchee, see the detailed and exhaustive account by Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/ (in Wrangell's /Vrangel'/ travel account, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.), Ditmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, 1856, pp. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 39 ff.), and others.

Gi 439 177 None of the Siberian Peoples Can be compared, with regard to its trade activities, /614/ to these two Paleo-Asiatic peoples, except perhaps the Olcha, whose strongly developed genius for trade, however, as we shall see in a moment, must be traced back to the influence of the Gilyak.

3 cont./

Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at

5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

even at
time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the
th of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian hand-
ten map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the
century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a
yak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the
ow, stem-shaped part of the Ssegneka Peninsula from Ulban
to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 508) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Giljazkaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which empties to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kolj or Kulj

/109 cont./

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

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come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

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There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

/601 cont./

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Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyak, who have the most dealings with the Chinese, also trade with their more distant countrymen living along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak and in part the Tschomi Gil too, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are brought into circulation throughout the territory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Orok, and even the Ainu, and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from it. There is not a single Chinese merchant in this whole area.

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[487]
The northernmost and easternmost point in the lower Amur region where such a one stays temporarily is the village of Pulj, located still in Olcha territory on the Amur, near the Gilyak border, which can easily be reached in winter, even from Tschomi, via the oft-mentioned Tymi-Chaselach route from the Liman (1). It was said that sometimes a Chinese merchant

1. See pp. 144 and 909 above.

steals through from Pulj along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the Negda on the Amgunj, but carefully avoids the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, because they, as they themselves told me, will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and 25 years ago killed one who ventured it. Whether they assumed this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to shake it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is greatly to their advantage commercially. For the role that is

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played farther upstream by the Chinese merchants living among the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or visiting them, in that they act as middlemen in the trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, intowhich they are not allowed to come, to the Amur Gilyak themselves. And the latter perform their role of middlemen with great skill and success. The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that

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437 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that
439 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
[157] is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodities, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like, in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these foreign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
[492] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests. Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time, the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods, and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same, the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese, they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting. Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodity always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

439 These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
437 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
484 on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak Hynk) and the Samagir on Lake
648 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
[487] and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter, aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone, they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

Goldi RK3
Negida!
Samagir

G /602 cont./
439 First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient
437 route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in
484 winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

G
439 under these circumstances
437 the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the
484 Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where
487 the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from
361 those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake
G Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, more-
439 over, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the
361 Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living
G on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographi-
[197] cally as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the dwellers on it, closer to the Olcha than to the Gilyak.

Goldi RK3

G /605 cont./
G mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar
437 assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal servings of
439 liquor, made to the natives by Chinese merchants, and they
G never miss their mark, especially in the case of the Goldi who,
[186] living in the closest proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, have often personally experienced their cruelty and avarice and even give them the nickname "ssingare," rats, to indicate that they act like the latter around their supplies and possessions. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortion, the flattering and seductive behavior of the Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit that the latter make by selling to the Amur peoples at retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchased cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their commercial sense, and, little inclined to contribute to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. This explains their above-mentioned opposition to granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the
G little encouragement that the latter find among them in general.
184 The Chinese trade center on their border, in Pulj, is visited,
438 apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Orok, almost exclusively by
439 the Tschomi Gilyak, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and
G especially along the Tymy River. The Amur Gilyak, on the
[487] other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-seeking middlemen located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

G To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Sungari or,
437 as the Gilyak usually express it, "to the Manchu," is the goal
439 of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors.
484 It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and the trips to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

489

489 TRANSPORTATION--extent of transportation; carrying capacity and volume of traffic by types of transport; transportation systems and their integration; regulation of transportation (e.g., permits, customs inspections); etc. See also:

Land transport	49	Foreign trade	439
Water and air transport	50	Tariffs and tolls	651
Postal service	205	Government ownership and control	471, 655
Articles entering into domestic commerce	438	Military supply and transport services	705

Gold RUS
Tungus RUS

/515 cont./

GGT 501 171 174

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inbue the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

GGT 489 438 439 171

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

491

491 HIGHWAYS--number, location, and distribution of roads; character (e.g., straight, meandering); surfacing and drainage; adjuncts (e.g., culverts, bridges, causeways, tunnels, fords, ferries); highway maintenance (e.g., responsibility, techniques, special apparatus, personnel); etc. See also:

Urban streets	363	Use of roads	494
Routes, footpaths, and trails	487	Ferry boats	501

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[592] [128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,
464 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
103 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
162 Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
191 Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
[244] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
224 potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-
433 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
178 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
648 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
[237] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
[184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
191 the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from
177 whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
133 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
[137] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
[491] taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be
135 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824] 1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

114 [2] 2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the
361 author did not include in the number of
103

492

492 ANIMAL TRANSPORT--use of pack, draft, and riding animals; gear (e.g., saddle, bridle, stirrup, yoke, harness); loads; methods of guiding and riding etc. See also:

Animal husbandry . . . . . 23 Horse racing 541
Carrier birds and animals . . . . . 202 Cavalry 704

/605 cont./

barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is considered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Ussuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

/609 cont./

designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise th sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinso Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Dui as far as Pilja wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/610 cont./

439 they take only a small supply of food with them and depend al-
437 most entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the
484
487

3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the worst stretch, from Duĭ to Kussunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Ssisam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea does not always freeze along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to cover this stretch by land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arkai, shortly before Duĭ, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Plyi or Poronai River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Manuë and then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrowest point of Sakhalin, /611/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kussunai and which they then follow to Ssiranussi (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

439 As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Ssisam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

/612 cont./

439 prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm,
[435] at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin
484 for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often ex-
487 tends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they
[231] still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

648 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go
439 beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of
484 Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the
[823] southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

The land [ESS: of Sakhalin Island]
forest. So dense is this, that the nativ
traverse in summer in canoes dug out
sledges over the frozen surfaces."

n for the greater part covered with primeval
es depend for highway upon the rivers, which they
of tree-trunks, and in winter in dog-or reindeer

/18 cont./

(kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee, the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

Among the numerous legends that I have collected about the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo. It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[E14] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[192] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[E01] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
● 492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
● 492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
[E35] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles.
[E56] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a sedentary person. In summer his usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/350 cont./

170 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
[E72] Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
269 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
291 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
181 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
● 492 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
262 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
415 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
323 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
194 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have
173 never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic conclusions, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there
165 are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
[E22] three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
41 guns, on the whole.

[E14] The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
[E62]

[E26] 2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (65 persons).

361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'vo (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
20 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
361 difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
[E84] because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
484 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
● 492 mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

[E8] /478 cont./
[E8] basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea
171 in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one
195 binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

G- Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole
[E8] life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake
[E84] their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this re-
191 spect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

G- Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the
● 492 ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and
23 among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as draft animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river rich in fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them.

G- There requisites, as discussed above (3), are best met among the
[E84]
[E84]
492 3. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

492 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most
necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the
strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
[192] shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
[E30] with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled.

[104] 2. The t here is soft, pronounced like the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an elk's head (Gilyak kotz-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongz-tyws, respectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who, with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see p.1017/).

● 480 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive; to
[192] the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nytsch, Pl. XXXVI
[E37] /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap (Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter /485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the other over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
[192] Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called ritsk of the Gilyak, like the illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The accompanying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief disadvantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement, they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

/485 cont./ In this it is far behind the
492 harness used among the Russians
191 both in eastern Siberia and along
the Amur, which forces the dogs
to pull with their chests, and
this may explain why the Gilyak
dogs tire and are exhausted more
quickly than the Russian dogs. On
the other hand, it has the advan-
tage over the latter in that it does
not get tangled so easily, and,
if this happens, can be promptly
put to rights again. With the
Russian harness, the dogs, except

A dog's head adorned with the rüssk.

the front one, do not run singly, but in pairs, and each animal is fastened by two straps to the long guide-line running between them: by means of the rear strap the dog pulls the sled, but the front one prevents him from running sideways. With so complicated a harness, confusion arises all too easily as a result of the tempers of the dogs: sometimes the two dogs of a pair run toward the same side, sometimes an animal jumps over his harness strap, which then gets caught between his legs, etc. And when two sleds meet, especially a Russian one and a Gilyak one, without stopping in time, the dogs of the two vehicles angrily jump at one another, forming a cluster of perhaps twenty or more biting dogs, which can be disentangled only by a violent tugging and pulling apart of the fighting animals amid a rain of blows from both sides, and causing great confusion and damage in the harness, especially of the Russian dogs. The Gilyak, as well as the Russians, therefore carefully try to avoid such encounters by turning aside promptly, stopping and setting the sled, and holding fast to the pack, especially the lead dog.

/485 cont./
492 The Gilyak stop and set their sleds with not one but with
191 two simple, iron-tipped sticks (Gilyak kaur, Russo-Siberian
[192] oschtoll), which are thrust into the snow on either side of the
sled. To put little bells on the upper end of such a stick, as
the Russians do on Kamchatka and in other /486/ parts of
Siberia, is not customary among them, and therefore the spur of
the tinkling bells is unfamiliar to their dogs, which is why it has
been abandoned in the Amur region by the Russians who get their
dogs from the Gilyak and other natives. These Russians, however,
spur their dogs at the first signs of fatigue in many another way that
is likewise unfamiliar to the Gilyak. For instance, they some-
times hurl the braking stick at one or another of the animals ap-
pearing too lazy, which the Gilyak cannot do because, riding
astride the sled, he cannot jump off during the journey, as the
Russian does, to retrieve the stick and hoist himself back on the
sled (1). And he just as little copies the Russian practice of

1. The Russian dog-drivers, or "Kajuren," as they are called along the Amur, in Kamchatka, and elsewhere in Siberia, always sit sidewise (on the right) on their sleds and can easily jump off, which they are often obliged to do in order to give the sled a push toward one side or the other to prevent the soles /runners/ from passing over the fresh excrement of the dogs and thereby lose their smoothness. If this is ever neglected, one must stop after a brief time and turn the sled over on one side, in order to scrape off the soles and, if possible, apply a new ice-coating.

spurring on the dogs in extreme exhaustion by throwing small
pieces of jukola ahead of them. He cares too much for his dogs
492 to strain them excessively. If the shouts of "tach, tach" are no

492 /486 cont./
longer sufficient to make them run, he climbs down, continues
on his way on ski, and pulls the dogs with the sled behind him.
Incidentally, thanks to the circumstance that he is seated astride
and has ski on, he can be more or less helpful during the trip:
if the movement is impeded because the sled-soles /runners/ cut
too deep into the snow or otherwise meet an obstacle, he gets up
on the ski, and not until the dogs have got the sled, relieved of
its chief burden, moving again does he let himself down on it
again. If the snow is too deep and loose and the dogs sink into
it, the Gilyak helps them by going ahead on ski and making a
firmer path for them (2). But if in this case the sled is heavily

2. Often enough this must also be done in the case of the broad-soled Russian sleds, and on Sakhalin I myself have had to go in front of my sled on ski in order to probe the path, drifted over by snowstorms, with a long stick and make a new trail.

loaded and the route uneven and sloping first toward one side and
then toward the other, he will even harness himself in front of
the sled, in order, in part, to help pull it and in part to prevent
it from overturning in the deep snow. This is done in the follow-
ing manner: across the front end of the sled a braking stick or a
similar stick is tied, and by means of it two long poles gently
sloping upward are attached to the sled. The Gilyak stands on
[192] ski between these poles /Pfiemerstangen/ (Gilyak tädf), embracing
the poles with his arms, and, by a timely lifting of the one or the
other of them, prevents the overturn of the sled and at the same
time helps to pull it, while the guide-line to which the dogs are
harnessed runs between his legs or, as I have also seen, is tied
[481] to his belt. /487/ In a similar manner, incidentally, the Gilyak
sometimes has himself pulled, standing on his ski without any
sled, by a couple of dogs which he holds by a line in his hands
and urges to run over a level surface of ice or snow, whereby he
moves forward exceedingly fast, especially going homeward. Just

G /487 cont./ Just
492 as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during
484 the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the neces-
sary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached
and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting
place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line,
detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of
the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and
lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately
see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how
many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness
492 to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak,
191 is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other
194 Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar
to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most
distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic
peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of
them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their
only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with
there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of
the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly
A 492 the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the
492 sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are
[648] treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113]

1. N. Busse, Ocr. Sakhalin" i Ekiped. 1858 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1858 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G 492 191 194 A [481]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively
as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the
following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their
country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

E /490 cont./
23 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
191 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
194 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
E conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
[490] dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the
use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on
his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

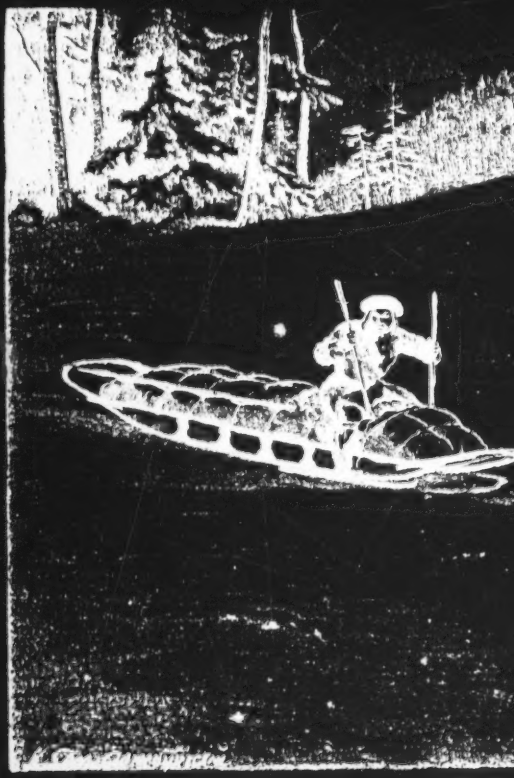
2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not
occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I
know, among any other people.

G After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region,
G the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes,
A 492 the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur
194 region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the
191 use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all;
G whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant
194 times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter
adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure,
through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

486 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit
439 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
439 is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a
[197] Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the
Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from
their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodi-
ties, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like,
in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these for-
eign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon
or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs
492 which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in
the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on
the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests.
Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to
take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time,
the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among
them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods,
and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same,
the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese,
they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute
for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting.
Ifete again experience proves that the producer of a commodity
always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
439 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
439 on the Amgun/ /Amgun/ (Gilyak ilvnk) and the Samagir on Lake
484 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
484 and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the
[489] Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact
that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter,
aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the
Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone,
they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic
tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical
location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.



Sled

2: Schrenck--1017 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Rx2
492
493
137

XXXVII

travel of the Gilyak.

1 -- Gilyak sled, and 2, 3 -- dog harn

2: Schrenck--1016 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

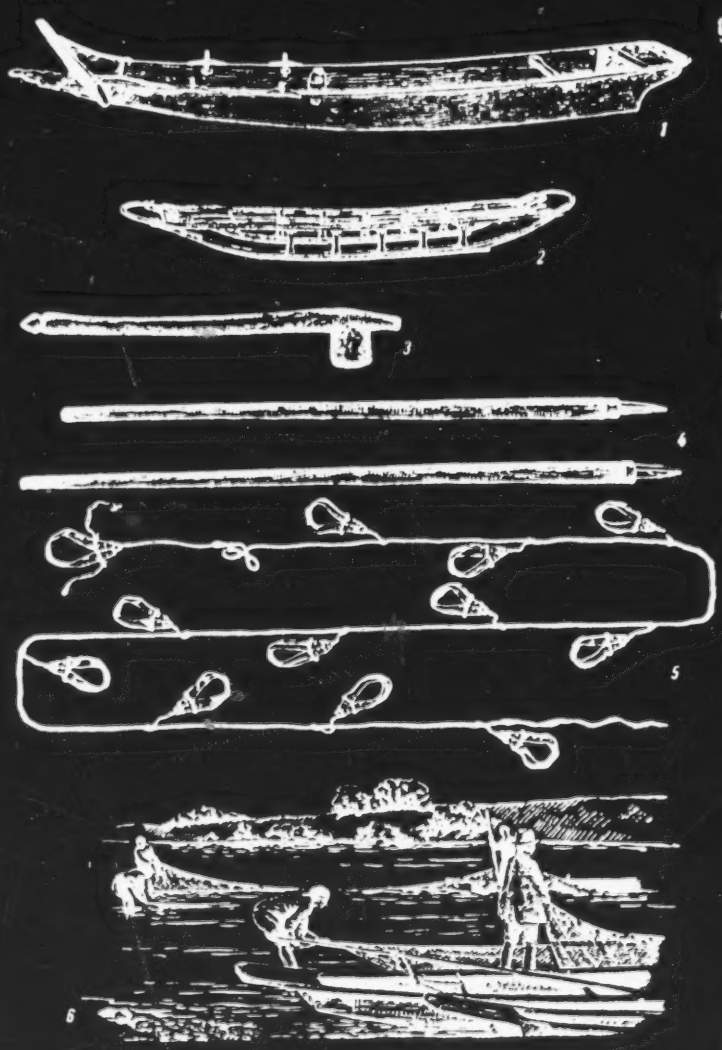
ness; 4, 5 -- fancy dog-collars.

"Another village, Auk-vun-wauk by
gingerly from our unstable craft. V
crowd of yelping dogs, although the
built on piles. These animals are fi
although I believe it is on the whole
fear, dogs may yelp and growl, but
reminded me of an incident in South
for protection from a buffalo, whos
is well known.

These dogs are used by natives in
harnessed to the sledges, they are
more dangerous to encounter."

name, hove in sight, and, paddling in, we stepped
anka insisted on accompanying me because of the
most savage were tied up to a pole underneath a h
erce towards strangers, and especially white men,
true the world over, that, if you show no sign of
will stop short of actual attack. My present positi
ern China—a sahib obliged to appeal to a piccaninn
e discrimination between the white man and the yel

hunting bears and in tracking brodyagi. In winter,
not fed until the end of the journey, and are then m



Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[171] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

177 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most
493 valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
171 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

501 Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
[824] boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[354] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century

/28 cont./

352 [519] [422] roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite position of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 [501] As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original. 492 493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/29 cont./

493 492 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal [435] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles, ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen [556] dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/481 cont./

231 191 113 1. (cont.)

durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

231 191 439 The dogs of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions [123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded [192] as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect [192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside

/482 cont./

493 [192] all along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rath if one thinks of the considerable length of the latter, with a second pair of soles, the protective soles (Gilyak motassj, b in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden peg and, at their sharply reduced ends, also by means of leather str to the main soles. The sole-mountings are usually likewise of wood and can easily be replaced when worn out. In the spring, [237] however, when the snow melting in the sun sticks to the wooden sole and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mo ings, some made of whalebone are fastened to the sled, or the wooden protective soles are covered with a whalebone plate, as I have seen on several occasions, especially on Sakhalin, where t material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic featu

237 493 191 [136] 1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 193), these quite long whalebone plates come from a kind of whale which the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably is Balaena australis Desmoul, but as a rule the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud. (Gilyak keng), the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sleds, especially for travel over sea ice which is covered with salt crystals that have separated out (Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Levod. moriu /Journey along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, Vol. II, p. 238). According to information 237 191 given by A. Schroot in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as bone skates, were formerly used in many regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut,

/482 cont./

237
171

1. (cont.)
etc., and such bones have been found a number of times in excavations in Scandinavia, on Iceland, on the Zealand Islands, in Friesland, Pomerania, in the March, in Moravia, and even in the pile dwellings of the Swiss lakes (St. Petersb. Zeit., 1880, No. 58).

493 Gilyak sled is that when it is equipped with the protective soles and is placed on firm level ground, the latter is touched by only a small part of the sole, equivalent to about one-quarter of the total length of the sled, while the two ends rise to a considerable height above it. For example, in the case of the specimen measured by me, their distance from the ground amounted to one foot,
493 ten inches. Between the two ends of the thus shallowly arched
192 soles run, as sinews, the two longitudinal side-bars (Gilyak kigi, c in the illustration) of the sled, which form the frame of the very shallow sled-basket serving as a seat and for holding effects. They rest on several thin little supports (Gilyak ich, d in the illustration) set into the soles from above, and their ends, moreover, are connected with the soles by means of a perforating wooden crosspiece
493 (Gilyak kernghi, h in the illustration). The ich, of which a/483/ Gilyak sled of regular size, like the one illustrated, has five on either side, a smaller one only four, are rather wide and solid at their ends, somewhat reduced toward the middle, and their position and distance from one another and from the ends of the sled likewise seem to be standardized by quite definite proportions. If there are five of them, the middle one is exactly in the center of the entire length of the sled, all the others are at a distance of 1' 10" from one another, that is, at precisely one-eighth of the sled's length, and the distance of the two outermost ones (the front and the back ich) on either side from the sled-ends is double that, therefore 3' 8" or two-eighths of the length of the sled each. The sled touches level and firm ground only with the part of the soles which is found between the two supports standing next to the

/483 cont./

493 central ich, that is, therefore, with only a quarter of its total length, while the other three-quarters, unloaded, rise more or less above it, and only as a result of loading do the soles come in contact with the ground farther toward the front and back. The mountings serving to protect them extend at least as far as the outermost ich, and very often almost as far as the ends of the soles.
493 The ich opposite each other are connected on top by wooden cross-
192 pieces (Gilyak tynyssj, e in the illustration). On these rest the long rods (Gilyak turssj, f in the illustration) which form the bottom of the sled; they are lashed to each of the crosspieces with straps, and where there are no crosspieces, in the front and back quarters of the sled, also by means of a pair of straps plaited across and stuck through the wooden, longitudinal side-pieces, and finally their ends are stuck through a crosspiece bored for the purpose (Gilyak warr(o)s, g in the illustration) which connects the two wooden, longitudinal side-pieces of the sled just in front of the above-mentioned kernghi. Finally, at each end of the sled there is a curved piece of wood (Gilyak mich, i in the illustration), which, in a gently sloping position, is lashed to both the longitudinal side-bars and to the ends of the soles projecting beyond the last cross-
493 piece. The guide rope for harnessing the dogs is attached to the soles immediately below the curved piece of wood at the front end. The curved piece of wood at the rear end is used for knotting on a strap which the Gilyak takes in his hand or fastens to his belt when he follows the sled on ski, in order to have himself thus dragged along by the dogs and to prevent them from running away without him. Sometimes, however, the curved piece of wood in the rear is missing, and in this case the front and rear ends of the sled differ, whereas otherwise they exhibit no differences. The Gilyak
[824] make all the pieces of the sled out of birch wood (both from Betula
[192] alba L., Gilyak chiws, and from B. ermani Cham., Gilyak kedras) (1), which on Sakhalin they designated separately for me as

[104]

1. In both Gilyak words the final s is soft and should be pronounced like the French z.

"tulytynt-tschchar," i.e., "wood for sled-building," with the sole

/483 cont./

493 exception of the curved pieces of wood at both ends of the sled,
[192] which are made out of the particularly flexible wood of the black-
[824] alder tree, and the bottom of the sled used for sitting, which is either likewise made of black-alder or of willow switches.

/484/ As is to be seen from the above description, lightness is the basic characteristic of the Gilyak sled: it has no iron at all and throughout is made only out of thin, carefully selected and fitted pieces of wood also fastened together in part by means of straps. It owes to the resulting flexibility its ability to withstand even rough trails such as the forest or the river and sea ice all too often present to it. It is not suitable, however, for carrying much baggage and heavy loads. In this respect it falls far behind the Russo-Siberian narte. This, generally provided with larger dimensions and wide soles, rests on the same principle as the ski, the distribution of the load over the largest possible surface and the greatest possible elimination of friction-resistance in movement, for which purpose, before a trip, the soles are provided with a thin layer of ice with a damp cloth, which to a certain extent substitutes for the fur covering of the ski (1). The narrow soles of the

1. The above-mentioned covering of the sled soles with bone or whalebone plates serves the same purpose.

Gilyak sled encounter only a little friction-resistance and therefore do not need the ice coating. on the other hand, it does not allow for a distribution of the load over a large surface and hence, even with a small load, cuts too deeply into the snow to be able to glide along easily. In accordance with its lightness and small size, the Gilyak sled has little space for baggage, for the basket designed for it is, as was pointed out, very shallow, only as deep as the wooden longitudinal side-pieces rise above the switches forming the bottom of the sled, and this is very little. To prevent the
[237] baggage from falling off, a cover made out of fish skin (Gilyak mytsch) is first spread over the bottom of the sled, the baggage is placed on it, wrapped in it, tied crisscross to the sled with a long strap.

93 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclosed
16 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]
31 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
92 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

34 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
92 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.
492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is
he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packe
the horse, and in general is much more agile, s
sled finds its way without a road where horses s
their chests and cannot move from the spot Mo
can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus vi
ed regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and abou
baggage. However, this applies more to Russia
the Russians feed their animals better (1) and the

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In dr ing the salmon, they divide it into parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.

481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for wa
loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very
Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch w
two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered wi
the hair of which is turned in such a way as to p
shoes from slipping back.

226 VII. Trades and Occupations

286 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indi
tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, et

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting,
caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thre
fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the fro

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. Th
like that used by the Russians. The long, lower
shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set i
and at the same time one end of two long strands
over the head of the spinner, while the other end
against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up.
braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are th
women, but sometimes the men also condescend

226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught
rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along
haddock is also plentiful that there is a special
used for it. The end of the line is studded with
hooks which face in all directions; in winter suc

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

493 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
[192] shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
[237] with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled,

[104] 2. The s here is soft, pronounced like the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an elk's head (Gilyak kotr-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongr-tyws, respectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who, with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see p.1017/).

492 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive: to
[192] the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nygtsch, Pl. XXXVI
[237] /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap (Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter /485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the others over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
[192] Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called rüssk of the Gilyak, like those illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The accompanying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief disadvantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement, they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

Ainu AB6
Eskimo ND2

A 231 439 /565 cont./ reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 237 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113]

1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

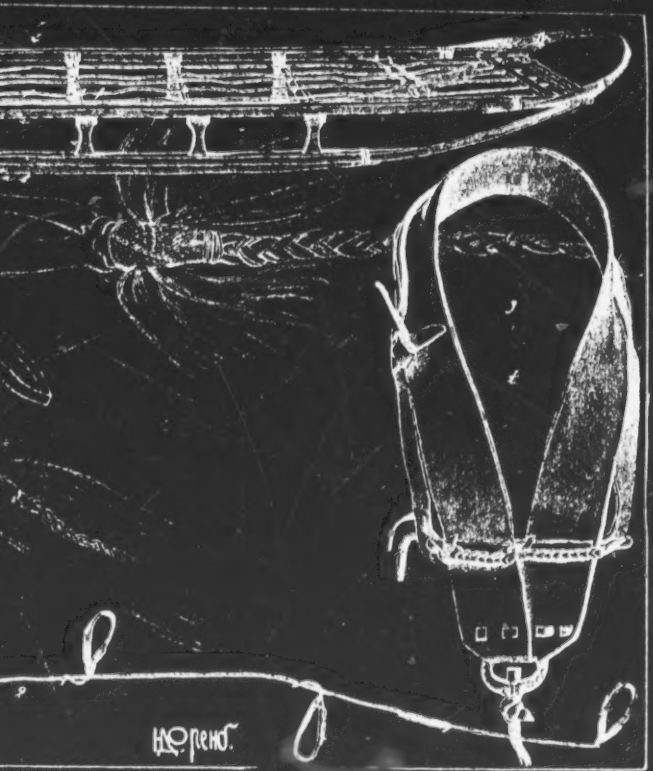
G 326 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

G [342] [396] [493] [335]

G [175] 000

1 -- Gilyak sled, and 2, 3 -- dog har

2: Schrenck--1016 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



ness; 4, 5 -- fancy dog-collars.

ne main distinction between the habits of the Oro
reindeer for sledge-drawing, and the latter dogs
unting only. The Gilyak name on Sakhalin for th
lls himself Orumada."

chons and Gilyaks. The
. The last are kept by the
e Orochon is Or'nish, and

22: Knox 1-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

men wear it plaited into queues, and others let it grow pretty much at will. Each woman I saw had it braided in two queues, which hung over her shoulders. In their ears they wore long pendants, and their dresses were generally arranged with taste.

When recalled by the steam whistle we left the village and took a short route down a steep bank to the boat. In descending, my feet passed from under me, and I had the pleasure of sliding about ten yards before stopping. Had it not been for a Cossack who happened in my way I should have entered the Amoor after the manner of an otter, and afforded much amusement to the spectators, though comparatively little to myself. The sliding attracted no special attention as it was supposed to be the American custom, and I did not deem it prudent to make an explanation lest the story might bring discredit to my nationality.

493

493 VEHICLES--burden vehicles (e.g., litter, sedan chair); drag vehicles (e.g., sledge, travois); wheeled vehicles (e.g., cart, wagon, wheelbarrow, bicycle, motorcycle, automobile, tram, railway rolling stock); motive power, structure and capacity; mode of operation; gear; etc. This category is designed for descriptive data only; uses of vehicles will be found in separate categories. See also;

Manufacture of vehicles . . . . . 398 Military vehicles 715

n general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has ght them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a rm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, y are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes m to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel over- ns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since st of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes appens not infrequently that someone perishes.

During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa- nally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. nter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of dium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short mp of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in eral resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. annot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in ving they often become so and try to attack everything that nes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak ally turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they l not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that nder around the Russian villages have particularly good sons to be afraid of these hunters.

The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the d (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1: In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

row, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a b to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak addles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the cks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the ht direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap d two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are ng around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a p at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog rnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are re like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, d a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have o modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

411
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301

Gilyak in winter clothing.

Sled trave

2. Schrenck--1017 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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493
137

XXXVII

of the Gilyak.

/765 cont./

lay jukola (*), with several tobacco leaves wrapped in birch bark

* See p. 646 of this work.

and a pipe on top of it. The narte was of the ordinary kind, except that the arched or curved pieces of wood (**) in front and in the rear

** See Plate XXXVI /p. 1016 /, Fig. 1, i.

were missing, and instead of them straight short poles projected out on either side. The corpse was tied to the narte under the gray covering.

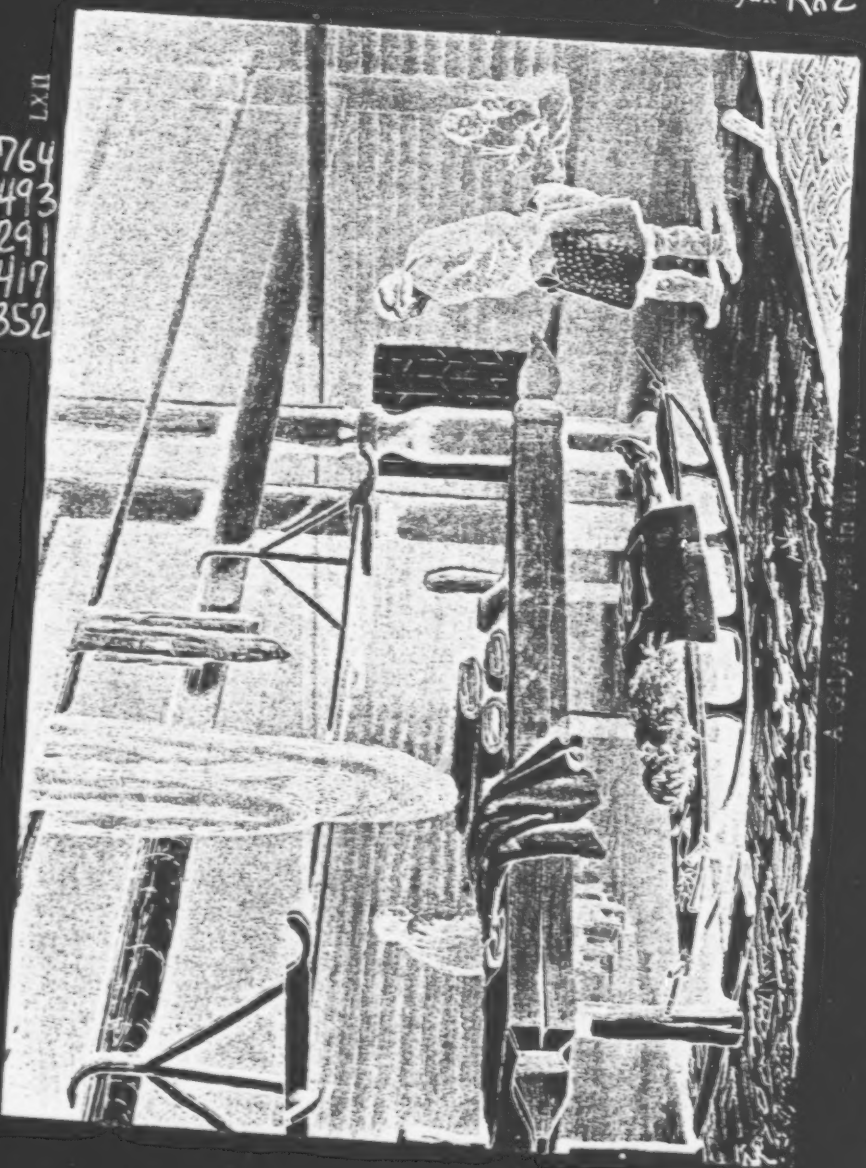
After I had stood in front of the corpse for a few minutes, three dogs tied to a long strap, were brought into the yurt, and the strap was attached to the narte. Then several men lifted up the narte with the corpse, while another led the dogs, and thus the procession set out (Plate LXIII /p.1263 /). It went out of the yurt, passing by the storage chambers, and into the forest behind the village, where the burial place of the dead was located, marked by several raff (***). The wife of the deceased immediately fol-

*** See Appendix 50 /p.1232 /.

owed the corpse, with her hair loose, a piece of birch bark in her hand, and setting up a monotonous wail, in which, however, she was not imitated by the other Gilyak, men, women, and children. When the burial ground was reached, the narte with the corpse was placed on the ground next to the pyre already prepared. The latter consisted of a few layers of wood placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, the first of which was the same length as the corpse. Beside this a large heap of fir branches lay ready for the cremation of the body (1).

1. This was Pin. picea, as is everything else used for the cremation of the corpse and the decoration of the yurt.

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



A Gilyak woman in her house.

LX1
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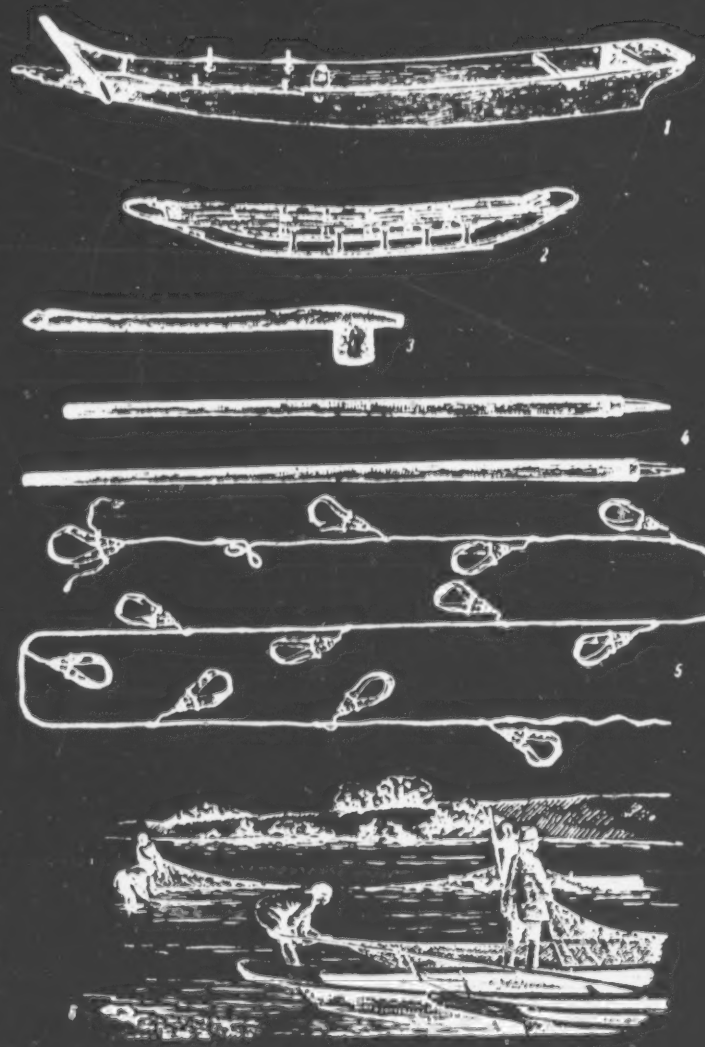
Gilyak funeral.



Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
[526] and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[171] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

179 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
177 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

50 Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
[824] boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn-
ing-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
342 ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
175 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
[354] built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[352] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

116, 493

"Towards the end of December, or the beginning of January, the sea is sufficiently frozen for natives to undertake the arduous task of sledging to Nikolaevsk with the mails. At Alexandrovsk, and generally to the south of the 'funnel' of the Straits, only the coastal fringe of the sea is frozen, but to the north of that all is covered save for occasional holes. It is no easy journey along the ice-bound fringe of the coast, northwards to Cape Pogobi, and thence across the snow-covered frozen sea to the mainland.

To the narta, as the sledge is called, are harnessed thirteen dogs of the Arctic type. No. 1 is the leader, a valuable animal, the cleverest and most experienced. He has shoulder-straps, and one also passing between his legs is attached to the sledge. To this strap the others are joined by thongs on either side, and should any shirk their work, they are pounced upon by the leader or their fellows, and severely bitten. No reins, nothing but the strap connects the team with the sledge and its driver. The narta is a lightly constructed framework of wood, about fourteen inches high and fourteen feet long. Higgledy-piggledy lie the dogs outside the post-office at Alexandrovsk, their master in furs, mocassins and long skin hood, from out which peeps his pigtail. But already the [109] mails are out and on the narta, and the Gilyak, seizing the dogs, casts them to right and left. Throwing himself quickly astride of the sledge, feet on rails, clasping his two short iron-shod sticks, and calling, Ti ti, i.e. 'Forward,' to the dogs, the mail is away. A dash down the hill, and less than a mile's run brings them to the sea; but which is sea and which is land? All is covered with snow. For 100 miles they pursue their

502 In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has taught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a storm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, they are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes them to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overturns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed in straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since most of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes it happens not infrequently that someone perishes.

231 During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa-
492 sionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Winter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of medium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short stump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in general resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to six years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. It cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in driving they often become so and try to attack everything that comes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak usually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they will not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that wander around the Russian villages have particularly good reasons to be afraid of these hunters.

493 The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the
516 sled (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as nārta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

narrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a knob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak straddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; he braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the sticks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the right direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap and two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are slung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a loop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog harnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are more like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, and a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have also modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

493 of long strips like the Gilyak's,but of boards and is enclosed
516 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]

231 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
492 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

484 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
492 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

501

501 BOATS--types of water craft (e.g., rafts, skin and plank boats, bark and dug-out canoes, motor boats, sailing vessels, steamships); specialized craft (e.g., ferries, tugs, canal boats, tankers); mode of propulsion (e.g., poling, towing, paddling, rowing, sailing, power propulsion); rigging; machinery; gear (e.g., oars, paddles, rudders, anchors); seating, eating, and sleeping accommodations; etc. This category is designed for descriptive data only. See also:

Power	37	Water transport	508
Cordage	283	Boat names	552
Shipbuilding	396	Naval vessels	716

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
516 tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very originak.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
[435] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles,
[556] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

•501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/358 cont./

614 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack
528 was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole
772 adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each
[342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the
• [501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts
597 persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came
[729] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

ourse over the frozen fringe of the sea.
Should they meet a traveller, the driver
hould read kaur.] into the snow, and cal
ight!) The dogs swerve, the left leg of the
naintain his balance, and the equipage is q
ver, fail to see the traveller, the dogs ma
njury, for in order to keep them running t
ourney."

digs his sticks (caur) [LSS: Erratum; it
ls, 'Pore!' (Stop!) or 'Kau! Kau! ' (Right!
e Gilyak is seen oddly in the air, but the sticks
quickly turned aside. Should the owner, how-
ay fly at the stranger and do him grievous
hey are only half fed until the end of the

ONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives.

162 592 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 225 433 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 412 561 231 /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

[The Eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 361 103 361 221 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In connection with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 16 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

412 231 501 411 433 162 592 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

Southeast Siberia RX1 Tungus RU5 Gold RX3

55 /500 cont./

492 184 G1 492 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

55 501 184 484 As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G 501 484 [226] None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concentrated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

G [361] [181]

/501 cont./

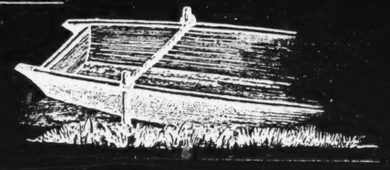
501 184 [361] [181] for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators. And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

501 396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put together have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

[192] [824] [192]

/501 cont./

● 501



Gilyak Boat Construction

396 For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying wood-cut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can [192] /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening [412] of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other [192] boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauwa, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

412 531 In passing it should be mentioned that these implements, not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the 412 drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

/503 cont./

396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.

[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounded blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII

● 501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

[114] 1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the objects transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From 114 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a 501 Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 1855, when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Ussuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/504 cont./

114 proved to be leaking, and all the efforts of the workers to re-
501 pair them were in vain. I now saw that through the rough and incorrect handling the side boards were more or less torn off and detached from the bottom board along their entire length; no amount of hammering, plugging, and calking the seams would help any longer -- one of the boats had to be given up altogether, and I reached the nearest Gilyak village in the other only with great effort and constant, strenuous bailing. There, in Ssabach, I bought a new, somewhat larger boat, which I treated from then on in accordance with its construction and entrusted it only to Gilyak hands for repairs when needed. And it served me very well, for in the same year I not only went up the Amur and Ussuri and back again to Nikolayevsk in it, but, in the following year, also up the entire Amur and a large part of the Argunj /Argun/ until I was forced by the drifting ice and the cold to abandon it near the village of Mulatscha on the Argunj.

● 501 Entirely different from the oars, the Gilyak steering oar [192] (Gilyak menj) is provided with an elongated narrow blade and at the upper end with a short transverse handle (ibid., Fig. 3). As a rule, the Gilyak steer the boat by hand. In order to give the helm more support in high waves or a strong current, however, a short loop of cord or an upright semicircular strip through which the steering oar can be stuck is found at the rear edge of the board on which the helmsman sits.

The Gilyak boat does not have a mast. Instead of this, [192] the Gilyak, if they want to sail, which rarely happens, use two poles tied crosswise (Gilyak kyrsh), which are stuck by their lower ends into corresponding /505/ holes in the side boards of the boat, while two long lines running from the upper ends [192] are slung around the hindmost crosspiece in the boat. The sail (Gilyak tulatsch) consists of a square piece sewed together out of fish skins, which is attached by corners to the upper ends of the above-mentioned cross-mast, but at each of the lower ones is provided with a sheet to haul in and to stretch or loosen the sail as desired. With such inadequate equipment it is understandable that the Gilyak are no masters or heroes at sailing,

/505 cont./

● 501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the [114] Oicha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen [157] in my boat always became mortally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind; in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to [192] the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sham-[484] edges (Gilyak ardsch) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of [114] the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

/517 cont./

26 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
96 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
26 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with
501 one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
92 automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
74 to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

/608 cont./

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robes, and the
utensils, such
439 goods acquired
437 is too large to
484 in which the G
[501] voyage to and
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There is menti
place in Japan
even in the old
the Japanese.
Jesso /Yesso/ b
the inhabitants

n, black woolens and velvet materials, silk
read of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a
nese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and
s beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's
like, as well as, finally, a number of household
as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of
in trade in Ssan-ssin, in part heavy and bulky,
be transported without injury in the small boats
ilyak customarily make the arduous upstream
on the Sungari, a so-called Manchu boat, made
here, is bought, in which the return voyage down-
made easily and quickly. And since, in order
ger current, one usually stays far from the banks,
time avoids the danger of being belatedly
et by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders
siding here and there temporarily or permanently.
n trip is completed, the boat can still be used for
of trading voyage -- the voyages to the Ssisam
a consideration of which we must now turn.
the above-named commodities which the Gilyak
e in Ssin-ssan, one article plays an especially
. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric bearing
gons and other figures and often with gold and
ven in it, which is brought to market in part
es and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved
. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the
vely for their own use or for trade with their
se find their foremost and best purchasers outside
gion, among the Japanese, and therefore give
cipal reason for direct trade with the latter.
ion of this trade, which, however, does not take
, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin,
dest accounts of this island which we have from
The Japanese interpreter Kannemon, who visited
before 1652, already speaks of special fabrics which
of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft"

/609 cont./
175 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no
439 doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakha
were meant by it.

439 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with th
437 Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter ar
484 located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,
487

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea
[501] voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu bo brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless
[103] vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasar (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thu have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as poss But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and espe cially south of Dui as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offe many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/505 cont./

above-mentioned forward continuation of the bottom-board, which, in other situations, is so very useful, contributes no little to the cumbersome movement of the Gilyak boat against the current. Finally, it also affects the method of landing customary among the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and generally among all the other Amur peoples with the same type of boat: this is always done with the rear end of the boat, which is not very easy in high waves beating against the shore, because the boat must then first be put with the bow against the waves in order to be lifted by them and carried toward the shore. The Gilyak, /506/ or Olcha, etc., lands in such a way that he literally sits down on land with his boat, as it were.

To conclude these considerations I am giving the measurements of an ordinary, medium-sized Gilyak boat as I took them from a specimen in the village of Kalgho, from which the above-mentioned illustration was also made:

Length from the tip to the rear edge of the steersman's seat	25'--
Width at the steersman's seat	3'4"
" from edge to edge in the middle	3'2"
" " " " " at the bow, immediately in front of the prow boards	2'2"
Width of the bottom board	1'--
" " " steersman's seat	1'--
Depth of the boat in the middle where it is the greatest	1'6"

The length of a medium-sized oar is about 7 feet; that of the steering-oar 6 1/4 feet; the width of the blade on the latter, 4 inches.

I never saw boats other than the type described for the Gilyak either on the Amur and Liman or on the west coast of Sakhalin, and Middendorff does not mention any from the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. In the interior of Sakhalin, however, on the torrential and in places shallow Tymy River, quite a different vessel is used, a boat hollowed out of a single tree-

/506 cont./

501 184 [192]

trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These

[191] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/

396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 58, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak mussk-j), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

Goldi RX3
Olcha

G 396 824 171 /507 cont./

longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G. Gi 501

Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some of my own experiences. They are completely different from

G Gi 396 824 Gi 184

one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we

Gi 114 501

landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabitants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case.

Gi 501 184

But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

Gi T 501 171

/512 cont./

like the dsai in form and nature, but twice as long, while the width remains about the same. Thus, among the latter I saw such a boat that was 35 1/2 feet long and only 2 feet and 2 inches wide. Such a boat, like the multiple-seated Aleutian bidar and, incidentally, also like the large mango, if the latter are not propelled, say, by poles, is propelled by two or three persons equipped with double oars and rowing uniformly on one side and then the other, and thus shooting forward with great speed.

G [501] [191]

It is very noteworthy that the above-described boat made out of boards, which is distributed throughout the lower Amur region, among the Goldi, Olcha, Gilyak, and Orochi, is completely absent in the upper Amur region. At least, I never saw any there, and Maack, traveling down the Amur from the Schilka, did not meet the first boat of this kind until at the mouth of the Ussuri (1). And, correspondingly, the form of

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 178.

the hollowed-out boat that is patterned after this boat, the unjmagda or awarpe, also seems to be absent in the upper Amur region. I must therefore designate this boat made out of boards in a specific fashion as solely and exclusively peculiar to the lower Amur region and characteristic of it. And yet, I believe, one may not regard it altogether as an invention of those peoples or one of them. Whereas the hollowed-out or birch-bark boats bear the stamp of originality, the Amur boat, or, as I would prefer to call it in accordance with the above, the Goldi-Gilyak boat, reveals in its more ingenious form and construction a certain cultural influence, and I believe that I do not err if I trace this back to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari. For centuries Chinese traders and sometimes also Manchu officials have traveled from the Sungari into the lower Amur region, the former in order to engage in trade with its peoples, the latter in order to collect from them the tribute owed to the Chinese government. The boats in which they made these trips are, to be sure, much larger and more

G Gi 501 171 174

/512 cont./

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complicated than the Goldi-Gilyak boats, but essentially and in general are the same in form and construction. For example, like the latter, the Manchu-Chinese boat also consists chiefly of three long boards -- a bottom board which projects for quite a distance beyond the prow, and two side or edge boards, which are bluntly closed off in the rear by a vertical stern-board, and in front, in a pointed prow, by two small boards of uneven length. Furthermore, the way in which the boards are joined and fastened to one another, the way in which the seams are stuffed with moss and covered with strips inside and outside, etc. are the same in both cases. The far larger dimensions of the Manchu-Chinese boats (the bottom board is from 7 to 9 1/2 fathoms long), however, permit or demand certain additions or modifications in contrast to the Goldi-Gilyak boat. For example, the sides are always raised by a second board on either side, which /513/ is attached to the first one from the outside; this is done among the Goldi and Gilyak only as an exception, in case a boat is to be used for a sea voyage. These upper side-boards project toward the rear about a fathom beyond the stern board serving as their support, and at their rear ends they are joined to each other by a plank, but on top are covered with boards placed crosswise so that at the rear end of the boat there is a wide bridge or platform. On this, at the rear edge, are placed two vertical rods, between which the rudder is stuck in order to be controlled by the steersman standing on the platform. The greater depth of the boat given by the considerable width of the lower side-board and the added upper side-board further permits laying a floor made up of crossboards loosely set against one another in the rear part, over which a piece of wickerwork made out of several rods bent into a semicircle and a few horizontal ones is erected, which, covered with reed or straw mats, gives a kind of tent or cabin in which one may sit, or even stand in a stooped position, protected against rain and bad weather. A similar, though much smaller and lower covering under which a few persons may crawl in case of an emergency is found in the frontmost part of

/513 cont./

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the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the continuation of the bottom board there, bent toward the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast bearers put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the nearest rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the arrangement of the oars is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not bored, but are set into correspondingly deep indentations in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is heavy and, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the required direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the husked and pared down kernel taken, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvements and additions only in accordance with their needs. And so /514/ there remains only

[199] the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, conversely, the natives of the lower Amur region, first the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Olcha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

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boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and powers. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximowicz

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saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on prongs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

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transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The amount of local invention by the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance -- rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, just as in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

How could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed throughout the lower Amur region /515/ nevertheless remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was

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under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? The explanation for this must undoubtedly be sought in the political policy, often mentioned above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which consisted of leaving its upper section as depopulated as possible and of isolating it by vast, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 332, 369.

this purpose the natives of the lower Amur region and, so it seems, also the Chinese traders on the Sungari, were forbidden by them to go beyond the mouth of the latter up the Amur, and, in order to enforce this prohibition, a permanent guard-station was established at the mouth of the Sungari (2). In this

2. See above, pp. 72, 119.

manner communications between the upper and lower Amur peoples on the water route connecting them, and thus also a compromise in the means used for it, was prevented by the measures of the Chinese government. But all the conditions for any possible independent imitation of the Manchu-Chinese boat on the part of the natives were lacking in the upper

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Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inbue the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

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In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

Sacrificial trip of the Gilyak in connec

2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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XXXIX

tion with the opening of the river.

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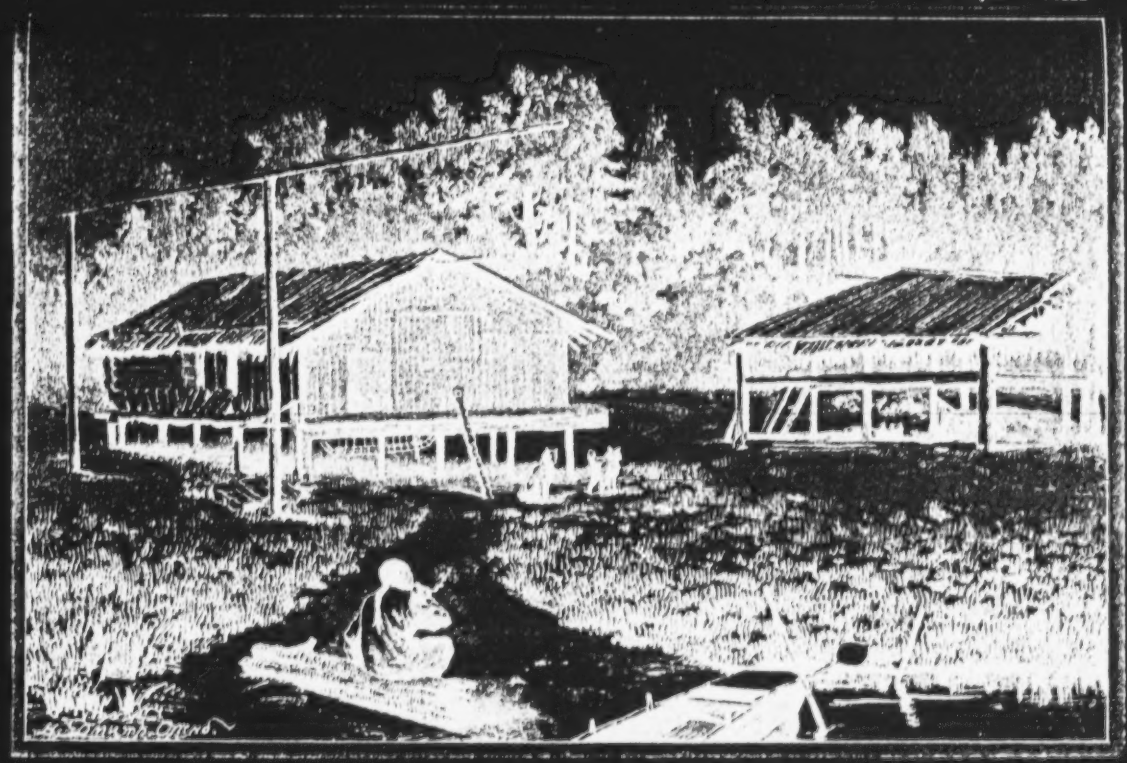
XIII

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Gilyak summer yurt.

20: Bush--90 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 462, 501

"Now and then we encountered 'lotkas,' or canoes, gliding from shore to shore, almost invariably propelled by the women, who handled the short carved paddles with a skill and grace really to be admired. They use the paddles much as we do oars, but make the strokes alternately, allowing one to trail along the side of the craft while the stroke is being made with the other. The men display equally as great skill in the management of the boat, though their duty is comparatively light, being simply to sit in the stern of the craft and guide it with a light paddle, in the mean while smoking their long-stemmed pipes with small brass bowls and enormous amber mouth-pieces."

: Schrenck--997 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Gilyak in summer clothing.

2: Schrenck--1018 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

1. Ordinary Gilyak boat. 2. Oar, and 3, steering oar, for it. 4. Boat made out of a tree trunk (Goldi, Orochi). 5. Birch-bark boat (Olcha, Goldi). 6. Birar boat made out of a tree trunk.

9: Hawes--159-160 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 396, 412, 501

and stern, which are often exactly similar, a
When dried and stretched, two or three rung
takes, under favourable circumstances, one

In the management of them, their makers
They would stand at bow and stern of our frai
its equilibrium one iota."

are short flat projections used in punting.
s keep the sides rigid. The whole process
month, but in winter two.
were as skilful as in their manufacture.
il craft, punting up stream, and not disturb

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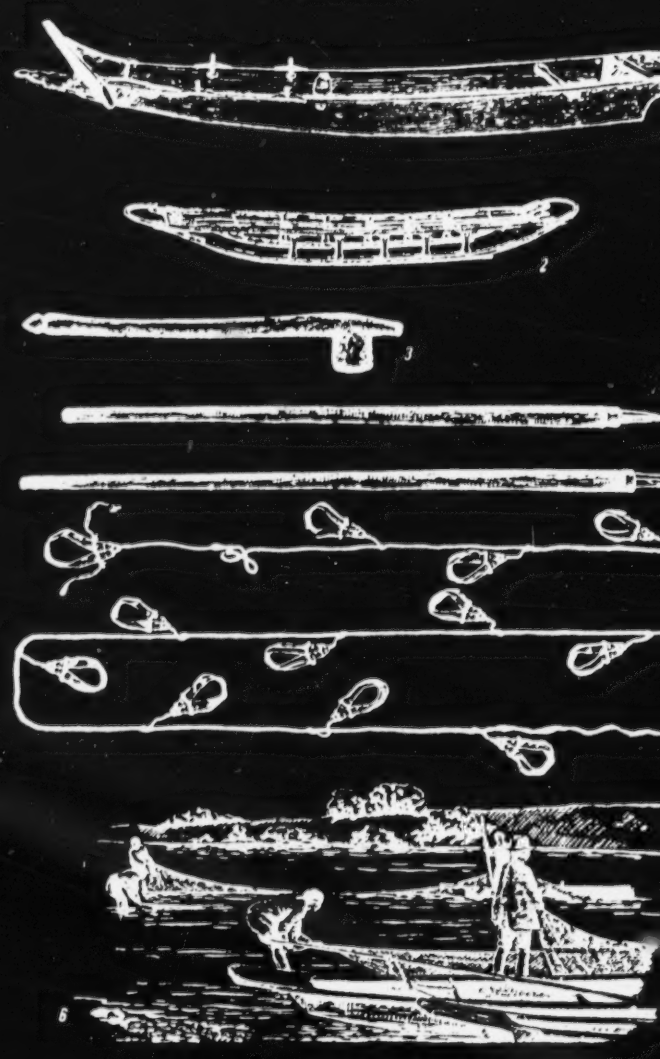
XXXIX

2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

The Nivkhi



Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for kill
seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harne
6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with
fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fi
seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another
dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. Th
became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when the

reinovich--28 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

the bow and one was at the stern. Then we went down, pushed the boat off and went. "Row, ice is there. Use more strength, we shall go more quickly." We came to the ice, we pulled the boat out onto the ice. "Throw into the sea." After throwing (the offerings) into the sea, we stalked the seals. Then one comrade, carrying a gun, went towards the seal, stalking the seal. He went stalking the seal, he fired, killed it. "Fellows, go to your comrade, bring the seal." Four went. We dragged a big seal (sivuch). We hauled it to the boat. "Skin the seal. After skinning the seal, we shall cook and eat." We skinned it, then: "Go quickly, a seal is there again. Many seals, go quickly." Three went together, going towards the seal they stalked it, they shot, the shot another one, they killed two. The pilan said: "Those in the boat, go to your comrades." Two more went to their comrades. Only the pilan was in the boat. Then dragging we hauled a seal. Three dragged one, two dragged another. "Haul it to the boat." We hauled it to the boat. The pilan said: "skin it." We skinned it next. "It is already dark. We shall cook meat and eat. We shall cook meat, eat and go to sleep." It got dark. "Let us sleep." [96] We slept and got up in the morning. When we got up in the morning it was dark, a fog. The pilan: "It is dark. How shall we go. We won't go. We shall wait on the ice. We shall dip the companion (1) we shall see if we go soon or not.

1. ʼafq-vax 'companion stone' or 'companionable stone.' In olden times the Gilyaks used to take along to sea a small stone with a string tied around it. Using this stone the Gilyaks measured the depth of the sea, determining in this way the distance from the shore. Sometimes they take a stone of this type along with them even today.

We shall dip the big companion and we shall see." When we dipped our companion: "We won't go soon. We will wait till dawn." When we were staying it was dark. Then it dawned a bit. Then the pilan: "When it dawns we will go." We lighted a fire, put up the kettle and ate. We ate and when we finished the mountain could be seen. "When it is quite light we will go. It dawned, the whole mountain could be seen. "It is far. That is bad. We will go toward the land." We went. While we were travelling it got dark, we kept on going during the night. While we were travelling at night, it began to dawn. When it dawned

9: Hawes--178 T-3 (1901) 1
116, 502

"Our method of propulsion was altered thi
rapids, and were now on a full flowing riv
in the flat bulging part below the haft, wer
A minute or two sufficed to make rowlock
bound to the gunwale with seal thongs. Va
sculling) with them one after the other, wh
stern."

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

903 Gilyak

s morning. We had got beyond the region of
er. A pair of native sculls, with a hole bored
e brought to light from the bottom of the boat.
s, from forked branches cut and trimmed and
nka used these sculls at the bow, rowing (not
hile Armunka steered with a paddle in the

9: Hawes--251-252 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 411, 501, 574

"I was just in time [252] to take a snapshot of a family leaving in their canoe to make an afternoon call, in other words, to borrow some seal-oil and take a cup of (brick) tea. [LSS: See Visual File category 501] On the gunwale of the canoe will be noticed what appears to be an outrigger, but is really a Y-piece for resting the seal harpoon in. This cham-gash, which is the name the Gilyaks give the harpoon, is used on the ice or manipulated from a canoe."

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy accounted for most of the deaths among the older people, but four died from accident, of whom one was frozen, another drowned, one already mentioned hanged herself, and another was beaten to death by her husband."

"Our craft was about twenty-five feet
and though easily capsized a racing c
of these 'dug-outs' in course of maki
and cut down. This, and all the other
natives obtain either by bartering ski
payment for boat made over to a gang
placed a tzakh—that is, a twig with w
Ainus call an Inao. This, like the cro
of building by the Russians, is to kee
haunt the forest, and especially the s
little hewing and trimming suffices o
opposite p. 252. The hollowing proce
the circumference of the log is cut in
forming the outer surface of the boat
of about an inch, a cross-section wil
ence of a circle. The sides or lips of
outwards, by means of sticks placed
vertical, and the final form of a cros

All the work is performed with a c
Orotchon tribe a primitive plane. A t

long and two and a half broad, light, keel-less;
raft in speed. More than once I came across one
ng. A suitable tree near the river edge is chosen,
work on it, is done by means of an axe, which the
ns with the Russians, or, as at Pogobi, in part
of brodyagi. On [160] the stump of the tree left is
hittled shavings adhering to the top such as the
ss (才) stuck in the ground beside a house in course
p away the evil spirits, the daimones, which here
wampy regions. The bark is chipped off, and very
n the outside, as will be seen from the illustration
ss follows, and about one-third or one-fourth of
to, the remaining two-thirds or three-quarters
. When duly hollowed to a thickness at the gunwale
l thus give about three-quarters of the circumfer-
the boat leaning to each other are then stretched
crosswise inside, so that the sides may become
s-section of the boat be that of the letter U.
ouple of hatchets, though I once saw among the
hin rim is affixed to the gunwale, and at the bow

heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

VII. Transportation Methods, Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

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ing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at th
fingers of the little children.

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During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches of the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose; he has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely in this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me: "If the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunte are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsib

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

[81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋ́ativd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-pid, the fourth - mayerq -pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth lele ma -pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats wit six and even seven pairs of oars.

Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋ́ativd, is occupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At th next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the posit at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ oft turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and si at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyal pilaŋ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the sea At the same time Gilak st tended the rudder which the pilaŋ had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had kill by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person

drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and run. In this connection I wish to note that in the valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the ti - ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and young hunters must not taste this mos.

It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of 80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul here are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

the boat, just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the zayezdka.

When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects hunters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan Tf-nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo-afi , [illegible]t from clan [illegible]a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from clan Tf-nu-.

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

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The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:

1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be, to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra-), harpoons shafts (ve-l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila.

3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs mu-zi-d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

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291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
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492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
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512

512 DAILY ROUTINE--succession of activities throughout a typical day; time of arising and retiring; hours of work and relaxation; daily chores; longer rhyth (e.g., weekly, monthly); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities. 221
Mealtimes 264
Housecleaning 356
Distribution of labor and leisure 461
Holidays 527

116, 164, 165, 511, 731

"The older Gilyaks say that during th
famine had occurred before the Russia
there have been many repetitions. In th
1897, there were successive bad times
be given to the natives by the authoritie
tion of the usual stores of dried fish, a
worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in wh
during that year. So terrible was the st
every hut,' and in the hope of stemmin
famine, he took upon himself the respo
most cases it was already too late, and
[275] condition of the huts, and the acc
the ravages of disease and the exposur

Such a state of things presses hardly
of mortality among them. There being
tion, we can only gather from tradition
statistics of recent years, the gradual

The figures already quoted show, fo
tween Arkovo and Cape Maria on the w

eir time, and their fathers' before them, but one
ns came, about eighty years ago, but since then
e winter and early spring of 1896, and again of
, and around Rikovsk special assistance had to
s. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumula-
nd was followed by another very bad winter. The
ose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim
tate of things that he found 'one or more dying in
g the tide of disease following on the ravages of
nsibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in
l large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy
umulations of winter, aggravated the effects of
e to the severities of the climate.
on the children, and accounts for the high rate
no statistics of the early years of Russian occupa-
and the shrinking of villages and from isolated
diminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.
r the population of the Gilyak villages lying be-
est coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

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782 of the pilaŋ t
372 light a camp
476 he has to use

4. To tend
225 floes. Young
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502 "If the pilaŋ
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nty seals and missed two. We do not wish to
e whole collective of hunters only one person
eals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 mu-ziγ̊d on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziγ̊d on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.
782 Aside from mu-ziγ̊d, t̊aj is performed on the boat. T̊aj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ɜks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these t̊aj elsewhere.
782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the
outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks
with the branches so as to elvlaf-pɜk-ɜzd --"lose bad places
(evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the
sea and are off.
225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
ous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and
quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in
the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
resentation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines t̊aj. They
will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.
When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its
outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the
hunters left the shore for home.
225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Uiγ-krɜ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

eland--19 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has aught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a torm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, hey are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes hem to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overurns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed n straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since nost of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes t happens not infrequently that someone perishes.

During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occaionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Vinter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of nedium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short tump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in eneral resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to ix years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in riving they often become so and try to attack everything that omes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak sually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they ill not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that ander around the Russian villages have particularly good easons to be afraid of these hunters.

The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the led (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

arrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a nob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak traddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the icks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the ight direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap nd two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are lung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a oop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog arnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are nore like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, nd a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have lso modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

133 was in motion and evidently came from a descending steamboat. On another occasion we missed in these channels a boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while General Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by a courier who was bringing him important despatches.

502 The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, and relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the delineated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are not navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable for descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is far more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not frequent.

609 The peasants always came to the bank where we stopped,
291 no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wood at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thirty gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughing, smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of the fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them into strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow. Of the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack coats of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others Tartar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, black beards, and smooth faces were played upon by the dancing flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and held shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

133 A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. The mountains on the south bank receded from the river and were more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowland covered with forest intervened between the mountains and the shore. On the north the general character of the country remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top and sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its summit. It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Monument, and rising from the highest point of the mountain; it appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a work of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half way down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttresses

50

504 PORT FACILITIES--boathouses; piers and docks; ing, and unloading; storage facilities; supply ser fueling stations); facilities for repair and overha

See also:

Construction	33	Warehousing
Ship repairs	396	Trucking
Cranes	406	Rail terminal
Weight moving	483	

4

; facilities for mooring, load-
vices (e.g., ship chandlers,
ul; use of natural harbors; etc.

. 488
. 494
ls 498

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
135 491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

114 36 103

2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

511

511 STANDARD OF LIVING--ideal standards and actual levels of quantity a
quality in regard to shelter, clothing, food, and other consumers' good
tent to which actual levels fall below the minimal requirements for nor
healthy living; results of statistical studies (e.g., of family budgets);
standards of indulgence and luxuries in excess of minimal biological re
ments; etc. See also:

Health and welfare	74	Leisure-time activities	
Nutrition	146	Gradations in wealth	
Population policy	168	Social classes	
Diet	262	Ownership of dwelling	
Housing	362	Taxation	
Prevalence of home ownership and tenancy	427	Poverty	
Income and purchasing power	434	Educational statistics	
Wages and salaries	466		

GO

02

heir number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
uite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
ther hand, there were far fewer villages.

Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunter
nly now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, i
ase there is among them a scarcity of food--something whi
appens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
our for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with thei
rimary occupations they spend their summers on the river
anks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
hrough the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
hey have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
hink such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
ives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobse
ound Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
onsisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
inter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
rick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
alls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand
he traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
hole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
istance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
f the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
ituated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
erhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
illages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
hole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak wer
orced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
iver in summer because of the partically marshy and there
ore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
ot a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
entioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
nder-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
wellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
ffer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
or with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
ct with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
n short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addit
he atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
he presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
or drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
scape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
n the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

/174 cont./

(174) to claim where a distinction is made between the wives of younger and of older "brothers," the right was formulated for the still more boldly. "among classmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ("good"), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his younger is adventitiously exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before *the eyes of the individuals' husbands* of the woman and, as far as possible, not publicly. Under the Gilyak social conditions, of course, is peremptory — he can demand from his wife fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that the latter bear him through *Ї*/*Ї* any children of his offspring. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that he bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless [illegible] of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group (relatives) in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouse type has a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the house), to exercise their right, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the river catching fish, or he is away hunting for sea beasts at a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor [illegible] of all only enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular pastime for this or that group [illegible], but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/179 cont./

(179) The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, consists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided by the Gilyak in the following: in the spring and in the fall in the rivers in bloom at certain seasons on which the existence of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially [illegible]-nyo and [illegible]-nyo (latinus lagocephalus and [illegible]), and in winter along the seacoast the [illegible] fish (Gadus [illegible]), which, however, on account of its insignificant fat behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (?),

2. See p. 666.

so-called [illegible] in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head and backbone with a little flesh attached to it. (In Only if there is no

[illegible] the seacoast is the Amur region and throughout Siberia in general, the dogs are fed with [illegible], that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it is available in the [illegible] intended for the people used as dog food. Next to this, we add any little whole meat, and along the seacoast we add [illegible] the meat and blubber of minded whales, serves the same purpose—with the exception of the latter, which is not distributed among the people, but is brought home, according to Gilyak superstition, *[illegible]* food is never given to the dogs in the raw state, as the Russian do, but rather cooked in a group. Also, the feeding does not take place outside, but always in the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In the [illegible] the table found in the center or in a corner Gilyak [illegible] (1) is used for this purpose, in the *yurat*, the platform of the

1. See pp. 438, 462, 546 above.

hearth. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned materials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is always one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a couple of

/180 cont./

(180) long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs lying outside and held by straps or chains are untied. As soon as this is done, the dogs, without waiting for the women to leave the yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the [illegible] or on the hearth platform of the younger women, while the women, with the help of large ladles (3), have filled several

2: See p. 683 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, frothing and steaming in the kettle, and now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo the other and to snatch something for himself, fairly loud shouts and fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are stilled by the blows of the whips and by the shouts of the women, who are women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leather or chains. Plate XIII *(see p. 390)* illustrates the feeding of the dogs in one of the large, or far-reaching, seacoast settlements. In the dark yurt yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are separated from the hearth platform by a narrow passage, there is no place also to come to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold steaming in over the floor through the open door and the women and the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly resemble a peaceful idyll in the family circle. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager. For instance, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little [illegible], reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, and every other day, or even every third day, they receive, in the place of the soup, a piece of fish with as least as much [illegible] about sometime they do not receive a village at which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some [illegible] or no twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

13. Sonland—41 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the part of the Gilyak to construct himself and his family. It is only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, [illegible] the men are fishing, the women are drying the fish. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up very late. In the winter, on the other hand, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and for the rest they do not care about it. Such people change often wanders as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to work and to remain with the Gilyak. The Russian Gilyak lazy monstrosities who have to be fed and clothed. Sometimes they are hauling in order to [illegible] themselves, but, on the other hand, they are [illegible] to do not let themselves be enticed into the taiga or the gold-seekers. They are [illegible] and are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never [illegible] in a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor does not become incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of the Russian debtor prison, and, perhaps, it is also [illegible] the case to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold steaming in over the floor through the open door and the women and the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly resemble a peaceful idyll in the family circle. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager. For instance, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little [illegible], reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, and every other day, or even every third day, they receive, in the place of the soup, a piece of fish with as least as much [illegible] about sometime they do not receive a village at which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some [illegible] or no twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

513 SLEEPING—hours of sleeping, postures in sleeping, segregation in sleeping (e.g., by age, by sex), bedding, ideas about sleep and sleepiness; naps and siestas, etc. See above.

Dals	21	Sexual intercourse	225
Gilyak (Amur region)	22	Sleeping habits of Gilyak	227
Description of bridge and dance	223		

/202 cont./

section 2, "Ethnographic, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Schrenck gesammelt. Materiale bearbeitet." Schrenck himself gives his opinion on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Schrenck and worked up by F. Miller,/" Sonna, 1856, p. 138. In the last-mentioned work the bedding by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Gilyak.

Finally, the fact that the bented sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and by the Amur-Gilyak, and, perhaps, in the same way as by the Chinese also /202/ argues in favor of the Chinese influence. According to Schrenck, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wamljiet's translation of U-tschun's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. See, also, the illustration of the Amur region, too. I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious reverence, whereas in the earth yurt, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "[illegible], which means the same as "Misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume the position on the kang and to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

/203 cont./

(203) sometimes unghyr-uilkch (near men) and sometimes unghyr-mifuilkch (near-earth men), were of especially gigantic stature, the shaman said, and lived in the sea. The spirit of the earth-men, however, could have in the form of a bear, the spirit of the sea-men, followed, but unfortunately I was unable to follow it in its fantastic and confused details.

(108) At the moment, however, we glance away from the shamans, their arts, conjuring the spirits, dances, and songs, to which a later section of this work will be devoted, and still dwell on the phenomena of the everyday social life of the Gilyak, a few remarks concerning their armaments, songs, music, dances, and general recreations.

(533) The minds of the Gilyak are turned too much toward more practical purposes, such as, for example, hunting, fishing, trade, and profit, for them to devote themselves much, or often to singing. In particular they are not accustomed to spend the time of festivals or at other occasional gatherings for the purpose of amusing or pleasing themselves and others. Only when the Gilyak knows that he is alone and unobserved, and that he is in the mood for harmonizing him, does a melancholy mood come over him as he is sitting, for instance, beside the fire, and he sings the silent form of sighing. He sits or lies in a light boat with the wind still and without the stroke of an oar — only in such and similar cases have I heard Gilyak sing. In the winter, when the Gilyak sometimes sits alone at his song come over to one sounding to monotonous and incandescently. On the other hand, he very often sings at night in order to shorten the slowly creeping, sleepless hours. Stretched out on the sleeping bench under his dog-hut coat, he begins to sing in a *low voice*, unconcerned about the repose of his neighbors and the other sleepers. When he has finished a stanza, a guttural *ay* usually comes from [illegible] or there as a sign that he has found a fellow-sufferer and his song should by all means go on. With this encouragement, a second stanza follows, then a third, etc. Sometimes it is a man, sometimes a woman, who sings, and, perhaps, by the encouraging *ay*, sometimes, when is lasted too long for me, I

the continuation of the song is replaced by a natal hi, hi (2).

2. Bychin (?)ra ma-r Sakhal. /Ksmen from Kaibalin Zap., Sibirk. Old. Geog. Gesellsch., Bk. VII, Bistrik, 1854, p. 78) relates that an aboriginal woman in the vicinity of Dalnkapaesgaia, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, the tune of which is not pronounced about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Aino called out in unison the word hi, hi, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hoppe (Tri months among the Tents of the Tunki, London, 1855, p. 187) similarly reports that the Chukchee, at sporting at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, and the Russian, and, finally, begin to express their approval with the words hahi hah, which means the same as de capo.

/203 cont./ (or mother-men, when it lasts) he long for me myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak, however, usually accompanied this diminution of the night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. In the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region (Orche, Sanger, Goldi, Ulchi) the chief of the go off

1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but which a later section of this work will be devoted, and still dwell on the phenomena of the everyday social life of the Gilyak, a few remarks concerning their armaments, songs, music, dances, and general recreations.

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/480 cont./

480 On the whole, it is surprising how often and readily the Gilyak, or Chika, etc., treasures up the words he has never spoken from the constantal singing, he abandons his bed at noon as sleep leaves his eyelids, gets up, squats in front of the hearth, stirs up the fire in it or so, or, if he makes one pipe-full smoke, etc. - But I never saw him, lay or sight, pace back and forth in the yurt, and whatever I did, which was not influenced on starry days which permitted no activity in the open, this walking back and forth, inexplicable to them, evoked general laughter, remained an unless among those present, indeed, sometimes a direct question as to the purpose of this walking.

Since I rently heard the Gilyak sing in the daytime, for the reason given above, a number of the Gilyak, I asked them, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, I all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (?) became acquainted with the Gilyak of the Amur

3. It is well known that Middendorff visited the northern river mouth of the Amur from the mouth of the Tugur and via the Dzeja (Zeya) and the Bureja (Bureya) and Dseja (Zeya) to Uri-Strelka, at the junction of the Argun (Argunya) and the Amur (see Reise nach Nordost. Sibirien, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615-616).

and Ulbeny Bays, that is to say, at their extreme northwestern boundary, to which he had come in the company of some Tuhur and Sivingui (Sevengi) the latter his acquaintance, and added to the fact that there were some accomplished singers among the inhabitant of the place, and he requested them to exhibit their art. At first they refused; then one sang for a while, but soon, perhaps because of embarrassment, he broke into laughter, whereupon all the others followed him. Now you who had to sup forward in turn. In general they sang with far more natural than the Tuhur, he general and /(?)/ usual trills also always played an important

/508 cont./

508 in the near in themselves but taken in tow by the bears and dragged up the hill. During the whole proceedings the women sighed and shuddered incessantly on their bears. A short pause followed, during which a few guests were placed in front of the bear's nose, as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two, which I had previously seen among the Goldi; and then the popular leading of the bears, never tiring the Gilyak began again and continued far into the night. For during this night immediately preceding the killing of the bears no one among the Gilyak may sleep; the men spend it alternately leading and feeding the bears, while the women prepare the foods for the feast that is to take place on the following day. Let us therefore now turn to those bears in a moment.

In a previous section (1), it has already been pointed out

1. See pp. 478 ff. above.

that the foodstuffs used in connection with the bear festival are primarily of a specially prepared kind, and differ from those of the cereals and legumes of Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin named there. The Gilyak, however, do not prepare these held shortly before the killing of the bears and, as we shall see in the following, of the sacrificial eating which, sometimes at a much later date, then takes place in the bear festival. They don't might almost say official feasts, which are held in a more or less opulent manner in all or at least most of the houses of the village where a bear festival takes place, and which sometimes are even repeated for a certain length of time, the Gilyak also eat their regular fish diet even during the bear festival; but in an irregular fashion. during the intervals between the individual bear festivals and generally in accordance with the requirements of the individuals. Considering the large number of people invited to the festival or taking part in it generally, however, the consumption of fish on the part of individuals is always very considerable, and it has amazed at the colonial quarters of Sakhalin and Nagasaki which were used. in addition to the regular /ukele/ diet of the Gilyak, in Jubo's house alone.

513 Seelend—18 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

513 beads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse woven material, and is very simple.

The bears of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. They have neither wooden cages nor wooden cages, however. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a hole, surrounded by a wall made of clay, and there this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

Gilyak bears are kept in a horizontal position and closed and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping benches, leaving only the front part of the room free for the bear. The sleeping benches are made of the Goldi and Manchu-bears have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom closed and the bear's cage is made of wood. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the bear comes from below hot steam. They also make baskets, small chairs, etc. of

Transcription Notes

There are two kinds of baskets. The regular one is usually made of ice or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, and is made of a single piece of wood, with a little handle of wooden, frequently covered the cover is made of the same material. The circumference is very simple. Not but than the bear is the bear's head, which is placed in front of the bear's head, in the entrance. Around the wide front boards are the bear, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small crossbars diagonally and perpendicular to the bear's impact in leading and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pegs. The other basket is made of birch bark and is used in the table. The bear's head is made of birch bark and painted red. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a wooden horizontal bar which is tied to the bow, and, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on lengthwise cross boards. The oars are tied to be able, even in a gale, to keep in the strike boxes and are not stuck. These boxes are made of birch bark and are fastened to a lighted in the most primitive manner, a cloth and a small bear's claw. Sometimes, in the bear, or, if there happens to be so, a pine chip is lighted.

514 In summer their bed consists of a mat, a bolster of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

/513 cont./

513 rather but her own flies. After childbirth a woman wishes herself for these days and nights, and, in the meantime, she sitting in the sun upon and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is considered unlucky to touch a woman or any other fish, but if twins were born, they are a special blessing. - When a child is born, they hang in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift him up, and, if he grasps the sticks, it is a sign that the infant's hands when he falls off, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (?).

1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks /ki'nmgdr/ (from /ka/ = rib, lack, and /ki'nmgdr/ = sticks) are probably taken to the above-mentioned ut-ch.

/514/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of sticks. Transcription Notes: Mode of use—also, as a strip (giving /ki'n/), two small bows (/ndn/) and arrows of a special shape (/ri'ndn/) and a special shape (/ri'ndn/) or /ainu/. When they are finished, they put them — /ri' kinu/ — on the bed (entirement).

While a child is growing up, his emblical cord — /kalmar/ — is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the front and hang it on a tree. /C'ikrgr chikra/ is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The /chikra/ is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

The child's movement is poured out near a fire tree (both male and female), after being cut, hair is also thrown fire (it is considered unlucky to throw it into the fire). Transcription Notes: Mode of use—the hair which carefully to see due on female blood drops on the urine or the refuse, crass heard, in the fire, which is to be sent, over a spending there is broken. This tree is called /ciki sig/, and the place is called in /mal/ — literally — "urine pouring out place."

/515 cont./

515 1. I later saw something similar among the Deur in the village of Chaunskiho. the hair was cut off in a little tuft on the top of the seven days and hung on a tree and then, quite unsymmetrically, either on the right or the left side, which gave them a very comical appearance. - The Gilyak, in contrast to the Deur, have, of course, no knowledge of the Ainu.

Also in Jonkovo.

516 Twins (?) and heard bale cut, indeed, among the Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his hair cut, he would be given the name of his relative between the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Tsuri-mandal (relative) they usually perform in the tomsyo. Gilyak girls are not betrothed; they are married. Kimkan in Kalin showed me the leads that he had removed from his wife's hair, and, in general, "what a pity" — "what a pity against expecting their bodies before strange men. I had overlaid for the relatives of the Gilyak girl, who when I was taking body measurements.

177 Transcription Notes: Mode of use—Gilyak are very fond of the Ainu, and, in the Ainu settlement, probably presented the traveller from fully and specely confessing in his report the ability of the Ainu to understand and speak Gilyak, which had befallen him among the Sonemsiar, and prompted him to wear clothes resembling those of the Ainu and to use the cosmetic allusive other that a civilized man even finds the other of the Ainu and the Gilyak, and considered the Ainu and the Gilyak, and the Ainu and the Gilyak, and the Ainu and the Gilyak, and

Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

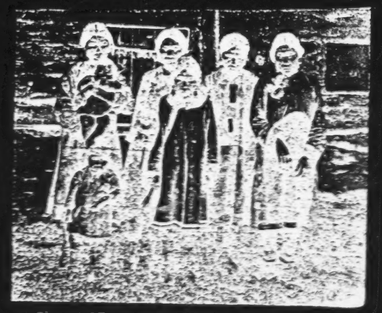

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Amur
Sakhalin

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302

Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

[516]

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

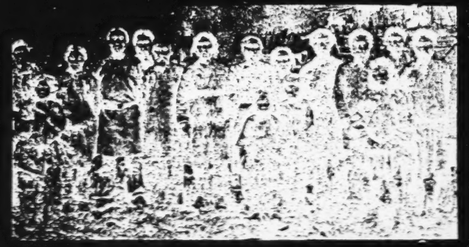

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Sakhalin

142
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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak.

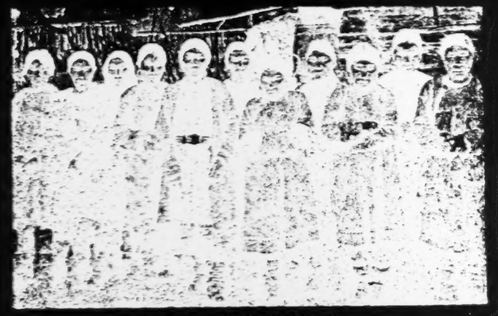

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

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354

Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

/329 cont./

342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
[352] draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
● [516] The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
342 came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
122 these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear
136 festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
[114] ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heatable sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvantage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of vermin. Under them, in inaccessible,hidden spots, along the pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see them come out from their hiding places and go about their business not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the interior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas, which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/352 cont./

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[113]

8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are
352 used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly
354 the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of
● 516 the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the
171 Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet
513
[177]

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the
[123] head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur,
[184] when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth
[177] yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

G /353 cont./
352 running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than
354 for the head. There is another justification for this custom in
513 the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his
● 516 head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats,
171 which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which al-
[136] ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over the
G face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse
[184] to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang,
[177] if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

G 342 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be deter-
171 mined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of
G Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of
[195] Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that
342 time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam-
177 chadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear
195 before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K
[113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/473 cont./

481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards
out a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet lon
five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level
for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curvin
ward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front
several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among
Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual t
ing of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Fig
and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. B
low Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and
along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form
in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sa
there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of t
front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an
tration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensab
item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside t
yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need th
for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his fe
when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can g
off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for
example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in orde
facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come
481 later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spen
484 night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serv
412 as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for
● 516
264

1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when
sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his
crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a
taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for ea

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to

> 1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom; most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.

The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the improvised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily
515 hand, larger children are seldom bat
302 consider bathing a luxury, some neve
chance, if they are caught in the rain
some, however, wash occasionally,
they buy from the Russians. They co
wooden (Chinese) comb and at the sam
and hunt for lice. They do not by any
hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years
in a cradle which stands on the floor,
three to four months old they are pla
The little trough is open at one end a
on the other end it has a hole in the b
is laid with its back against the botto
open end; it is tied down and the whol
wise. The hole serves as a conduit.
leaves the house for a longer time, s
her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer neec
276 he begins to accompany his father on
147 learns what he needs for his life. M
but all fathers do not permit this. (1

> 1. The disciples of a one-sidec
> disease might cite the Gilyak a
> amples of the harmlessness of
> race is on the average healthie
> lized man, their teeth are whit
> and yet both sexes smoke from
> Nevertheless, this would be a f
> a single given cause always has
> effect according to the mode of
> Thus, for instance, the effect o
> is very different if one smokes
> weather or sitting in a warm ro
> work. In the latter case it will
> nervous palpitation. Furtherm
> constitution with which a perso
> be taken into consideration. C
> have to live through the tests w
> endures at birth in order to be

855 The parents are tender and indulge
524 The children are kissed by their mot

y, but, on the other
hed. Adult Gilyak
r do it and leave it to
or fall in the water;
even with soap which
mb their hair with a
ne time rub it with fat
means comb their

. Tiny babies are kept
but as soon as they are
ced in a trough-like bed.
nd somewhat pointed;
ottom. The [130] child
m, its head against the
e thing is hung up slant-
When the mother
he ties this cradle to

is his mother's care,
trips and thus gradually
any children even smoke
)

l etiology of
s living ex-
tobacco;this
r than civi-
e and strong,
childhood.
alse inference:
a different
living in general.
of a strong cigar
outside in cold
oom doing head
soon lead to
ore, the organic
n is equipped must
ivilized man would
hich the Gilyak
compared with him.

nt with their children.
hers, licked with saliva,

of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.

439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

6, 515

"As soon as she entered the apartment, the G
ough in a very immodest manner, posted herse
tire herself a little more decently, neglecting,
omb her hair; but, poor thing, even what slight
as a very difficult proceeding, since either one
nployed answering the summons of innumerabl
ere, to all appearances, by no means unfelt."

ilak woman, out of deference to us,
lf upon one of the beds, and began to
, however, either to wash herself or
alterations she made in her appearanc
hand or the other was constantly
e creatures, which, though invisible,

116, 231, 515

"Near by, sitting cross-legged, Turkish-fash
haggard-looking women were sewing very indust
pausing now and then to give some directions to
what I don't know, but it sounded very harsh--up
urchins, [124] who were disputing the possession
famished, toothless dog. The latter appeared to
and obstinately refused to budge beneath the feeb
dogs were in abundance, but the crowning featur
will express it), wrinkled, withered, and toothle
skins, with long, scant locks of hair dangling wil
a pitiable object had it not been for her occupati
head of a dirty-faced girl, and disposing of them
one's appetite."

nion, upon the skins, two frowsy-headed,
riously upon filthy skin garments, only
the cook, and to launch something--
on the heads of a couple of naked little
of a deer-skin bed with an old, half-
be conscious of his rights, however,
le blows of his tormentors. Other
e of all was an old hag (no other word
ss, and clothed in the dirtiest of dirty
dly about her face. She would have been
on--that of catching vermin from the
in a manner not very conducive to

116, 276, 291, 302, 315

"They [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] wer
greasy skin garments, with naked feet and leg
that had once been braided, hung down their b
both sexes were represented) was arranged m
single braid, with the exception that no part o
two braids, or what had once been such, since
was a perfect mass of tangle, and becoming n
energetic clawing and digging of several long,

We would have experienced some little dif
which the woman had it not been for a long-st
miniature brass bowl, which the former smok
number of fine, large, freshly-caught fish."

e a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty,
s, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair,
acks in queues. That of the man (for
uch like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a
f his head was shaven. The woman wore
e her hair, as well as that of her husband,
nore so every moment through the
unwashed fingers.
ficulty in deciding which was the man and
emmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and
ed, while his fair partner carried a

5

516 POSTURES--bodily posi
leg, leaning against a su
squatting, kneeling); re
for assuming particular
not elsewhere described

Motor habits in the use of artif
Nervous habits . . . . . .
Gestures . . . . . .
Furniture . . . . . .
Gaits . . . . . .
Positions in sleeping . . . . .
Positions in elimination . . .

16

tions assumed in standing (e.g., with feet apart, on or
upport, slumping); relaxed postures (e.g., sitting,
cumbent postures (e.g., reclining on elbow); occasion
postures; ideas about correct postures; motor habits
; etc. See also:

cts 41
. 157
. 201
. 352
. 481
. 513
. 514
Dance postures 535
Dramatic postures 536
Etiquette 576
Military drill 702
Genuflection 782
Positions in sexual intercourse 833

/27 cont./

22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[516] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

III.

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

/709 cont./

*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
574 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore,
[123] as Judin told us, there are even more uftsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
• 516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
[614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal/710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal. Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

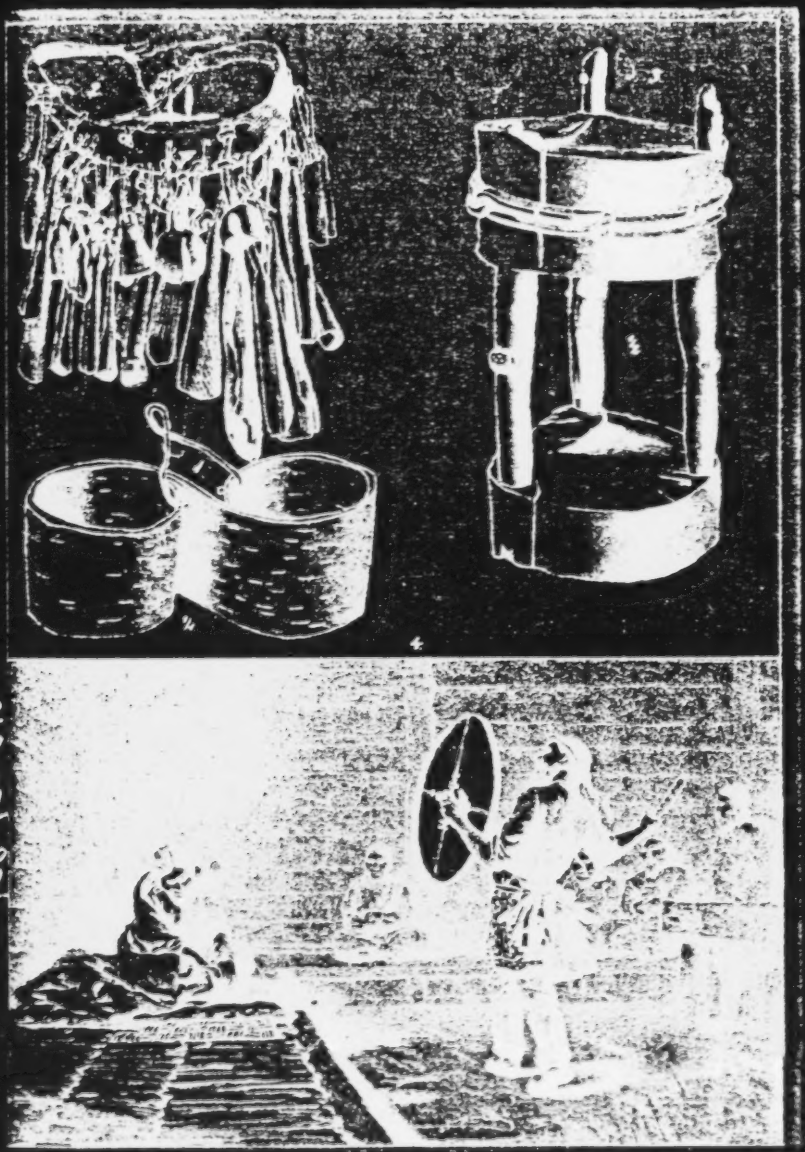
Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.
*796 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women
541 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RY2

XII

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.



1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

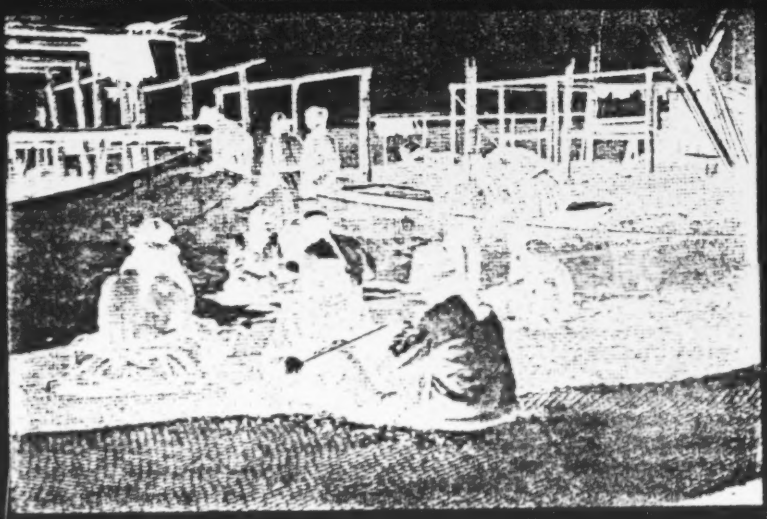
Economy and Everyday Life

The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted



Sewing together a seine.

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak summer yurt.

854
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Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off. 614 [372]

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy 614 [627]

132 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

132 The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
164 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

141 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

142 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
516 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
732 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

42 posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
16 to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
32 formities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

42 Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
02 serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

42 Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
04 also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

26 As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
16 below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

502 In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has taught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a storm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, they are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes them to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overturns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed in straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since most of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes it happens not infrequently that someone perishes.

231 During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa-
492 sionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Winter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of medium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short stump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in general resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to six years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. It cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in driving they often become so and try to attack everything that comes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak usually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they will not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that wander around the Russian villages have particularly good reasons to be afraid of these hunters.

493 The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the
516 sled (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

narrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a knob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak straddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; he braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the sticks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the right direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap and two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are slung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a loop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog harnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are more like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, and a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have also modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

116, 291, 516

"At 6 o'clock we went ashore nea
surrounded by a group similar to th
over the jagged stones on the beach
cold seemed to have no effect on the
amusing tableau as we pushed from
driftwood about six feet long, on whi
their bodies, their heads resting on
the group was an old gray-headed ma
in both sexes, to a little boy hardly
attitude of the others with the greate
to roost so many humans on a log of

r a Gilak settlement to make tea, and were soon
e one of the night before. They wandered barefoo
as though their feet were soled with iron, while th
m whatever. Some of them presented a very
shore. Near our fire was an old [105] stump of
ich six of them sat, with their feet drawn up unde
their hands, and their elbows on their knees. In
an, the patriarch of the village; and from him dov
old enough to walk, who, however, imitated the
st precision. I would not have believed it possib
that size, had I not seen it done."

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[P.076]

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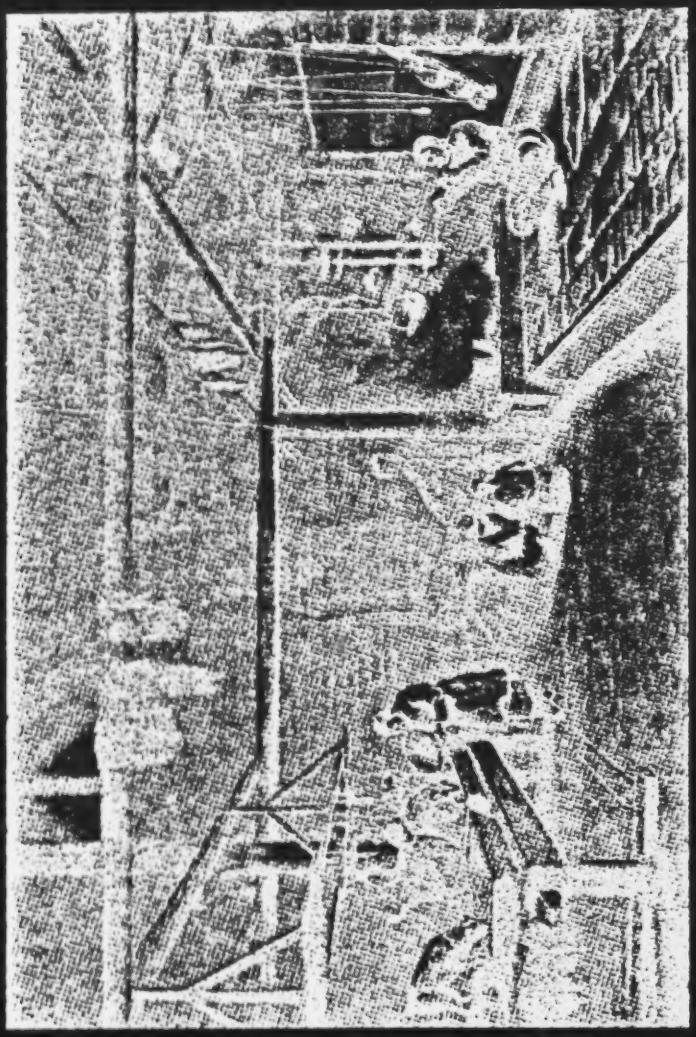

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

93 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclos
16 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the ri
can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on
a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other.
31 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are a
92 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the
command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur
(driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if
they are to turn right or left the point of the correspondin
stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "tak
"takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy"
slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals a
their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of
dog sled is very difficult work.

84 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, o
92 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of f
and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which ha
a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their
only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on th
journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm
that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to
sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not
penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled
against each other, until the raging storm subsides. Howe
at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of esca
is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. S
cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and
the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take
along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal
the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be
counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this see
utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best le
dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with th

Gilyak in summer

clothing.

517

517 LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES--standards of amusement, recreation, and artistic appreciation; distribution of leisure time between active and passive, between social and individualistic, and between culturally preferred and less preferred pursuits; esthetic ideals and principles; canons of taste; levels of appreciation and "culture"; etc. See also:

Recreation	82	Distribution of labor and leisure	461
Artistic expression	83	Social classes	565
Entertainment	84	Visiting	574
Education	87	Religious activities	78, 796

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

348 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 171 174 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he
[517] has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
• 517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammla, tammla, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
/ [592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

• 517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

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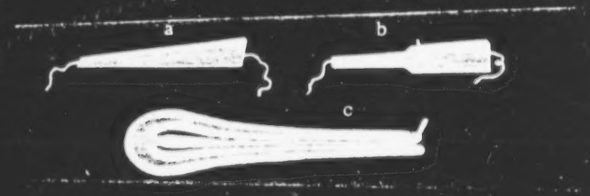


Gilyak jew's-harps.

517
533 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
534 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[824] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means
[239] of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort who entertain the others with their song.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
• 517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival, are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water. The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those places that had their own bear festival and had already consumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the mainland at this time, although they themselves are well supplied with bears.

527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they con-
tinually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
• [52] selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[67] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[84] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with religious
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[96] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
585
584

/182 cont./

* 835 their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same
197 way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari des-
ignate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's
brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa
are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all con-
sidered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs
(ibid., 19).

IV.

831 Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us,
broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the
other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak
in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women
such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations,
naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In
fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal
[837] fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women,
and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who
are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by
the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such exceptions
831 are not encountered. In the society of the most respected
• 521 individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ ad-
ventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous
experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman
(urdla n'ig:yvyn) at all. In my presence, and that of a gather-
ing of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Laruk, to the
accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter,
related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the
way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20
831 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the
sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/362 cont./

514 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak
182 to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not
abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan.
No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to
[198] his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become
completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the
Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned
to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The
Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a
yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to
three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clans-
man. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always
find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a
basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak
to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his en-
tire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual
[155] development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of
entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsi-
bility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and
sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and
children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large
yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that
compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this
must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious
character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent
354 in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening,
• 521 and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up
only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely
dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men,
the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and
music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

/362 cont./

• 514 Try entering into a conversation with anyone about their
[521] life, customs, and so forth -- the whole yurt gathers about you.
The adults listen and reply with serious interest. The children
will not tear their gaze from /363/ you. Their eyes glow with
the fire of intelligence and fascination. They answer you seriously
and conscientiously, only inspire trust in them. You will feel
yourself drawn toward these barbarians... And never, so to speak,
does life stagnate here, because each day brings some large or
small occurrence in the life of the settlement, each day brings,
finally, new guests with new subjects for conversation. In each
yurt you will find many such guests, who often stay for weeks,
and during all this time the hosts feed them and their dogs.

The Gilyak are very hospitable and love to pay visits and
entertain guests. Not only do the clansmen and kinsmen of the
wife pay visits, but also those outsiders who are simply friends.
In the yurt there often live together people of different clans, on
whom guests and clansmen from all parts of the Gilyak territory
[203] call. Imagine how much news each winter day brings. Winter
is the preferred season for visiting. This noble custom of hospi-
tality has still another good side. In a bad year, when the Gilyak
does not have enough food for either himself or his dogs and noth-
ing to buy it with, he does not have to stretch out his hands to a
benefactor; he quietly sets off to pay a visit, knowing full well
that in time his host will do the same. One encounters many guests
in the summer as well. At this time of year, too, the Gilyak
rarely lives alone in his yurt; there are always one or two families
177 of his brothers or other clansmen with him. Despite their long
subjection to the Sinicized Manchu, despite the destructive influ-
ence of the rascally population of the Amur region, the Gilyak,
morally, preserve many of the virtues of primitive tribes. But
the fate of their mode of life is irrevocably settled. One or two
more generations, and the Gilyak of the mainland will become
completely Russified and, together with the fruits of culture, will
master all its vices. One must give his due to the Gilyak: he does
not lightlyabandon his ancestral traditions, but they involuntarily
give way. At first they were indignant and perplexed, meeting

/324 cont./

412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
177 handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is
shown on Plate XXX in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time
there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat
sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered
the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form
and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like
the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to
insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this
was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among
the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these
emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks
for their quite primitive character.

As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
342 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
354 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the
• 521 carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of
snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give
the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry
into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed,
and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
[352] lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same
time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified
character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire
which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another,
all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
[206] leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adven-
tures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak
sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the
night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The
most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of
temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened,
a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the
floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway
[See Category 116, P. 1010--Analysis]

/705 cont./

* 096 hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay
23 only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of
54 another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were
racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment
of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain con-
trol of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at
which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one
failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon
the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or
three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be
dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting
astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the
hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with
* 096 cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework
54 in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and
534 requires some special knowledge, for there are various types and
modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is
given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with
them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or
alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again
on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode
of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248/). As soon as all
* 096 the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal
54 it set before them in the house by the women. The men, however, in-
231 dulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connec-
• 521 tion with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another
criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of
their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a
second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the
dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the
dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their
above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case
for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

* 096 After this interlude, the feading of the bears which had
23 been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything
was repeated as on the preceding days, for example, the large

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.
535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.
527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.
527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]
Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.
527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

522

522 HUMOR--conception of humor; sources of amusement (e.g., mishaps); types of humor (e.g., wit, puns, practical jokes); expressions of amusement (e.g., smiling, laughter); droll stories; coarse humor (e.g., anal, pornographic); humorists (e.g., wits, jesters, comedians); special elaborations of humor (e.g., comic strips); etc. See also:

Humor in the fine arts	83	Joking relationships between kinsmen	602
Humor in entertainment	54	Ridicule as a means of social control	636
Patterned expression of emotion	201	Ideas about laughing and smiling	827
Clowns	536	Obscenity and pornography	831

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders,
are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the
522 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand,
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and
sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of
their luckier companions.
796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the vil-
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts
described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his
companions, and those that came after him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He had a beam about
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

524

524 GAMES--playthings (e.g., dolls, blocks, mechanical toys); games of dexterity (e.g., string figures, tops, juggling, kite flying, billiards); problem games (e.g., riddles, charades, puzzles); games of calculation (e.g., chess, checkers, card games); special childrens' games; occasions for playing games; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; organizers and sponsors of games (e.g., cliques, clubs, churches, communities, business organizations); etc. See also:

Childhood activities	857

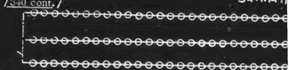
/339 cont./

VI.

Games

526 1. Ball game -- poj. The ball -- pulk -- is smaller than a
fist and is sewed over with fish skin. The players are divided into
two teams. It begins with the ball being thrown up and then hit
away with a stick in the direction of the opponents. They must
hit the ball back and must prevent the ball from flying far. If
the ball gets past the opponent, then they move farther, and after
them the other team. When the ball rolls or flies near, everyone
with a stick in his hand tries to hit it away.
524 2. Pytyzaud. A player claps his hands several times and
with the lower parts of his palms hits the lower part of his chin
twice, while his teeth click rhythmically. Then they hit their
slightly inflated cheeks with their palms, the lips emit a fortsen --
sound -- and the teeth click. Then they hit the temples, the
head, the knees.
All this is performed with such headspinning speed that it
excites both the performer and the spectator.
526 3. Ter:nund -- jumping on one foot.
4. Nastumarnd -- jumping over a belt.
5. Tigrkyr -- jumping leaning on a pole.
(524) 6. Tykyryd (the Amur tykyrydz:) -- a variety of No. 2.
7. Varnd (the Amur varndz:) -- boat racing.
524 /340/ 8. Chong-king. A long narrow board has three para-
llel rows of nests (holes) -- up to 83 -- k:aryn^{n} ychkh (see drawing).

524 /340 cont./



In one of the outside rows there is placed in each nest a "s
i.e., a vertical, round peg; also in the opposite outside r
soldier is similarly placed in each row -- a round peg, but
flattened out in its upper half in the shape /□/. They pla
with four cubes, each of whose sides has its sign and its nam
namely:

1) Chong -- a big hole in the center and four small
ones in the corners.

2) Kyr -- five holes distributed in the same manner,
but all of the same size.

3) Kor, with a sign resembling a swastika.

4) Tvyr -- a drawing resembling the Russian Ж.

5) Ton^dz:ś -- two diagonal lines which cross each
other, with holes of equal size in each of the triangles
so formed.

6) Mra -- a square with two vertical and two horizont
wavy lines mutually intersecting.

The one who begins the game throws up all four cube
in a handful and then sees whether or not the chong has com
up. Until the chong comes up, i.e., until the cube lands w
the chong side up, the player cannot make moves. Side No

52

EATION--general statements dealing with several different forms of
tion involving active participation. For those mainly involving spectator-
e 54.

177 Many Nivkhi with secon
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi att
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagog
the Institute. Among the
Dekhal' of the village of P
A. I. Herzen Institute in
[463] village of Kal'ma is toda
graphy of the USSR Acade
working today as captains
club directors.

177 The political activity o
648 have risen to leading posts
many work as instructor
474 committees.

[64] Wide educational work
ducted today by the cultur
of these was founded in 19
Tym' River in Vostochno-
the peoples of the North
Yukovo. These bases hav
schools for Nivkhi and Ev
schools.

[52] At the amateur conce
entertain, singing and per
songs are created on the
participate in regional Ol

[545] Theatre arts are also
Nivkhi, who had never se
spectators at performance
clubs were organized in
began to present plays in

[526] The Nivkhi are great l
how to swim and feared th
tically engage in water
(canoes) with a single oar

[182] The Nivkhi have also
The changed working
collectivization of their e
cation in collective-farm
different clans, and the ge
have completely destroy
remnants of clan relation
177 religious ideas, holiday
648 greatest change has occu
Nivkhi woman was timid
562 her domestic duties. S
house. When she met m
them. During the early p
to be applied toward th
attempted to study, mar
fathers, husbands and m
and discontinued their s
the ancient custom of p
near the dwelling. This
to remain under thes

dary schooling enter higher educational institu-
ended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
ical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending
students there are also women. In 1953, Liza
ad on the Amur graduated successfully from the
Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
y doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethno-
my of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are
, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and

f Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
s on collective farms and in various institutions;
rs with rayon Party committees and executive

among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is con-
al bases established on their territory. The first
28–29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the
-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of
was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of
ve libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year
venk children, and also dormitories and boarding

rts on the collective farms, both men and women
forming native and Russian dances. Frequently the
spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also
ympic games.
developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the
een a theatre before the Revolution, were merely
es organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic
the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi
their own language.
overs of sports. In former times they did not know
e water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusias-
sports. There are now special sports omorochki
, in which young men and women hold speed races.
preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.
, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the
conomy, their participation in industry, the unifi-
n villages of people who had formerly belonged to
neral rise in their cultural level—all these factors
ed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous
s which had survived until the Revolution. The old
s and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
rred in the position of women. In former times, the
and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
he could be bought and sold, or turned out of the
en, she had to cover her face and turn her back to
ost-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had
e elimination of survivals of the past. When they
y young women and girls were ridiculed by their
others. Some were unable to withstand the pressure
studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome
lacing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built
tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had
e conditions for several days without any help,

521

521 CONVERSATION--loquacity and reserve; boasting and shyness; conversational patterns (e.g., idle chatter, rambling discourse, discussion, argument); occasions and places; participants; typical subjects (e.g., weather, news, gossip, politics); privileged and unprivileged communications; etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations 57
Stylistics 196
Verbal news dissemination and rumor 203
Drinking establishments 275
Idling and loitering 461
Oratory 537
Story telling 538
Debates 544
Lying 577
Gossip and intentional silence as a means of social control 626

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
315 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
392 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden [Chinese] comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slanwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco: this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs, etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the consumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [224] Then the idols are bowed and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as chung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among
the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

525

525 GAMBLING--laying of wagers on games, athletic contests, and spectacles; betting; lotteries; special gambling devices (e.g., roulette wheels), calculation of odds (e.g., bookmakers, parimutuel machines); informal gambling; gaming houses and their operation; gambling as a method of finance (e.g., government lotteries, church bingo games, hospital sweepstakes, club slot machines); specialists (e.g., gamblers, croupiers); prevalence of and attitudes toward gambling; restrictions and regulations; etc. See also:

Dexts	426	Illicit gambling establishments	548
Speculation	456	Conception and manipulation of luck	717
Horse racing	541	and chance	717

G 524 439 171 /685 cont./

2. (cont.)
cards, the game being played with 120
cards, in use among the Goldi of Ykka.

G 524 525 171 The latter have only the expression pai, that is, gratis or free, for card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each pipe of tobacco as a rule, even more reveals it as an entirely harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese) trade a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes. Przewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, especially along the Zymu-che and Sutschan, where during the winter unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Przheval'skii, Puteshv. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 90.

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G 439 Russia. Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

1. Cf. p. 950.

526

526 ATHLETIC SPORTS--forms of exercise (e.g., hiking, swimming, skating, skiing, riding, mountain climbing, calisthenics, gymnastics); sports of pursuit (e.g., hide-and-seek, paper chases); individual contests (e.g., foot races, jumping, weight lifting, boxing, wrestling, archery, hoop and dart games, javelin throwing, trap shooting, bowling, tennis, golf); team contests (e.g., tug-of-war, boat races, lacrosse, hockey, football, baseball, basketball, polo); occasions; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; associated ideas (e.g., sportsmanship, amateur status, value of physical fitness); organizers and sponsors of sports (e.g., clubs, schools, business organizations, promoters); etc. See also:

Fishing and hunting	18	Racing and fighting with animals	541
Recreational musicians	348	Commercialized sport	542
Leisure	181	Manufacture and distribution of sporting goods	549
Aquatic life	520	Military training	702

/63 cont./

796 buda, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish,
574 "the mos'," whose method of preparation I have already described in the second chapter.

796 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder
231 or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to your master, and may your master greatly love you." Other clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even small children participate in this kindly affair. After the short
796 [562] break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and arrange themselves in fighting formation. The master of the bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festival follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign
796 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the
● 526 next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary competitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the character of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced almost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

/64 cont./

796 rapt attention, and each shot is accompanied by loud approval
● [526] or by noisy outbursts of laughter. After this preliminary shooting the crowd moves closer to the bear and stops a few steps away from it. Amidst the deep silence that prevails, the selected narkh steps forward, takes his bow in his hands, and begins to watch the bear, waiting for the time when it "will offer the good spot," i.e., will turn so that it will be easy to get right to the heart. The bear often calmly remains in his place, however, digging in the snow with its paws and caring very little about offering a good spot. In order to drive it out of its calm state and compel it to offer a good spot, and also to drive it into a rage and thereby lighten for it, in their opinion, the pain from the wound inflicted, they begin to tease it. The bear thrashes in all directions, throws itself at its tormentors in helpless anger, and stands up on its hind legs. Meanwhile the archer follows it with the most rapt attention and, seizing the right moment, finally releases his sharpened arrow. The bear at first stops perplexed, then clutches its breast with his paw, tears appear in its eyes, and blood appears from the throat out of its mouth. Sometimes it begins to thrash furiously, but most frequently it falls calmly with perplexed hurt in its eyes. Although, as a rule, death comes immediately, nevertheless, just in case, several people throw themselves on the slain animal and begin to strangle it to hasten its death and prevent it from suffering. After this they take the chain off the bear, carefully straighten out its fur, and put it in a pose of majestic calm, with outstretched front and hind paws; the head, turned to the west, rests on the front paws. In this pose it resembles a man stretched out on the ground, lost in thought, leaning on his elbows. The people seat themselves ceremoniously in two rows, some on dog sleds, some directly on the snow, others on ski, and there begins the annihilation of those cold dishes which were brought for the feeding of the bear. Having eaten, the guests gradually disperse; only the closest clansmen, who begin to skin the bear, remain. This procedure is surrounded by strict ritual: the method of cutting the meat,

/339 cont./

VI.

Games

● 526 1. Ball game -- poj. The ball -- pulk -- is smaller than a fist and is sewed over with fish skin. The players are divided into two teams. It begins with the ball being thrown up and then hit away with a stick in the direction of the opponents. They must hit the ball back and must prevent the ball from flying far. If the ball gets past the opponent, then they move farther, and after them the other team. When the ball rolls or flies near, everyone with a stick in his hand tries to hit it away.

524 2. Pytyzand. A player claps his hands several times and with the lower parts of his palms hits the lower part of his chin twice, while his teeth click rhythmically. Then they hit their slightly inflated cheeks with their palms, the lips emit a fortsen -- sound -- and the teeth click. Then they hit the temples, the head, the knees.

All this is performed with such headspinning speed that it excites both the performer and the spectator.

526 3. Ter:nund -- jumping on one foot.

4. Nastumarnd -- jumping over a belt.

5. Tigrkyr -- jumping leaning on a pole.

[524] 6. Tykyryd (the Amur tykyrydz:) -- a variety of No. 2.

7. Varnd (the Amur varndz:) -- boat racing.

524 /340/ 8. Chong-king. A long narrow board has three parallel rows of nests (holes) -- up to 83 -- k:arynⁿ ychkh (see drawing).

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
190 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
● 526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
158 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atone for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/340 cont./

524 gives the right to one move, No. 2 -- to two, etc., side No. 6 gives the right to six moves.

If the chong comes up, the king from the middle line changes place with the nearest of his soldiers; if still another chong, he changes with the next one on one move; on the remaining figures, that soldier who took the king's place in the middle line moves. Once the chong has come up, one may move the next time in any case. The king makes moves only after the first chong; then /341/ he lets the soldiers move. If a soldier makes several steps along the middle line and meets a soldier of the opposite camp, he jumps over him, but does not take him, and only if this latter stands on the destination of the other, is he taken. One must figure out with what figure to make a move to succeed in taking the opponent.

On a chong, the king, making a move, counts only the occupied places; the empty ones do not count. A king cannot be killed; if a soldier moves up to him, he lies down and waits for another move. A chong normally does not take a soldier, except in only the last two nests. A king can move only on a chong; otherwise, he moves only when he has one soldier left. The opponent is taken only when he is on a destination.

During the game one must shout what he wants: kyr, mra, etc. If a king does not have one soldier to change with, the first chong has no effect, but the next one gives the king the right to make a move; a soldier may make a move for him. Sometimes one must combine in order to jump over an opponent's soldier.

The basic rules of the game. The soldiers cross first to the middle line and then move forward into the enemy camp, but do not come back. When there are no soldiers on someone's battle line (basic), then the king may make moves like the soldiers, i.e., in any number.

In accordance with the soldiers knocked out of formation or moved to the middle line, the king has the right, on a chong, to change with his soldier, regardless of distance, but, of course, not on the middle line. At the beginning of the game the kings stand on the middle line at the ends. If a king has made backward

/341 cont./

• 524 steps, then he can be killed. The game continues even after the king is taken. If the old man moves back, then a soldier may kill him with a chong; if there are two chong in a row, then the king can come back (1).

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[115]

1. I offer a variation of the game, recorded by me from the words of the Amur Gilyak Mladzyan, student in the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad.

The one who begins to play after the chong comes up moves his soldier on the middle line of nests, in accordance with the number of moves which have come up (by the upper surfaces of the cubes), the appropriate number of rests, starting from the right. Then his partner does the same on his side, and when his soldier comes to land on the spot of a soldier of his partner, which is already standing there, he takes it.

After one of the partners has moved to the end of the battle line, he can, on future moves, cross over to the line of the enemy (his partner) and knock out his soldiers, and when he reaches the end of that line, he is considered the winner.

In spite of the fact that the above description differs from the description of the Sakhalin game of chong in Shternberg, we print it, for it may facilitate an understanding of the above-described variant of the game, although this latter differs considerably from that described by Mladzyan. S. Sh.

/644 cont./

855 case of a small boy, but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and annoying the whole procedure was for him.

In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair,
855 the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very
291 warmly. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one
• 524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by
[273] a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult, ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., except that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.
855 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children,
861 of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without anyone paying any attention to them.

524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and mimicking in their games the activities, work, and amusements of parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260 /) and only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal, for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage among the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language among them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

/645 cont./

• 524 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really
857 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to
868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not com-
[593] pletely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placin a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one anoth For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

/684 cont./

545 171 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc. whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great delight in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected [157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Part II, pp. 85, 93. With regard to the Eskimo, see above, pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 [526] Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a 128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

• 524 439 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese; I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

Goldi RX3

G /685 cont./

• 524 439 171 2. (cont.) cards, the game being played with 120 cards, in use among the Goldi of Ykka.

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3. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 90.

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1. Cf. p. 950.

2;Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 LX

778 532 751

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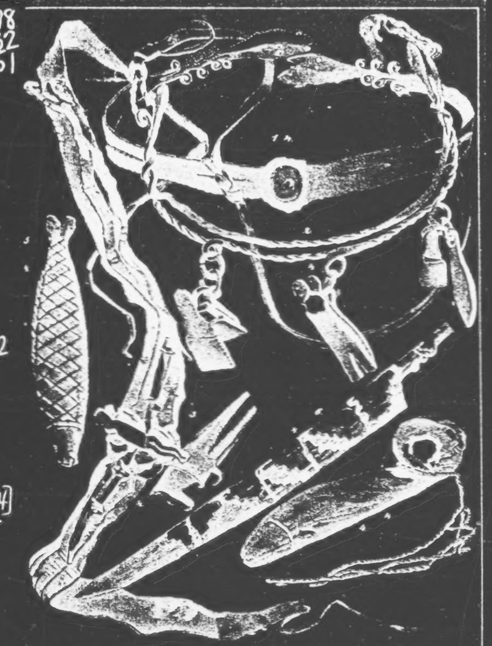
•[524]



1. Iron circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). 2. Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to prevent sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal figures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak child's toy representing a dog.

7: Kreinovich--9 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

411 called amlɔus and the sea-end is called ɔz-bax-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied ɔz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tatr-pax. Large wooden floats (vaɣ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals payt are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Lo ri, and ɔt.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvax-pər, 2. ŋayqej,
• 524 3. ɔt.
471 Lulvax-pər and ŋayreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ɔt is a small island close to which there is another such rock.

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ɔt. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are one or two laqr-pax stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (tejot ferd).

Clan Tnaunuŋ owned: 1. Mat-lo ri, 2. Tŋaqi-xra, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə-vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

9: Hawes--199 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by this functionary at this juncture, [LSS: i.e. the medicine man immediately preceding the sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête] as given me by an observer on the island.

The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, amid the deep silence of the spectators, goes close to the bear and whispers in its ear—

'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'broken' many Gilyaks:
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years, not stinting the delicious yukola (dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "summer year,"

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's memory. It is such a difficult business getting him out of his cage; and those I saw were not taken out more frequently, it was then autumn, than once a fortnight for a constitutional.

9: Hawes--174 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 252, 262, 527

"The roe [LSS: of the salmon] is regarded as a great delicacy, and was being scraped into interesting looking wooden vessels resembling a butcher's tray, which also serve to receive the blood from the slain bear at the great festival. On feast-days, such as at the beginning of the sable and seal hunts, which inaugurate a New Year (the Gilyaks having two years to our one), the roe is mixed and pounded with whortleberries, etc., and made into a much appreciated mess. The tail and head-pieces of the kita are intended for the dogs and the bear, and the former came in for a few bits of fresh fish as perquisites while the operations were going on before us, though for the most part they feed themselves in summer."

9: Hawes--199 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

'And three "winter years" you have lived in a nice warm lodging;
'He, your host, will not kill you:
'Therefore you must not complain about him to the great lord of the mountains.' "

9: Hawes--195-196 T-3 (1901) I
116, 231, 527, 796

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd
cage. In front hung a birch-bark basket,
[LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh
dried fish, and holding it before a hole i
his great paw out to grasp the fish, the
mal, having already attained his majori
in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably origina
a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar,
winter. The proceedings are unique and
tured young, and fed up until he attains
following January. Invitations are then s
habitants, however, need no such annou
coming event. On the morning before th
guests arrive in great numbers, their s
from all parts of the snow-mantled fore
description of the bear fête.]"

of yelping dogs, we were attracted by the bear
as seen in the illustration (opposite p. 196),
water for Bruin. His owner fetched a piece of
n the cage, the bear, who was of full size, th
while I snapped him with my camera. This ani
ty, was due to play the chief rôle at a festival

ted as a purely religious festival, has become
the great break in the monotony of the long
interesting. [196] The animal having been ca
the age of four, a fête is decided upon for the
sent round to neighbouring villages, whose in-
ncement, for they are already well aware of t
e fête the village presents a busy scene as the
ledges, drawn by teams of dogs, dashing up
st. [LSS: See category 527, pp. 196ff. for a fu

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
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/684 cont./

545 171 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc. whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great delight in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected [157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Part II, pp. 85, 93. With regard to the Eskimo, see above, pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind 527 [526] as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, 128 devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

524 439 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese; I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

/699 cont./

*796 After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the [123] Nikolayev post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festi- [114] val. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to [178] the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd *796 of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young 526 men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, [504] in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

/700 cont./

*796 to some of our French rounds: the players joined hands, forming 526 a circle; the circle moved around rapidly until it broke at one point, and a single row was made out of the circle. As soon as this happened, the first man passed under the raised arms of the last two members at the other end of the row, pulling the whole row after him, and making it necessary for the last man to turn himself around himself. If he succeeded in doing this and thus became the first man, he did what the first one had done, and so it alternated on and on, until the clumsiness of one of the leaders or a slip and fall by a member of the chain caused the whole row to break up, which happened not infrequently in the slippery, unevenly packed snow in front of the house and was always accompanied by the resounding laughter of all the bystanders. Close by another circle made up of young boys romped about and imitated exactly everything relating to the adults (see Plate XI /p. 991/). Many women, girls, and small children of the village had gathered around both circles and at every opportunity expressed their approval by wildly shouting in unison and by stamping and loudly beating on their furs and robes.

*796 After the game had come to an end, Judin approached us 231 and urged us to enter the house, /701/ into which the whole crowd from outside followed us. The dogs' table had been removed and in its place were three bears who were tied to the two central posts of the yurt and to the supports on either side of the absent dogs'-table top, for the latter alone would not have offered enough resistance. The bear wears a stout leather band around its neck and a second on its back connected with the first around its body directly behind the front legs, which serves to keep the neck-band from slipping over the head of the animal. The space otherwise taken up by the dogs' table is rather small for three bears, especially since the animals cannot be put too close together, so the chains running from the neck-band, which are extended by a long rope on either side, are drawn quite taut, but always so that the animals can lie down, get up again, and move somewhat to the side. This greatly restricts the free

/701 cont./

*796 traffic within the yurt, for now with every step one has to stay 231 close to the edge of the sleeping benches in order not to be unexpectedly seized by the paw of a bear.

Only two of the bears, a very large animal of the female sex and a considerably smaller, yet fully grown, seven-year-old male bear, belonged to Judin, who had bought them in the villages of Tschilwi and Aure, inhabited entirely and half by Olcha, respectively; the third and likewise male bear of medium size came from Kalm and was the property of another Tebach Gilyak. As in size, the animals also differed in coloring: the small bear was light brown, the large one dark brown, and the medium-sized one almost black. Moreover, the large bear differed from the other two in that it had a whitish-gray band on the lower part of its neck, but not enough to be called a collared bear (Gilyak molk) by the Gilyak, which happens only if the white is quite pure and extends over a large part of the throat. Finally, the three bears also differed in their behavior, especially in the way they defended themselves, as we shall presently see.

*796 Immediately after we, followed by the throng, had taken 526 seats on one of the sleeping benches, another game was begun [171] here, despite the limited space, the one that I described above in discussing the Goldi games and which consists of jumping over a rope swung by two persons. The Gilyak called it tyk-tyk (1).

[192] 1. Tyk means cord.

and the activity that goes with it, tykyrtsch. But it did not last long and was not performed nearly as skillfully as by the Goldi. Nevertheless it is part of the entertainment program during a bear festival and, judging by the noise, shouting, and laughter of the onlookers, found hearty approval. I did not see it performed by the Gilyak at other times, and the fact that it took place in the limited space of the house and not outside, where, in the moonlit night, it would have been much better and more comfortable for the fur-clad players as well as for the spectators, and the brief duration of the game, /702/ almost permit one to conclude that

'[LSS: Before the bear fête] Great preparations of food have been made for days past. e huts are crowded, and hospitality is freely dispensed. At the same time the owner the bear and his nei ghbours will be gainers by the feast, for luxuries such as tobacco, e, vodka, etc., are on sale, and will bring in a goodly profit. The staple article of st is of course yukola, or dried fish, but a variety of dishes is concocted by the yak housewife, with this as a base. Dried and frozen hard, it is grated to fine powder l mixed with seal-oil and whortleberries; and when you add to these three ingredients e, salmon-roe, and roots, the possible combination of messes are many, and the ults to the Gilyak highly palatable. The roots in most common use are pu-chi and pis ecies of wild rhubarb, I believe). [LSS: Erratum; this should read Heracleum batum and Laminaria esculenta] These are in demand for flavouring their stew of r's, deer's or seal's flesh; while a lily, which they name kashk, is eaten generally h fish-roe. At special feasts and near Russian settlements, the guests may be regaled h potatoes, in which case they are doled out sparingly, and not a particle of them or ir skins must be wasted."

"The day before the feast a rehearsal is held. Several men of the village go with the owner to the cage and proceed to lift off one or two of the roofing logs. Inserting a thong in the form of a loop at the end of a stick, they skilfully slip this over the head of the bear, and then over a paw and shoulder to prevent strangling him when the strap is tightened. To this loop are attached other thongs, [197] and the men can now proceed to unroof further and haul him out. In the case of the bigger bears the hauling is generally unnecessary, for he emerges too readily with a snarl and a growl; and the one thing desirable now is to pull all the thongs taut, to prevent him attacking one or other of his captors. Methods differ slightly in different parts of the island; but in this case the reader will see by the illustration [LSS: See Visual File] that native-made ropes of grass were looped over his paws; and to prevent his doing harm these ropes were carried under a pole placed between his fore-and hing-legs, and projecting on each side of him, on which several men stood. Held thus it was impossible for him to move his paws, and now the Gilyaks could proceed to muzzle him. Taking a piece of stick with a rope attached they teased him until he took it in his mouth, whereupon his muzzle was quickly and tightly bound to this 'bit.' To complete his toilet, in place of the leather band round his neck and shoulder, a seal-skin collar with two short lengths of chain was slipped over his neck. To the ends of the chains were attached thongs, which served for him to be led about by.

The animal was then taken for a short walk to test his new 'dress,' and afterwards

tied up and eventually put back again in the cage.
quickly described, but the actual process takes a
ready for evacuating the cage occupying half an h

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
282 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[550] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

492 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

499 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[191] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

179 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled,
492 its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

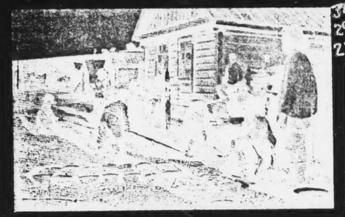
492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
179 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
501 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ulchi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
342 ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
175 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
[354] built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[358] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2



342
291
231

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care 771
of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky 776
people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 714
kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 253
festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was 869
connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526] shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et ceters were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764
Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1963, Lisa Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
[463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
177 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
648 many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
474 committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is con-
[64] ducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the
[545] Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

[182] The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
634 Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
562 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

9: Hawes--200 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 526, 527

"[LSS: During the bear fete] The youths competed in archery, wrestling, and running, while primitive musical instruments were brought forth and songs were sung, telling of the exploits of heroes of the hunt. A favourite game with them is a game of ball. The aim is to keep it bounding in the air without its touching the ground. Only the hands may be used. The ball is made from the fungus of a tree."

3 Gilyak-2

Thus ended the rehearsal. It is
long time, the getting of the animal
our."

9: Hawes--197-198 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 535

"The following day [LSS: The day after the rehearsal for the bear fete; see category 527, pp. 196-197.] the same performance was gone through, and the animal led to the hut of his owner and around it three times. Each time that he passed the door the master poked him with a tzakh, or twig adorned with shavings, and broke it with the force of the thrust. This circumambulation was done to the strains of a unique band. Three or four young women, keeping time, beat with sticks on a log supported on short uprights. This highly varied 'musical' performance was accompanied by [198] dancing. Although the 'artiste' in this case was the oldest woman of the village, the display was far more interesting than the ritualistic dancing which the traveller in the East meets with generally, such for instance as that of young girls in the sacred temple of Nara in Japan.

First of all the old lady, dressed in seal-skins, stamped down the deep snow, and formed a little level square plat. Then taking two pieces of evergreens she threw herself into queer postures, using the branches as fans. Her movements were not rapid, but occasionally, and all unwittingly, she overstepped the limit of the plat and fell floundering in the deep snow, to the amusement of band and spectators too; but this in no way disconcerted her, for she came up laughing to renew the performance."

9: Hawes--198 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 825

"[LSS: During the bear fête] The bear was then paraded down an avenue of tzakhs stuck in the ground, to the place of execution. On the mainland there is much more merciless teasing of the animal than on Sakhalin. On the banks of the Amur the poor brute is dragged round for three days, and visits each hut in turn, where he is tied up and poked and teased, not always without danger to his tormentors. The smallness of the Sakhalin dwellings prevent such exhibitions on the part of the bear. While the poor animal was left tied up to ruminate over his position, the natives went off to feast; but first they took of their luxuries, rice, whortleberries, etc., and fed their victim until he could eat no more. This is a characteristic trait of their attitude towards Bruin. They were about to kill him, yet they fêted him. It was an attitude of apology. They realized that their conduct must appear ambiguous to him, and therefore, though he had to die at their hands, yet they would do all that they could to retain his good-will. Therefore they feast him loyally with all manner of dainties before he meets his fate at their hands."

posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and deformities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies, also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers; and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

527

527 REST DAYS AND HOLIDAYS--days reserved for rest from labor; conceptualization (e.g., as harvest celebrations, as patriotic or commemorative occasions, as reserved by religious taboos); secular festivals (e.g., harvest, housewarming, patriotic); birthdays and anniversaries; holiday activities (e.g., feasting, drinking, visiting, games, pageants); etc. For ceremonies associated with specific economic activities see elsewhere under specialized categories (e.g., agricultural ceremonies, see 24). See also:

Potlatches	431	Feasting	574
Distribution of labor and leisure	461	Victory celebrations	727
Leisure time activities	517	Taboos	784
Pageants	541	Religious festivals	796

/684 cont./

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[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

9: Hawes--200 T-3
116, 527, 756, 782

"At the end of this adjuration t
pine-twig over the bear's head.
forward, and at a couple of yards
the bow. The animal, however,
he turned round, when the archer
but simply tried to rub the arrow
round as if nothing had happened.
and the animal, still making no s
this time merely hit the collar.
vent, the poor beast sank down a
with sticks and lifted up the paws
ground three times.

When the cham is present, he
the pieces to the most honoured
the sacrificed beast will be assu

The skin having been quickly s
cauldrons were soon steaming w
roots, roe, seal-oil, etc., were
sat in groups, the women waited

he cham moves a little to one side, still holding the
At this point the accounts agree. An archer now came
s or so from the bear fitted his iron-tipped arrow to
would not expose his heart, and had to be teased until
r let fly. Strangely enough poor Bruin emitted no sour
y out with his paw, and failing to do so, sat looking
. The arrow had missed the heart, but pierced the lur
sign of pain, only coughed. Another arrow was shot, b
The first was then pulled out, and the blood now findir
nd died. When quite dead, the women came forward
s, and the carcase was dragged round the execution-

first cuts out the heart of the bear, and dividing it, gi
members present. To these partakers of the heart of
red successful hunts during the whole of the season.
stripped in this case, the carcase was cut up and the
ith bear stew. All the delicacies of dried fish, rice,
brought forth, and the feasting again began. The me
upon them and then took part in the feast."

Hawes--196 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 262, 527

"[LSS: Before the bear fête] Great preparat
he huts are crowded, and hospitality is freel
the bear and his nei ghbours will be gainers
ce, vodka, etc., are on sale, and will bring
ast is of course yukola, or dried fish, but a
ilyak housewife, with this as a base. Dried a
nd mixed with seal-oil and whortleberries; a
ce, salmon-roe, and roots, the possible con
esults to the Gilyak highly palatable. The roo
pecies of wild rhubarb, I believe). [LSS: Er
rbatum and Laminaria esculenta] These ar
ear's, deer's or seal's flesh; while a lily, w
ith fish-roe. At special feasts and near Russ
ith potatoes, in which case they are doled ou
eir skins must be wasted."

ions of food have been made for days past.
y dispensed. At the same time the owner
s by the feast, for luxuries such as tobacco,
in a goodly profit. The staple article of
variety of dishes is concocted by the
and frozen hard, it is grated to fine powder
nd when you add to these three ingredients
nbination of messes are many, and the
ots in most common use are pu-chi and pis
ratum; this should read Heracleum
e in demand for flavouring their stew of
hich they name kashk, is eaten generally
sian settlements, the guests may be regaled
t sparingly, and not a particle of them or

116, 231, 527

"The day before the feast a rehearsal is h
owner to the cage and proceed to lift off one
in the form of a loop at the end of a stick, th
bear, and then over a paw and shoulder to p
tightened. To this loop are attached other th
unroof further and haul him out. In the case
unnecessary, for he emerges too readily wi
desirable now is to pull all the thongs taut,
captors. Methods differ slightly in different
reader will see by the illustration [LSS: See
were looped over his paws; and to prevent h
a pole placed between his fore-and hing-legs
which several men stood. Held thus it was i
now the Gilyaks could proceed to muzzle hin
they teased him until he took it in his mouth
tightly bound to this 'bit.' To complete his t
neck and shoulder, a seal-skin collar with t
his neck. To the ends of the chains were att
led about by.

The animal was then taken for a short wal

eld. Several men of the village go with the
or two of the roofing logs. Inserting a thong
ney skilfully slip this over the head of the
revent strangling him when the strap is
ongs, [197] and the men can now proceed to
of the bigger bears the hauling is generally
th a snarl and a growl; and the one thing
to prevent him attacking one or other of his
parts of the island; but in this case the
Visual File] that native-made ropes of grass
is doing harm these ropes were carried under
s, and projecting on each side of him, on
mpossible for him to move his paws, and
n. Taking a piece of stick with a rope attached
, whereupon his muzzle was quickly and
oilet, in place of the leather band round his
wo short lengths of chain was slipped over
ached thongs, which served for him to be

k to test his new 'dress,' and afterwards

"The following day [LSS: The day a
527, pp. 196-197.] the same performa
hut of his owner and around it three t
poked him with a tzakh, or twig adorn
the thrust. This circumambulation wa
four young women, keeping time, bea
This highly varied 'musical' perform
the 'artiste' in this case was the olde
interesting than the ritualistic dancin
erally, such for instance as that of yo

First of all the old lady, dressed in
formed a little level square plat. The
self into queer postures, using the br
but occasionally, and all unwittingly,
floundering in the deep snow, to the a
no way disconcerted her, for she cam

fter the rehearsal for the bear fete; see category
ance was gone through, and the animal led to the
imes. Each time that he passed the door the master
ned with shavings, and broke it with the force of
as done to the strains of a unique band. Three or
t with sticks on a log supported on short uprights.
ance was accompanied by [198] dancing. Although
st woman of the village, the display was far more
g which the traveller in the East meets with gen-
oung girls in the sacred temple of Nara in Japan.
n seal-skins, stamped down the deep snow, and
n taking two pieces of evergreens she threw her-
anches as fans. Her movements were not rapid,
she overstepped the limit of the plat and fell
amusement of band and spectators too; but this in
ne up laughing to renew the performance."

"[LSS: During the bear fête] When the feasting, drinking, smoking, and talking were at an end, a start was made for the execution-ground. On [199] their way the company halted at the beginning of the avenue to allow a few of their number to shoot blunt, wooden-ended arrows towards the bear. There seemed no attempt on their part to hit the animal, or else they ignominiously failed, for the shots were lamentably short of or beyond the mark. This appears to be only another example of the weakening of traditional custom, for the shooting with blunted arrows at the poor bear was one of the greatest pieces of 'fun' in olden times. Arrived at the ground the crowd grouped itself in front of the animal in a semicircle."

9: Hawes--211 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 527, 805

"Among the Gilyaks the hunt is preceded by an interesting ceremony. The sable (Mustela zibellina) and seal hunts commence each a new year in the Gilyak kalendar, and thus he has two years to our one. If only the Gilyak child kept 'birthdays,' he would be the envy of his western compeers. These two years which begin in October and April respectively, are called the winter year (tulf-an) and summer year (tolf-an), and are opened by holiday festivals. The sable holiday goes by the name of Pal ni vookh chi-sonch, or 'the prayer to the lord of the forest.' "

"Customs differ from coast to coast, and from village to village, and here is a point of divergence. In many cases I believe the cham, or medicine-man, is not called in to officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of the bear during the bear fête] possibly because the influence of his office is on the wane, and as the Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great cham now.' "

9: Hawes--252-253 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 225, 411, 527

"On shore preparations are being made for the Chak vi hŭnch, or Tol vi hŭnch, i.e. the water or sea holiday; for this is the inauguration of the tolf-an, or summer year.

Wild men, with raven pigtails and high cheek-bones, are bustling about at the mouths of the rivers preparing to receive the unsuspecting guests. [LSS: i.e. seals] Last year's provisions are all consumed, and the Gilyaks await with suppressed excitement the approach of their fat lazy visitors. The wind from the sea increases in vehemence, ice-floes seen on the horizon are being driven closer and closer to the shore. Now they are quite near, forming great glistening fields. The whole Gilyak village is alive, the inhabitants running about on the swaying white floor quickly taking up [253] positions, concealing themselves behind the bergs. Each one has in his hand a harpoon similar to the fish-spear already described on a larger scale. The pole consists of five lengths jointed, each 7 metres long, and is therefore at full length about 135 feet. The end, to which the harpoon is attached by a thong, is ski-shaped, with its end bent upwards, the better to thrust into the side of the seal. The thong itself is also 135 feet long, to allow the seal sufficient play. This great length of weapon enables the Gilyak to harpoon his unsuspecting prey at a considerable distance. He stealthily approaches his victim, taking cover behind the bergs, and placing the harpoon on the ice slowly unwinds the thong. By a quick thrust the animal is speared, and flings himself frightened into the water. In so doing he frees the head of the harpoon from the shaft, to which, however, he is

ed up and eventually put back again in the cage. Thus
uickly described, but the actual process takes a long
eady for evacuating the cage occupying half an hour."

ended the rehearsal. It is
time, the getting of the animal

: Hawes--201-202 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 527, 776, 782, 825

s another consideration which lurks, however
Not only is the bear the most dangerous anim
as deteriorated to the seizure of cubs and the
st rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as they do,
he forest; and even robs the Gilyaks' snares
ore on every [202] count he must die."

unconsciously, behind this ceremony.
al to capture, although now the custom
rearing of them; but he is also the strong-
on the fish of the river, the berries of
of the small animals caught therein. There-

9: Hawes--202 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 183, 527, 782, 825

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the ra
bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any case
the hidden meaning of their rites. The following
to find out the signification of the ceremony, and
Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.
Russian. Why do you not recite about it during th
Gilyak. I don't know.
Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for his
Gilyak. No.
Russian. Why does the cham recite these charge
Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from ancient
know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, knew

ison d'être of the custom, [LSS: The
, they would not reveal to a stranger
is how a Russian fared when he tried
I met with no more success.

ne killing of the bear?

crimes?

es in the bear's ear?
times. Ask the old men, perhaps they

no more."

9: Hawes--202-203 T-3 (1901) 1903

116, 527, 764, 775, 782, 825

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [
tioned, but which possesses some special si
head, which is never on any account eaten. A
dogs which I bartered for were all minus the

It is noticeable that while the bear's head i
bring success and courage to the hunters, bu
eating of the brain would render the consume
The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak
phins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habi
place theirs near their huts and make offerin
and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyal
of the woods, and are not frequented by ther
of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it
of the animals whose spirits have gone back
those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of the
and either guard the remains of the Gilyak o

LSS: The bear fête] which I have not men-
gnificance. This is the saving of the bear's
A skin offered to me, and the fells of the
heads.
is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will
at I gathered that the Gilyak believes the
er bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows.
cemetery, and there, with skulls of dol-
t common among the Ainus, who, however,
ngs of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them
ks' cemeteries are in the secret recesses
n. What the idea that lies at the [203] root
seems probable that they think the remains
to the great Pal ni vookh should rest near
se animals will come back to these spots
r at least refrain from haunting the living."

9: Hawes--252-253 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 225, 411, 527

now held by the thong. His efforts to get awa
grip, and the poor animal is hauled in and ki

ay only serve to give the harpoon a firmer
lled by a blow on the head."

9: Hawes--253-254 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 183, 225, 527, 782

"The first catch is collected and left on th
devoured there would be a graceless, greed
sanction to the domestic use of them. Such
seal season, owing to the god's anger. No;
though at some inconvenience, in full view o
On the bank, therefore, fires are kindled
with it is hashed up anything left over from
the feasting commences, and lasts all day.
banks, but in the huts; at the same time it i
newly caught seals shall not be brought with
even the blood spilled. If the god has allowe
them to be consumed only on his premises,
attention on the part of the Gilyaks, Tol ni
send them abundance of seals and all manne

ne shore. To take it to their huts to be
y thing to do, for there is as yet no divin
a proceeding might result in a failure of
the feasting must be done openly, and,
of the god's province.
; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, an
the winter's stores. When all is prepare
Eating and drinking go on, not only on th
s strictly observed that the pieces of the
in the hut, nor left scattered about, nor
d seals to be caught, he has [254] permi
i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and litt
vookh will be content, and in future will
r of inhabitants of the sea."

Hawes--201-202 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 527, 776, 782, 825

'The original signification of the whole cere
gely lost, but the religious motive in the m
sending of a messenger to the great lord o
their punctilious observances of the rites o
nger may not miss his destination, it was u
me villages to assist the spirit of the bear i
ls were given him, one the planting of a sti
st where the great lord lived, and the other
re to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh. F
was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He w
d all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh a
d water, but in nothing would he give thanks
erings after every meal, therefore it could
find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be i
ys most punctilious in placing some fish or
erings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasion
n from a watery grave to this timely act of
Probably the fact of the bear being the most
ds to the value of the offering, of which the

emony of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is
inds of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be
of the mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness
f offerings; and, in order that their mes-
sual, and is, I believe, still so among
n finding his way to Pal ni vookh. Two
ck on the execution-ground, pointing to the
, the killing of two dogs, whose spirits
or it was explained that the bear, though
ould eat of the provisions made for him
nd Tol ni vookh, the lords of the forest
; whereas a true Gilyak always made
not be expected that he should know where
nclined to go to him. Even Vanka was al-
tobacco on the ashes of our camp-fire as
we owed, so he assured us, our preserva-
his.
difficult and dangerous animal to capture
bear's spirit would be a witness. There

Hawes--200 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
, 526, 527

LSS: During the bear fete] The youths competed in
ile primitive musical instruments were brought fo
e exploits of heroes of the hunt. A favourite game
m is to keep it bounding in the air without its touch
used. The ball is made from the fungus of a tree.

archery, wrestling, and running,
rth and songs were sung, telling of
with them is a game of ball. The
ing the ground. Only the hands may
"

9: Hawes--306 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 483, 527

"He [LSS: Vanka, the author's Gilyak boatman] was in high spirits, for two or three days since there had been a bear-hunt by his friends of Ado Tim, in which a dam and two cubs had fallen to their prowess. One old Gilyak described to me how the hunt had gone. Starting out with the dogs, they had come up with the ch'uff and cubs in the fore and the dogs immediately began to worry the cubs, biting at their hind-legs until the mother bear called to them to 'take care,' and run up a tree. This they did, but, mea while, the dam was shot. An experienced hunter then proceeded to follow the cubs wit a seal-hide noose in his hand. With this he lassoed them, and, descending, forced the to climb down by degrees. The carcase of the dead animal was then placed upon a sle drawn by the dogs, and the orphaned cubs were led, pushed, and dragged to the villag Hence on the morrow there was to be a great holiday fête, and Gilyaks from all aroun were coming in to celebrate it."

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

1. Sometimes young bears roam about so far from their mamas that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand close to the entrance with his pelt coat on backwards, and as soon as the bear appears he hurls himself with his chest against the bear's head. The others hurl themselves on their leader and thus the alarmed bear is felled by the combined impact and is soon bound. If he is strong and raging so that he cannot be handled, he is immediately killed. Sometimes a noose is also put around his neck as soon as he appears. If the prisoner was a female with cubs, they are all taken home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in the lower Amur region, that is, in
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat farther up at the Amgun river. It is usually hunted in winter because, like the horse, it can travel only with difficulty in the deep snow, and the Gilyak on his snow shoes can easily overtake it and kill it with his lance. In summer time the animal is killed with rifles. Its meat is very popular and its skin is used for shoes, straps, etc.

The reindeer is also hunted chiefly in winter in the same manner. Occasionally the lance is also thrust at some distance from the target.

The wild boar does not occur on Sakhalin and the lower Amur; however, it appears 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk. It is hunted with lances and with rifles. Its meat is very popular, its skin, among other things, is used for the shaman drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably poisoned with the vomic nut which
278 the Gilyak buy from the Chinese. But this poison is not very
439 strong; much faster, in fact almost instantaneous, is the effect of its alkoloid, i.e., strychnine, which Russian fox hunters use but which the Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

oats. However, there are some to be found among them
vho are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
vho entertain the others with their song.

The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
ludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
ipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
eason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
bove. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
r good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
asten to add that this immobility and indifference only
eaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
is sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
eality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
venings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
lternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
elebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
veeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
ears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
re taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
akhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
ne-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
runk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
ransported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
onsidered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
hat the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
ransporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
ccidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
good omen.

The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
n old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
he latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
nserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
ried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
craps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
illages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
laces that had their own bear festival and had already con-
umed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
and at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
ith bears.

Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
stival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
e and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

527 Sometimes the dogs al
541 Dog racing, besides
437 tical significance, for
buyers. In fact, the b
various things are bar
527 The chief figure of t
825 fed throughout the who
the village, at which t
this is done in such a
to another at an angle,
river. This symbolic
abundance of fish". H
put up the necessary n
sides. In the houses h
berries, and sometime
prostrate themselves
ship, however, as som
some in earnest, calli
revenge on them after
not given such express
527 When the bear's imm
782 which has been driven
766 arrows. In this proce
selves. At last the un
blow with a lance. He
with his fore-paws res
happens the woman wh
to weep loudly. Finall
seat themselves aroun
passed around and befo
roasted. Eating and te
bear festival. The sti
tertainment has been d
527 in the village of Kola.
361 of the Gilyak settlemen
534 about 200 versts from

1. This distance
curves in the coa
would be much s

to be found - and this h
old church bells bearin
supposed to have been
destroyed by the Chine

so draw sleds in these races.
being an amusement also has a prac-
the good runners find immediate
ear festival is a sort of fair, where
tered.
he festival, namely the bear, is well-
le period and is repeatedly led through
me he pays a call at each house and
vay that he has to go from one house
by way of the adjacent section of the
procedure assures the house of "an
is always led by several men who
umber of chains and ropes on all
e is treated to fish, millet, and cran-
s he is also teased. Some Gilyak also
before him. This is by no means wor-
e have assumed. Some do it for fun,
ng on the spirit of the bear not to seek
he is dead. Sometimes the bear is
ions of veneration.
nolation nears, he is tied to a stick
in the ice, and then he is shot with
dure the archers seek to outdo them-
fortunate bruin is given a merciful
usually dies in peace and majesty,
ting on his wounded chest. When this
o has had charge of him is often heard
y, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak
d them. Pieces of bear meat are
ore they are eaten they are lightly [237]
a-drinking are the main activity at a
ck music which is here offered as en-
escribed. Special music is produced
This village is the northern outpost
t, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

is measured according to the
st line; in a straight line it
horter.

as only recently been discovered -two
g Slavonic inscriptions. They were
taken from Fort Albasin when it was
se and since then to have belonged to

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

/722 cont./

in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this in their midst as provisions for the trip.

Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon, however, for the first and only time the women actively participated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding in her hands either fir branches or constant-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Dittmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much butier than the latter at all sorts of work and activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2 See p. 719 above.

and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of he Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

/387 cont./

and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecessary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-hak, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII[1] and Pl. XX, Fig. 1 and 2)[2].

2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain; I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ provided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made either of cotton material or of fine fish skin; the latter robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of

[See Category 116, P. 947 -- Analyst]

[See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

511 DECORATIVE ART.—types of artifacts decorated and not decorated; decorative techniques (e.g., carving, engraving, painting, inlay, embroidery); use of color and relief; designs and patterns (e.g., naturalistic, geometric); decorative symbols and their meanings; elaborated styles; associated beliefs and practices; specialists, etc. See also:

Textiles	19	Armoring	1
Leather	29	Decorative arts	341
Cloth, metals, and spinning	47	Interior decoration	360
Ceramics	123	Manufacture of paints and dyes	396
Ironwork	301	Enamels	817
Face and body decoration	302		

/388 cont./

1. (cont.)
characters on it -- no matter whether written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in obtaining possible diaries or other written notes of de la Brunière. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of D'Anville's maps of China were brought to me by them after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Nikolayev post.

3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 99). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Pogbobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular, the belt worn by some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawta-dhakko, which is used for cutting wood, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dhakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dhakko.

[See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

/395 cont./

and copper arabesques and various engravings (Ibid., Fig. 2). The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata) adorned with various kinds of enclosed arabesques, and is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the blade of the blade (Ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX[1]). Usually a second knife is also worn at

5. On Pl. XVIII, the neer absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dhakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4) quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring at the lower end; it is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (Ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dhakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the

/396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small bag of seaskin (see the Gilyak technical, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3), usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; Ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[See Category 116, PP. 999, 998, 1011 *1008 respectively -- Analyst]

/396 cont./

which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

/397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tuki-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2). It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter contists of straight Chinese brocade, usually black or dark-blue cloth. On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

[See Category 116, P. 1001 -- Analyst]

/397 cont./

1. (cont.)
en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II. p. 237 [editor's note] - Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. 1. p. 59). The dragon on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Ailof was of the latter type.

292 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the
293 cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The
294 tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the
295 Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyhi-hak, Pl. XXII, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to
301 the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass jaws into which the women
302 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use
237 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyhi-hak

/399 cont./

291 skin undoubtedly affords better protection against cold, wind, and rain when the hair is on the outside than when it is turned to the inside, and if it were first tested in this position, it would be natural to add another layer of it or of another skin in the opposite position, with the hair on the inside, and thus, avoiding a foreign covering, to obtain that double fur undoubtedly giving the best protection, as one finds among all the northern and polar peoples.

291 The above-described or illustrated garments are sufficient
292 to show that the Gilyak like to provide their clothing with all
53 kinds of variously shaped, gay-colored embroidery and other ornamentation. I have sometimes seen among them whole collections of embroidery designs, and I brought back some of them. These consist of fabric or fish-skin patches on which the designs are embroidered or on which various figures cut out of thin hitch-bark and symmetrically arranged are pasted (Pl. XXIII and XXIV). Among them, however, are also found larger pieces of fabric sometimes made up of several multicolored patches and not used for embroidery, but on which arabesques and animal figures of the most varied kinds are colorfully, but always symmetrically arranged beside or intertwined with one another (Pl. XXV-XXVII). If for the moment, we disregard the latter, to which I shall come back later, particularly in connection with the animal figures, and if we consider only the designs to be embroidered on the articles of clothing previously discussed, we find in them a peculiar character and taste which fundamentally distinguishes them from those of the Siberian
53 tribes. Whereas among the Siberian Tungus, for instance, a
171 who like-wise adorn their clothing with embroidery, the simplest patterns and motifs recur with great uniformity and often, for example, only rows of the same simple figures, small triangles, squares, circles, crude cuttlefishes, and the like, running over or beside one another, are to be found (as the Tungusic specimens illustrated on Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV, Figs. 5 and 6 show), in the Gilyak designs and ornamentation beautiful, curved and interlaced lines, diverse arabesques artistically overlapping.
[1] [See Category IIc, pp. 1003-1004 - Analysis]
[2] [See Category IIc, pp. 1005-1007 - Analysis]

/399 cont./

53 and small-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorate
53 all the other implements in their household and their lives with
197 all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the above-mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character of these decorations is always the same, as is described in more detail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less exact and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify to the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the use of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamentation,
53 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest development in
294 the embroidery for the decoration of their clothing, utilizing for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of diverse lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting together various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular among the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liberal,

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as
[128] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade from the Chinese.

53 I have previously described the general character of Gilyak
197 ornamentation as unique and completely different from that of the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, much of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

53 /401 cont./
197 the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest
197 from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is
53 not, say, in the superiority of the peoples concerned,
197 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep themselves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[128] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must
294 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it.
[197] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the
294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles (Gil. mgnit,
415 [114]

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from mug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3) is worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it. If one lifts the
[1] [See Category IIc, p. 1009 - Analysis]

/401 cont./

294 latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in
415 it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This in-
53 genious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among
197 the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[170] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

(Gil. luba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fish-
[170] ing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread like-
294 wise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the
[170] work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak
[170] woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering. Although
[170] they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term
[53] (chasa) for them: instead they only use a knife. For smoothing
[53] the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pam), which is

/402 cont./

294 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
412 decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
53 tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).[1]
236 /402/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gil
283 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievement
197 and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest kins-folk, the Ainu on Jesso / Yezo and Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. - La Pérouse, Voyage aux du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 78. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aard.-en volkenkund. toelichting, 1858, p. 11, Note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrovorskii, "Inzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" Zapiskii Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obsheb., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Leip. Imp. Russ.

[2] [See Category IIc, p. 1009 - Analysis]

53

SS /417 cont./

302 however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hai
301 style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the
171 lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not
177 wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, t
T Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and
[302] even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes the
[301] wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Oroch
[171] Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

G A more common customary ornament among all the peop
301 of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver
171 or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same ma
G terial or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. O
[531] Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilya who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This
G; ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite
[301] practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi
[462] (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work,
G; however, is not done by the men, but by the women.
[113]

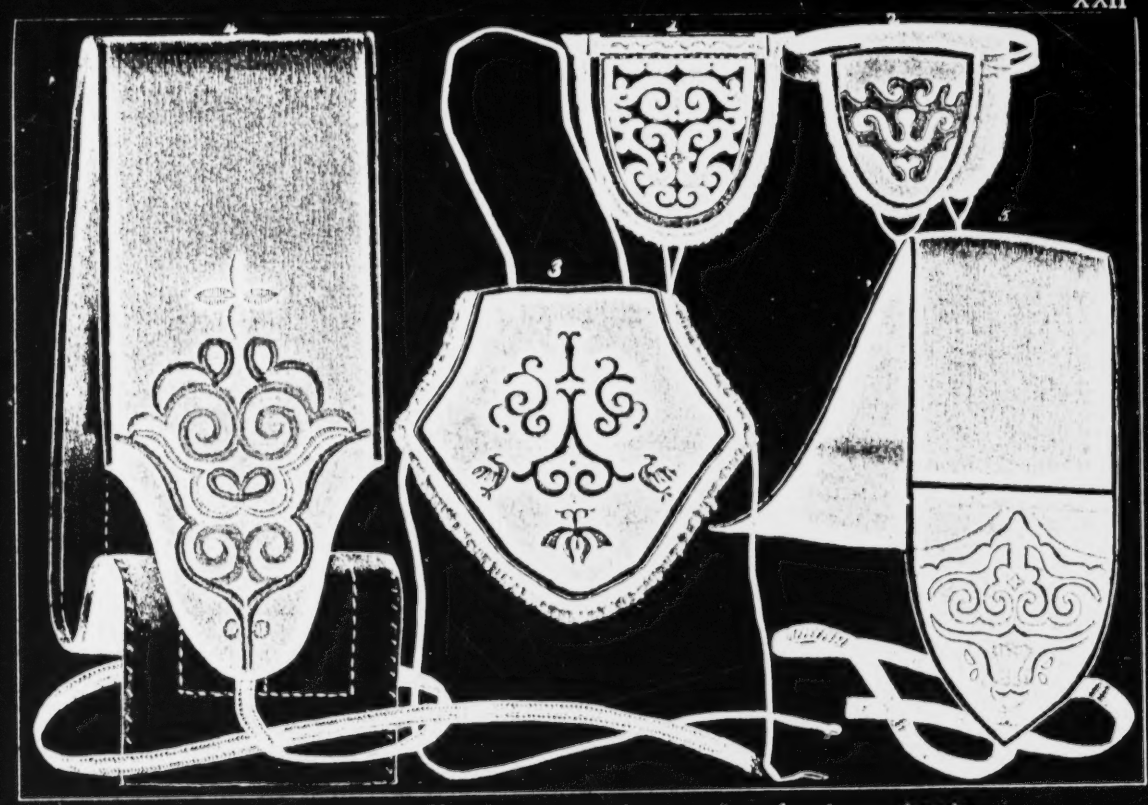
1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

Zn [See category 116, p. 1025--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--1002 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

29/531

XXII



Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- ear muffs; 3 -- stomacher; 4, 5 -- fur sleeve-bands.

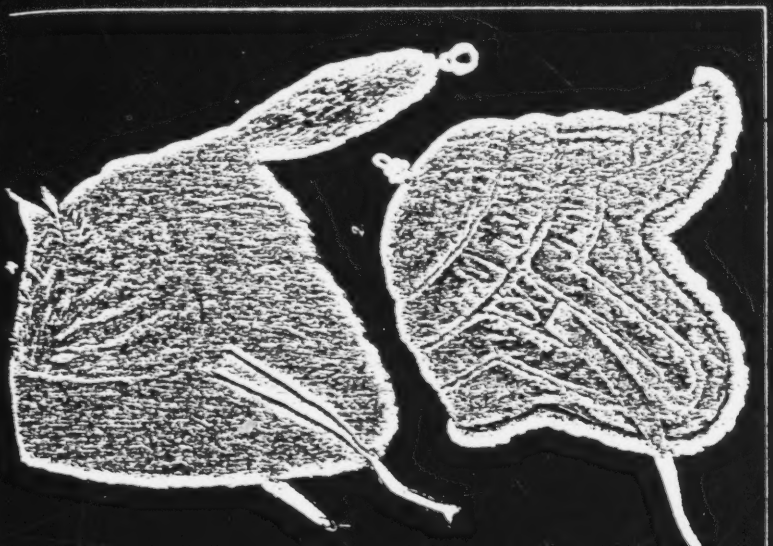
9: Hawes--193 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 531, 751, 778

"I turned my attention to two or three 'works of art.' Two small flat pieces of wood cut into the forms of a disc and a crescent hung from a beam. These represented the sun and the moon, and were used as charms. There were also two sticks, with shavings on, similar to the one I have described as protecting the canoe during its construction from evil spirits; but these particular ones, I learnt, were for placing over a sick child, and would ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there, no graven images, for the great 'Kiskh' is invisible to mortal eyes. Charms there are, though with the decline of the cham's influence and the contact with Russians these are losing their value in the eyes of the Gilyaks, and they laugh when questioned about them by the foreigner, yet not without a lurking sense of fear at the bottom of their hearts."

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- wome
cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the sa

2: Schrenck--1001 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



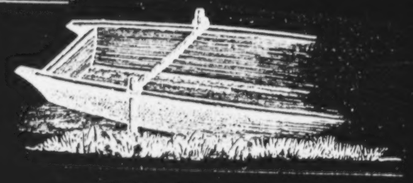
IX

237
292

291

n's everyday cap; 3 -- women's elegant
me made of lynx fur with sable trimming.

/501 cont./



Gilyak Boat Construction

For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying woodcut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauwa, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

In passing it should be mentioned that these implements, not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

/558 cont./

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

/560 cont./

5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow point (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crossband in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

/560 cont./

411 Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons, bear pikes, spears, and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ much [192] more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike uni- [191] versally used among them (Gilyak lachtsch (2), Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. [192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship [531] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely [126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimens illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[10] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the [531] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's [321]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

/568 cont./
114 Gilyak (1).
325
326
192
[293]

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

325 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to
326 iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass [531] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the [435]

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna- [439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

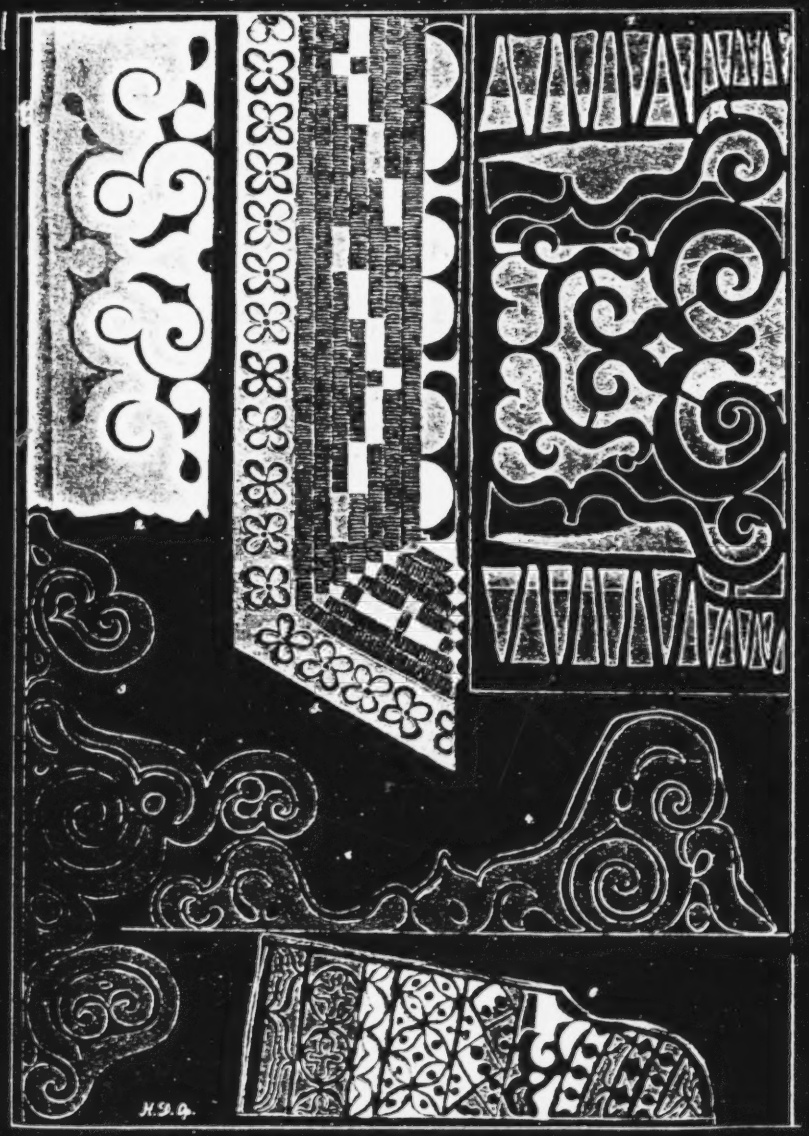
[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
189 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
194 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

531

Gilyak patterns for needlework.

531



Gilyak patterns for needlework.

531
824
322

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

531
824
322

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

/446 cont./

15 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
77 earth yurt and in the summer yurt is placed on the platform of the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part likewise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 3: matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle) and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
12 made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 6,[3] Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak komb).
15 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need, use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong), which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
531] are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
324] foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
531] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service, so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
64 served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
415 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachtschitsch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned

[3] [See category 116, p. 1014 -- Analyst]

/446 cont./

264 broths, are eaten from wooden bow
415

2. Ngir means bowl in

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure,
eaten with a spoon. For the enjoy
blubber, and the like, rectangular

[104] 3. The s is soft in this
pronounced like the Fr

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also use
wooden, circular, rather shallow b
2 and 3), about a foot in diameter,
the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or
account of their round form similar
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, howe

[192] 4. Among the Olcha th

selves, but obtain them from the G
415 with turning them. At the bear fes
numbers by the Gilyak, as well as
• 531 eating the above-mentioned kinds
796 any means /447/ implements used
these festivities, as might be concl
the complete lack of any ornament
the Gilyak use them often enough i
to these mass-produced, undecorat
all the other above-mentioned vess
Gilyak themselves always stand out
tions put on them, which, howeve
carvings which we shall discover on
322 at the bear festivals. For the manu
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc.,
on them and on other utensils, the

ls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

general.

more often noisily drunk than
ment of solid food, fish, meat,
shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

word and is to be
ench z.

d for the same purpose are
owls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs.
which among the Gilyak bear
humb-ring bowls, obviously on
to the above-mentioned thumb-
ver, do not make them them-

ey are called kota.

oldi, who occupy themselves
tivals they are used in great
by the Olcha, in particular for
of groats, though they are not by
exclusively in connection with
uded from their exotic origin and
ation and carving. I myself saw
n their everyday life. In contrast
d bowls turned by the Goldi,
els made freehandedly by the
because of all sorts of decora-
remain far behind the artistic
the implements used exclusively
facture of all the vessels pre-
for the execution of the carvings
Gilyak use, in addition to the

/469 cont./

000 1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
No. 2, p. 99).

276 415 (171) Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[1] and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily [237] [531] made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

276 574 The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. [439] I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014 — Analyst]

0 cont./

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for a long tim
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197 borrowed this
174 Asia neighbor
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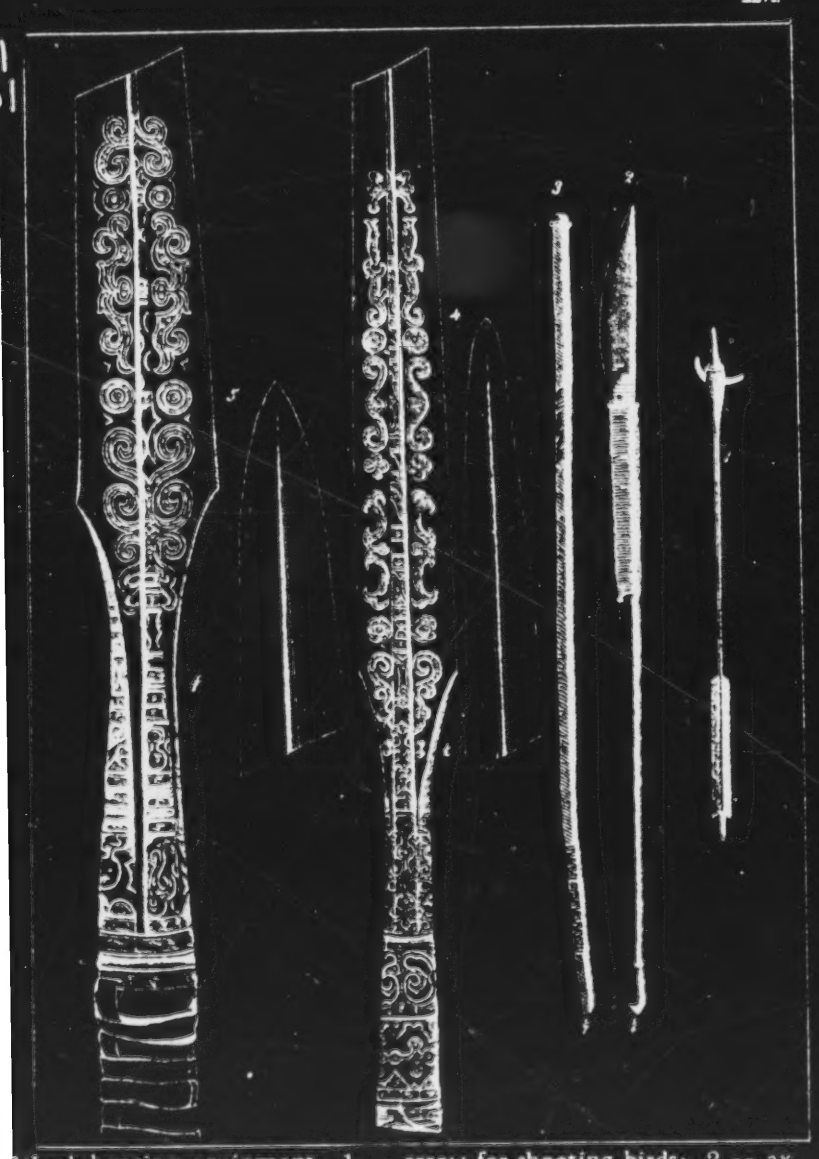
2: Schrenck--1026 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XLVI



Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- arrow for shooting birds; 2 -- ax with long shaft; 3 -- long cudgel; 4, 5 -- spear with inlaid work.

2: Schrenck--1045 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/642 cont./
114 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the
844 villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot
768 affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuĭk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in childbirth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other
844 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth.
532 Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth
782 is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in
844 confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women
413 giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife
• [531] (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the

[126] 2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuĭk.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII
see p.1008, Fig. 1.

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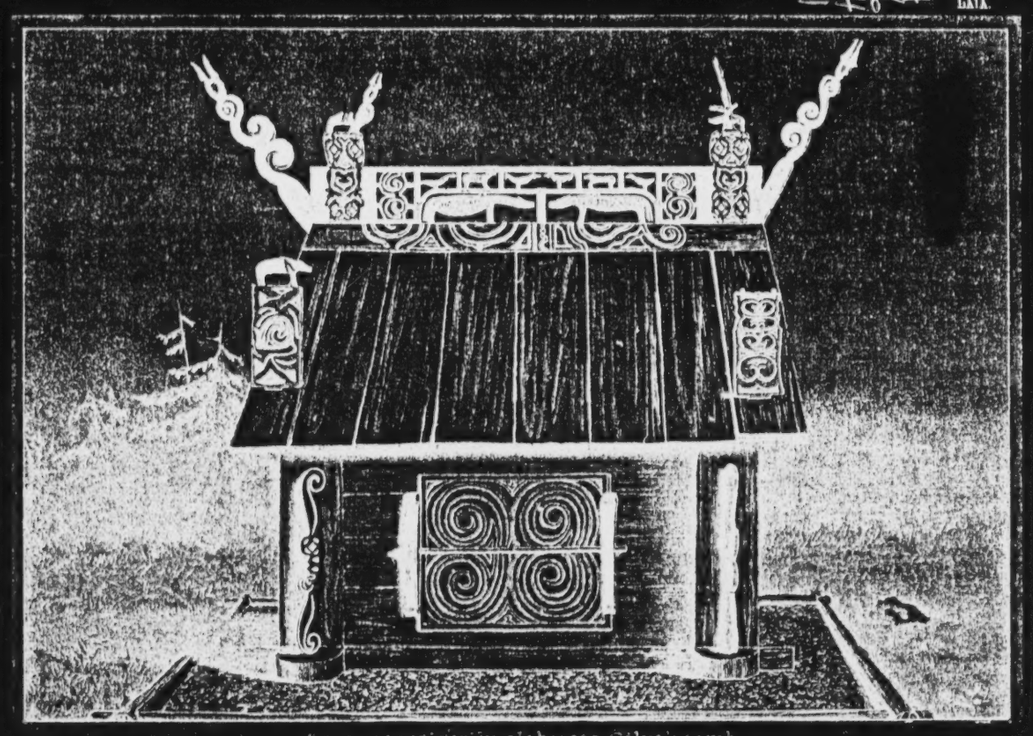
Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- summer hat made of birch bark, 3, 4 -- mittens; 5 -- ear muffs.

2: Schrenck--1000 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



An extraordinarily elaborate Gilyak tomb.

2: Schrenck--1269 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXIX

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1884
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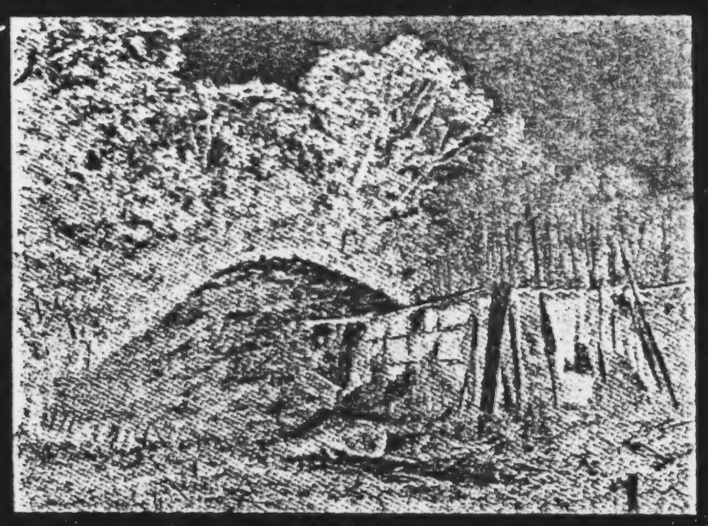
4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

342



Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
[171] rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
● [531] was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with
various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the
belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
411 are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
422 very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
439 fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China
and at present have no practical value because no one thinks
of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

58 Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried,
and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five
wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides,
there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage
requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not
consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons,
dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300
rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the
wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the
bridegroom last a rather long time, -a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

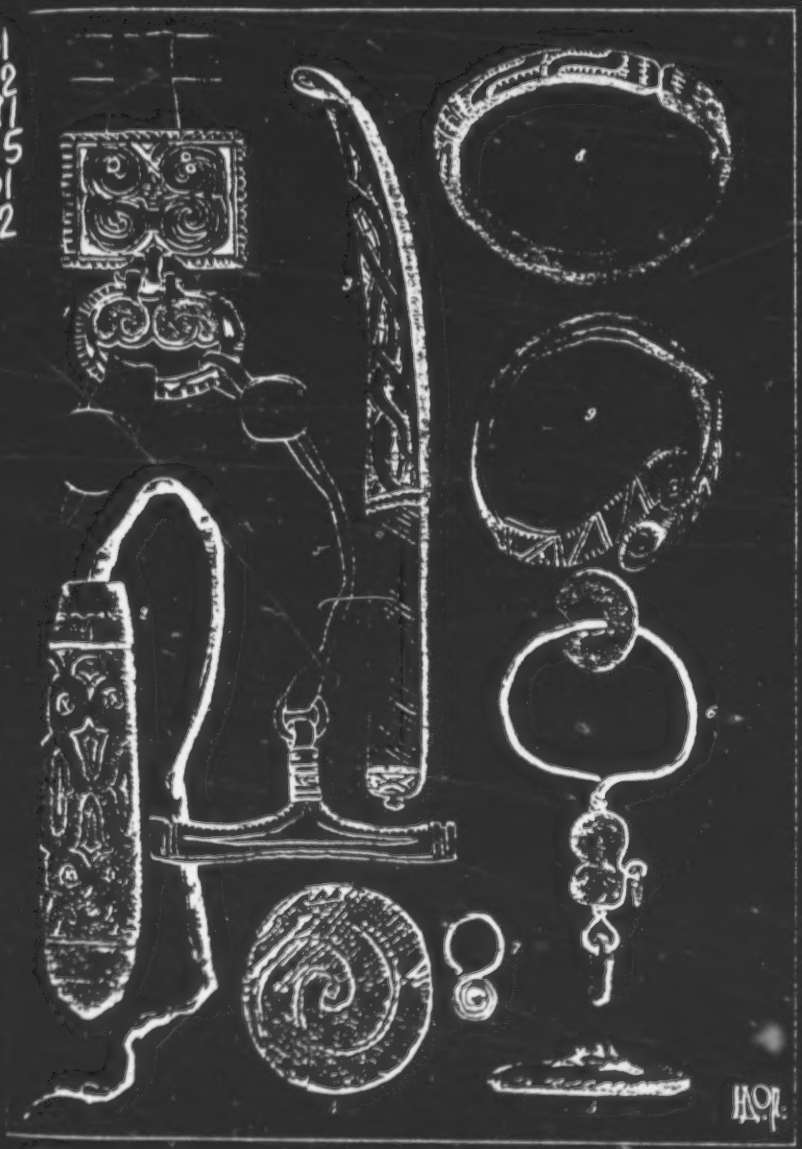
511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so
bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons
customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use
larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotschä; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will
find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

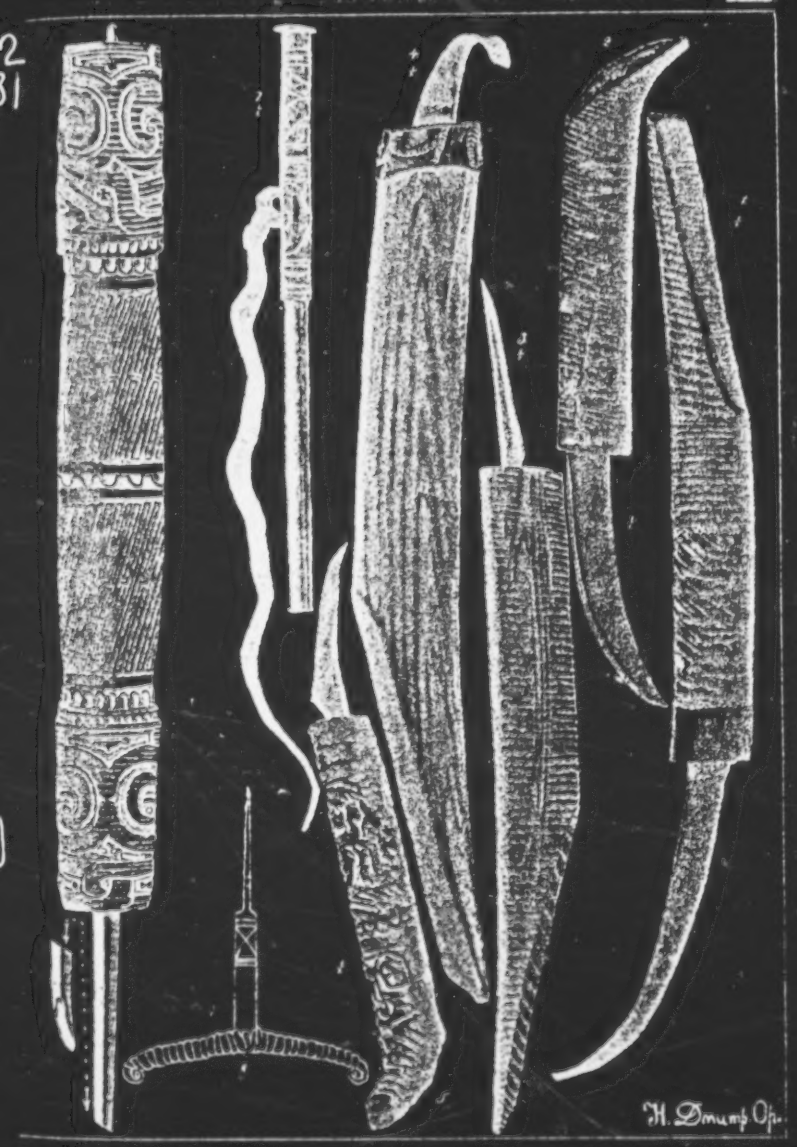
171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The
Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

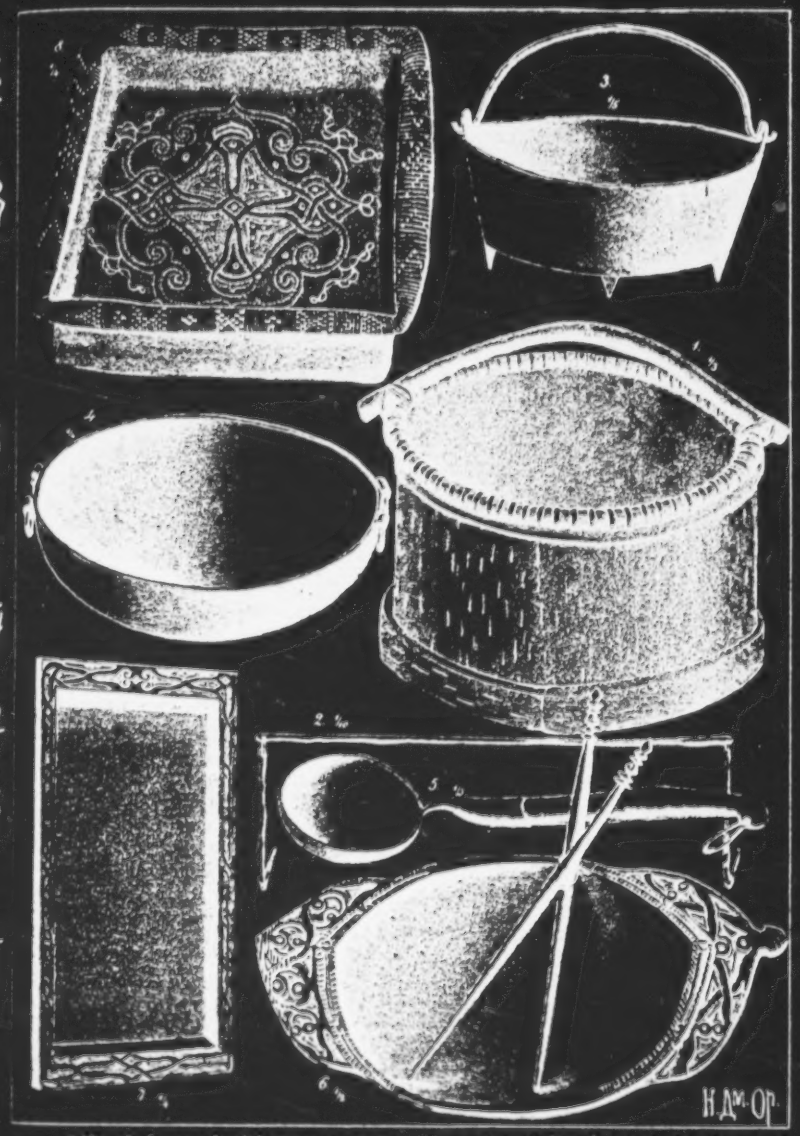
Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner, 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.



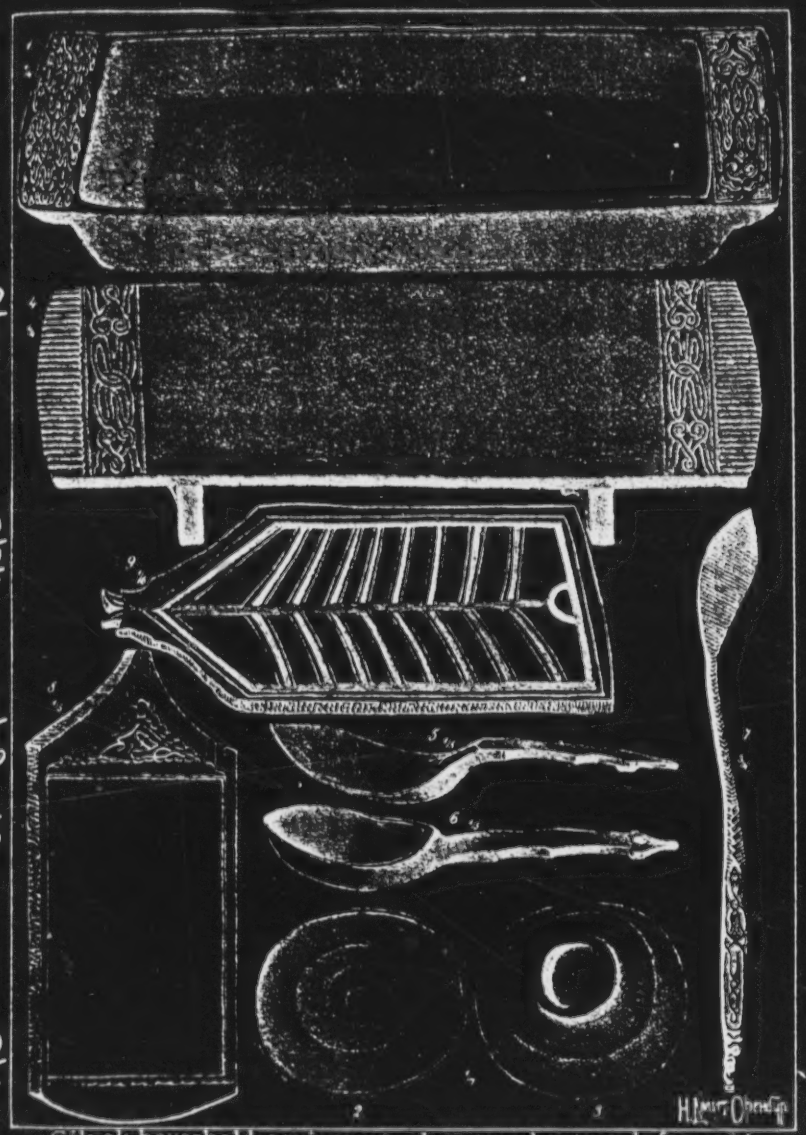
Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.



Gilyak implements: 1 -- fish knife; 2 -- knife, "tan-dshakko"; 3 -- knife for fine woodworking; 4 -- knife for hollowing; 5 -- umbilical-cord knife; 6 -- large drill; 7 -- small iron rod that goes with it; 8 -- small drill.

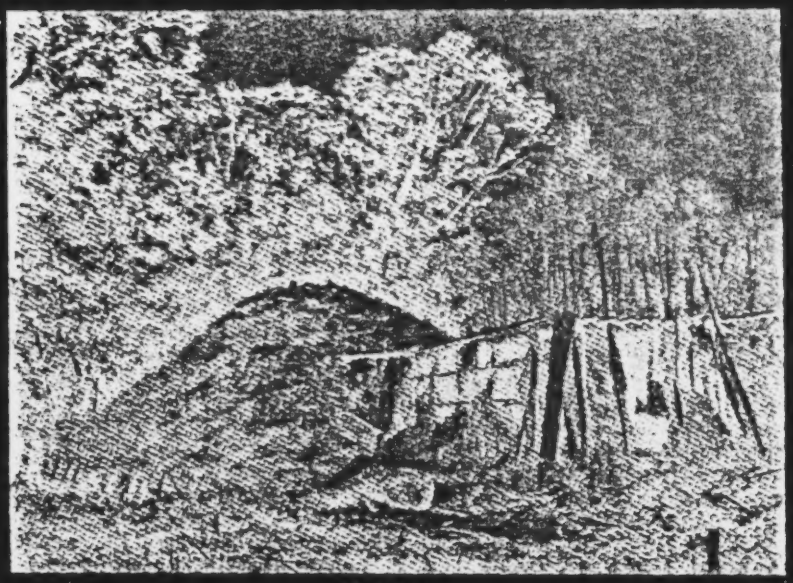


Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop, 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.



Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1-3 -- iron arrowheads; 4 -- lower part of an arrow shaft; 5 -- thumb-ring for stretching the bow; 6-7 -- quivers; 8 -- Orochi quiver.



Mud hut.

the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and layout of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summertime, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually surrounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

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Folk Arts

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Ul'chi and Na
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oples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

ad, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burn-
e the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed
eat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The
soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lift-
as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little
rine which represented the dead.
etery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed
figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached
, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The
e, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held
the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situ-
nd. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.
of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master"
old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were
"healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil
and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had
ng spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly de-
the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any
cults.

onal poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs
ds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting
ent ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various
nena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales
ribing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi
clude the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns.
one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the
led from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.
decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood
roidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins.
ticles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birch-
nife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and
covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great
. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwell-
and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the
nays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing
utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often
and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fish-
nd birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather
smitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes
ther articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs,
articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of
hskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué
fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and
ne by men. Many women were famed for their skill and
.
of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other
s, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the
as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unques-
sted by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent consid-
ransformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neo-

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of
studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC
book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of
problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of
the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan re-
lations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I
put before the reader the material gathered in the course of
this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyak
in the village of Kul.
225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with
new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony
which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce
and of a plant locally known as (tʃkr) bogulnik and set out on
sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea
of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋəŋ-gar
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The
hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When
the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks i
the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to sub-
merge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks
of the tackle kitə (2) which go into the implements for huntin

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at
the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak
returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal throug
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker
called tor-tas (from tor 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix per-
taining to the implement used in the action), is made of a
bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with
a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the
lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving
which represents the snout of a seal.

ak knives: 1 -- ordinary large belt-knife (ngawta-dshakko
ected to ngawla-dshakko on p. 589, note 4/); 2 -- belt-knife
inlaid-work; 3 -- sheath for same; 4 -- knife for cutting
d, etc. (yi-dsh.); 5 -- sheath for same; 6 -- knife for cutting

Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants n the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three lays they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among he guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con- radiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor he bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its ictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender ttentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment. For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as he ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also, he circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was ot allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the ence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin- guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not fraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being, nd by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather arbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance hat during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobsen was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even hough the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is he purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river? [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest he idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further- more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to bring them destruction? In the former case one would think that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum- stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

20: Bush--99 T-2
116, 531

[LSS: Traveling on the Amur] "
before--the banks dotted with sma
admiring the taste displayed by ma
ture of their hats. They are made
outside covered with beautiful scr

(1865) 1871 Gilyak

The scenery was much the same as that of the day
ll Russian and Gilak settlements. I could not help
any of these Gilaks whom we passed in the manufac-
of birch-bark, shaped like a low, broad cone, the
oll-work figures cut from stained bark."

/715 cont./ AT This window,
after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation of a toad (Gilyak mipitsch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig. 3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

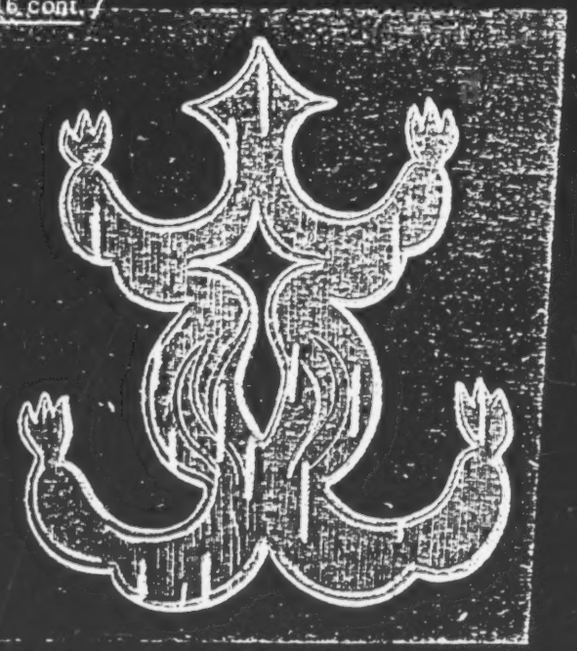
> 2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

> 3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear, and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house, but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal (hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can express only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustration appears here./

Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the



Toad made out of birch bark.

graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly, deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the kettle was filled with snow for it is uïtsch to use water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor. The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

it of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides
ly a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so
y to lick clean the implements used in the cooking
r to the trough.

n the morning on the following day (January 28) the
d their work of cutting up and cooking the meat,
rrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the
ce beforehand with specially decorated animals
d them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was men-
Next, a number of articles were brought in from
, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached
k in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins
viously killed bears, the chains on which they were
e, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives
oint of attachment of the blade have a bundle of
bear's penis region around them, the so-called uïng-
Gilyak, with which it is uïtsch to cut anything other
t and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a
ely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The
t to use immediately, being filled with the broth ob-
e bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with
e spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when
rs, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed

owls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-
by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always
a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about
or near the one or the other end has either a rather
shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and
er are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat
er (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat.
ese bowls especially interesting, however, is that
one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood,
both the front and the handle ends, are provided
rvings referring to the bears and the bear festival.
also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

322 /717 cont./
*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
•532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uïtsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p. 1250/, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252/, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band. Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/718 cont./
*796 sturgeon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in
252 an unworthy place, so to speak, where they could not be seen b
the bears, the women began to prepare various dishes, such as
mosy, several kinds of groats bea.s with fish oil or seal oil, ar
the like -- work which, undertaken quite differently and in the
ordinary way, proceeded rapidly and vigorously.

*796 /719/ The morning of the following day (January 30) be
gan with putting on the bear rack the two pelves of the bears,
three carp (Cypr. carpio, Gilyak pilengat) and a portion of all
dishes prepared the day before and put in various bowls of birch
bark, whereupon an old man seated himself in front of the bears
and immediately began to eat some of the freshly prepared mos
out of two bear-bowls.

There followed the customary feeding of the dogs inside
the house and, as on the previous days, a race of decorated dog
along with drumming by the women. Next, strips of bear fat w
again hung on the étagère and then, amid the heavy incense of
branches, the internal organs of the bear were cut up and placed
[252] small bear-bowls. It seems that these parts are not cooked, but
eaten raw, like the fat.

At the same time, the women congregated in one corne
of the house around a little old woman and, out of motley rags,
began to sew together a band about ten inches long and three
inches wide -- the so-called tschudbas of the Gilyak. At sunset
*796 this band is wound around the snouts of the bears just below thei
325 eyes in order to dry the tears welling out of them. Fastened in
•532 middle of it, however, on the ridge of the snouts, there is a
324 representation of a toad, cut out of birch bark (1). I can give n
824

1. Like the one pasted on the window,
see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has
been said above other than the following. With the cutting up
of its internal organs, heart, liver, and the like, the bear know
that its fate is sealed and sheds tears over the evil spirit, the toa

532

2 REPRESENTATIVE ART--techniques in painting and sculpture (e.g., drawing or painting on flat surfaces, incising in relief, modeling or carving in the round); materials and implements used; subjects (e.g., still life, landscapes, human beings, abstractions); use of color; composition; appreciation of form and perspective; styles (e.g., naturalistic, idealistic, symbolic, abstract), special products (e.g., etchings, bas-reliefs, masks); specialized fields (e.g., portraiture, commercial art, religious sculpture); artists and sculptors, etc.
See also:

Commemorative statues	211	Advertising	447
Photography	215	Art supplies industry	549
Art galleries	217	Idols and images	778
Laundry art	306	Ideas about form and color	922
Paints and pigments	306		

/103 cont./

*614 791 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material

*614 628 791 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored, and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.

537 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played

554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).

*614 [192] [197]

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen

• [532] ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/119 cont./

*614 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and

[537] knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the

• [532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions.

[623] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the

[622] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

Amur

/307 cont./

765 next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the

764 dead man -- mu n'ivukh tuv. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a curved knife (ig:dzeko) and, on the other, kes'kes -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mly -- a purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister, mother) -- mu n'ivukh kiur, which will serve the deceased as an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the grave; next to this, a little stake with three horns (branches), on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk nir); furthermore, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'ivukh pyk, i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but the dressed stuffed doll -- k:ak (1) must be made without fail.

• [532] [194]

1. K:ak -- wooden image of the deceased, a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, k:ak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

765 In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the term of "observation" (tigr az'adz: -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased), they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyz'dz:, tigr pykyz'dz:).

[231] They walk to the tuv, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

Sakhalin

/532/

775 825 This bird (the soul of the slain man) enters the avenger of

• [532] the slain man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagn, taldhchvunga) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and placed, with the roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the

[518] slain person. The chldnaj of this bird must be made out of the root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

775 The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin from a person who has died, he will say, even before sustained speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.

775 789 When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and then he says quietly, "Well, that is enough, forget the past," and puts the hat on him in the proper way, Then the boy forgets everything and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the milk.

II.

Hunting and Fishing

224 982 Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vyznd (fynydz:). 1. When winter sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol a ^ich: -- to the master of the sea, Tol yz ^dokh.

To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the other hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion
766 in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
274 The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
164 (Slyavo).
782

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
958 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw
753 and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/458 cont./

ODD China, for its pig-breeding. Besides the domestic pig, one also
235 finds among the Goldi the first domestic poultry, and, to be sure, primarily chickens (Goldi tscheko), which also come from the Sungari region. Maack (8) came across some in Chula on the Amur,

8. Op. cit., p. 230.

a little above Da, and I myself saw the Goldi in Chaizo on the Ussuri raising chickens just like the Chinese living beside them (9).

9. This fact, noted in my travel journal, was overlooked by me in the discussion
G [235] of domestic fowl in the first volume of this work (p. 404); on the other hand, it is
G [532] mentioned there that the hen is known by sight to the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from the Chinese and is popularly represented by them in woodcarvings and metalwork.

G 24 Finally, the Goldi also learned from the Chinese about the cultiva-
177 tion of vegetables and cereals, only the rudiments of which are understood by them. The northernmost point along the Amur River
G [103] where at the time of my journey there was still a small vegetable garden cultivated by Chinese was the village of Zjanka, as the Chinese called it, or Otza, as the Goldi called it, consisting of one Chinese house and two Goldi houses, located on an island near the mouth of the Gorin. At such places, whose number increases going upstream and up the Ussuri, the Goldi were able to learn, indeed, must have learned about a number of vegetables and cereals at first hand, and already in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, in Messur, Turme, and even /459/ more along this latter river, we saw them cultivating beans, squash, cucumbers, cabbage, onions, etc., and even maize, in their own gardens. Naturally at the same time, as the result of greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese along the Ussuri and Sungari and more active intercourse with them, the use of the cereals handled by them in trade, such as millet, barley, sorghum, wheat, etc., increased among the Goldi.

/503 cont./

396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together
[824] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only
[412] with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water
[192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the
[192] case of larger boats even three, pairs of car-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too,
[532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surface, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/519 cont./

226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance /520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed as far apart as the diameter of the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal strings in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

[227] 1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

[227] illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
[532] ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long, flat, wooden staff curved slightly upward toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/520 cont./

226 upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the sections of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschongr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this fashion the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords from the wall of the net or bag, so that the presence of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance of the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces.
[532] The representation of a face on the odn-tschongr is always necessary, however, according to Gilyak belief, and very essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /521/ Gilyak superstition should be considered, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon
[885] and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I shall return later with regard to its consequences.

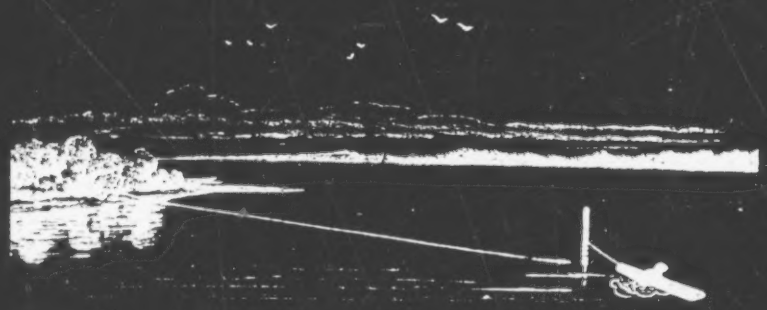
226 Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the
171 Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known in Siberia as saamolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obj, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 444; Vol. III, p. 88.

/546/

225 825 789 532 Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.



Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon. 225 825 Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put into the water. [779] The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. [191] The same conception is evidently the basis for the above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

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or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the
ce already pointed out in the beginning, that among
ing does not by far stand in the foreground of life to
that fishing and seal-catching do.

iscussing the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak,
g of wild fowl was also considered above in passing.
inent remarks might in addition follow here. By far
st number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are
by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which
le are used very little, but are caught in nets during
g season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally,
requently, they capture birds that get their food by
the water and become entangled in the nets. Among
pay special attention to the divers. Colymbus
alis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which how-
ne, not for practical, utilitarian reasons, but out
ion, about which I shall speak later when discussing
ods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hang) and
se (Gilyak parrä, along the Tymy on Sakhalin
nga), with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied
yev post during the winters of 1855-1857, are caught
snares (Gilyak kusi). With regard to the white grouse,
also finds represented on amulets among the Gilyak,
n a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion,
noted among them the above-mentioned superstition
the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird
ly desired to remove the head first.

the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the
les. Haliaëtos pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tscharngai-
d H. albicilla Bris. (Gilyak mygh-tscham, in the
Sakhalin ach-tscham). The former, however, occurs
in their territory and chiefly along the seacoast, but
on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout
and it is therefore always meant when merely the
gle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive
nsists in the fact that these rectrices are an important

/642 cont./

114 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the
844 villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I canno
768 affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the
Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village
of Kuik, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less
torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. O
the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which wil
be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the
Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after deat
had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas sus-
pected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this
would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of th
probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of cou
fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in chi
birth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of othe
844 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth.
532 Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birt
782 is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and p
vided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in ord
to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil
spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

844 No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is i
413 confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other wom
[531] giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special kni
(Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1
the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and
which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, th

[126]

2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuik.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At th
place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the
women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, u
it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes
care of it.

/737 cont./

A 796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
535 whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it
and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

500 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 76 24 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ŷžigy (**) and designate

G 61] * From the villages of Patcha and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G 04] ** Wherever the author used ы and ю from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulātsch, an attribute that means the
G 778 same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to
532 whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only
that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kulk (***). But they

G 61] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo, see pp. 448, 535.

/740 cont./

771 powers always only directed against him and superior to him in
strength, and which he more or less personifies in concrete, but
771 crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the
812 face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to
avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life -- these causes, together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view that in the action of these powers, as in his own actions, there is a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead him to a series of conclusions through which his own acts and the action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus
771 And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives
812 rise to customs and special performances that are intended to
pacify the evil forces or to keep them away, as well as to the per-
532 sonified representation of the evil powers in this or that crude, approximate fashion, through carving animal and human figures in wood, and to shamanism The many wooden figures of bears, lizards, toads, snakes, and even of human beings which are found among the Gilyak may have this origin and meaning. The Gilyak does not regard them as gods and does not worship them. They are only representations or intimations of hostile powers in Nature from which he seeks to escape. The fact that human figures are also found among them should not be interpreted as though they were personified representations of divine beings, such as anthropomorphism has created in more spiritual fashion in other places.
771 In the view of a primitive people, and the Gilyak, too, man stands
812 wholly and exclusively within Nature; according to their superstition he stands /741/ in a close and immediate causal relationship with the events of Nature (or evil powers), and this in itself may make the representation of a human being necessary for the performance of many a shamanistic act. The conception of God, the
[776] Good One, however, is much too vague and lacking in content among the Gilyak to make it possible to speak of any connection with it and thus also of anthropomorphic ideas and representations. But though the Gilyak do not regard this superstition and shamanism, etc. as divine service or prayer, but only as a practical act in their lives in order to escape all harm, nevertheless we are obliged to call this their religious consciousness. And thus we find a strange

/741 cont./

771 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely
174 driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
812 Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[124] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kāgn and tschngai (1).

[199] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped sāwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
532 is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

/742 cont./

778 it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often
789 it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, straps
755 knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's
532 neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery. Such an amulet is called ngif and kissj. From Judin in Tebach I
[126] obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. I, pp. 57, 58.)

778 3. Gilyak. The village of Poghobi on the west coast of
755 Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shaving
184 on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whol bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman. (2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

778 4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate
755 LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myikr.
532 It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off
[126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kulk. In the same vil-
778 lage among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away
for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of
532 another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/743 cont./

778 down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
532 back and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fastened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tybys. The Gilyak Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression tyf-ýžigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard the word ýžigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand. I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house, the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since the latter bears the name kánigs, I must relate it to the yurt of the Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

778 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
532 human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
171 of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kägn like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to me: three large, wooden human-figures with old, smoky zach around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --
778 In the village of Kuik, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
532 same place as in Patt. This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
184 cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
[353] keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may therefore have contained idols, while seeming to me not to have any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously revered the idols are. (1 W.R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

/744 cont./

778 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in
755 Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols
532 which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII
[126] /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p. 1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body, the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

[778] All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

778 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar
532 purpose: they are the lalž and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1
751 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

/744 cont./

778 run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
751 lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
532 another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

778 The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
706 figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
532 cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[753] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing
[761] but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
775 wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
766 the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
776 to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

778 I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans,
532 if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the
[751] purpose of the whole semicircle. Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

G 778 /745 cont./
532 more general meaning and to refer to amulets in general (Bm. II, pp. 30-32).

Gi 778 7. Idols in human shape among other Amur peoples. The
532 wooden idols, säwa, of the Samagir are shaped exactly like those
[184] of the Olcha and Goldi (Plate LIII /p.1253/, Figs. 6-8) and stand in the same place, propped upright on the sleeping bench along the transverse wall of the yurt, away from the door. (1 W.R. II, p. 77.)

Gi [171] 8. Goldi. The same custom as among the Gilyak, wearing
[126] idols around the neck, probably exists among all Amur peoples. Fig. 1 on Plate LIV /p. 1254/ represents such a small idol worked in lead, which I obtained from a Goldi on the Ussuri. (Bm. I, p. 58.)

9. Samagir. I found a small idol hanging in a deserted hunting-hut of the Samagir along the Gorin, and it reproduced the human figure in exactly the same manner and with the same features as the large säwa which one sees in the yurts of the Samagir, Goldi, and Olcha. The single deviation was that it bore a wooden eyelet on the head, through which a strap was drawn for the purpose of wearing it around the neck (Plate LIV /p. 1254/, Fig. 2). When this is done, my guide said, the säwa is fed by the one wearing it, in that the owner smears around its mouth a bit of everything that
Gi he himself eats. When I asked what the säwa actually is, he said that
[755] it is everything, the well-being of everyone, and thus his, my guide's, physical well-being, for example, the healing of his leg bitten by one
000 of my dogs. I could not find out anything more (2). There is

2. The guide of the author also called säwa the little stick, mentioned on p. 1113, deposited for a musk deer taken from a hunting tent on the Gorin (1 W.R. II, pp. 84, 85).

Gi There is
778 evidently connected with the säwa the idea of the prosperity and
777 well-being of man under the influence of a power outside of him
171 and superior to him. This conception may not be very different
000 from that of the Gilyak. A /746/ fact which speaks very much in

178 /746 cont. /A /746/ fact which speaks very much in
791 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples,
171 whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

178 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the
632 animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The
325 reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few
[171] bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuĭk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

[126] 2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

/746 cont./
the front side of the bear-idol, the lizard mä(t)ngai on the back side of it, and the snake kŷlanga, whose image is found on either side between the first two. I often witnessed the awe and fear of the Gilyak before reptiles (*).

* See Appendix 20, paragraph 2 /p. 1204/.

Among the Gilyak, besides the bear, one finds idols of the att or märeder, with downright superstitious fear connected with it among them. But since the tiger and leopard, which are united under the same name of att or märeder, are rarely seen in their northern homeland and casualties caused by them are rare, the idols of the att are less common than those of the bear. The slight acquaintance of the Gilyak with these predatory animals causes them to make the idols of them poorly and superficially (3).

3. See Vol. I, pp. 92-94, of this work.

see Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, Figs. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 represents an att idol which I found in the village of Kuĭk. It bears none of the marks which characterize the tiger and leopard and are present on the representations of these animals among the Goldi. Only the general shape is similar to those figures. /747/ But that this figure is in fact supposed to represent an att is certain, since I obtained the idols from a Gilyak expert in this. (Bm. I, pp. 59, 61.)

11. Gilyak. A fish carved out of wood, which came from the Gilyak village of Tebach, seems to serve less as an idol or amulet than as a piece of carving, as a representation, tschngai in general. It is supposed to represent the fish ngy-tscho, which is unknown to me. Even earlier I acquired from Tebach the figure of another small fish, the pilengat, Cyprinus carpio, which likewise had no significance other than that of pai (see p. 1090). Both are illustrated on Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 4, 5. Later, I obtained another carved fish from Tebach, which was supposed to represent the pak(ch?)-tscho, i.e., a large pilengat-tscho. (Bm. II, p. 32.)

/749 cont./
Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic, see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chaž, or, as an idol, chaž-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

/750 cont./
figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 4), several human figures had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pŏmi-tscho) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 5), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that it was uitsch and would cause her death.

/750 cont./
Several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patt. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart, on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two hearts (Plate LV /p. 1255 /, Fig. 5). /751/ The heart (ngif), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1292/ above).

Among the idols here there was one with the head of a tung or sea bear /fur seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2 S.R. I, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschchyrkrach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is similar to the head of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached near the back of the neck. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1). C. v. Ditmar (who was in part instrumental in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patchä there is a legend which he was not disinclined to connect with it, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

"Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patchä returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

/751 cont./
third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time they decided to keep watch during the night in order to detect the destroyer of their catch. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a structure similar to the one erected for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchä and Cape Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the Gilyak returned it was no longer there."

I now asked among the Gilyak what the figure represented and what its purpose was. They replied unanimously that the figure was called wagn, and they explained to me that this designated the place where the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned (Bm. I, pp. 50, 51.)

23. Gilyak. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt (on the right bank of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for a Gilyak who had been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Nägda /Negda/. The wagn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the extremities were all there, only much less carefully /752/ worked than on the specimen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The wagn reached from the ground up to my belt and was pointing with the head to where the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of the Amgunj. I do not wish to say, however, that such an arrangement was the rule among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)

24. Olcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the information of the Olcha Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is based on the bird kŏro whose appearance in any village is disastrous for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a case had happened many years before in the village of Chala, opposite Kisi (Kidsi?). The kŏro had come and perched on the tip of a larch tree (Olchä sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of Chala saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

/754 cont./

825 753 sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however, 755 is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes 756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch 532 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of [787] the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-[322] mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp. 462 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found. [824] This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

753 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mā(r)ngai) are 755 similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much 825 less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalź) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalź bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magá. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak 554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

/761 cont./

000 II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

775 42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven [532] is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which [798] resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

775 43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an 533 interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained [724] a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place [766] in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

764 /768 cont./

on the upper end of which is set a small spoon-shaped wooden bowl (Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 4); moreover, there is a small stick whose point is inserted into the quills of 1-3 and four eagle-feathers, tscham-ngar (**) (ibid., Fig. 5), and

** Tcham-eagle.

a third small stick, hook-shaped at the top, tututor pyk, is carved out of a branch (ibid., Fig. 3). Also lying in the little house, usually crossed over one another, are a couple of arrows without points, variously colored rags, baskets of birch bark, wooden plates with carving, and the like. Sometimes several of the aforementioned boards are present, and they /769/ then do not occupy the middle of the little house. That is probably regulated by the number of corpses whose remains rest under the little house. (Bm. I, pp. 16, 51, 69.)

54. Gilyak. According to Surgin's explanation, a bit of [765] the skull and head hair from the remains of the cremated corpse is placed in the middle of the kakk where a wooden peg is driven in. The rags around the kakk signify garments which the dead person needs (on the journey of his soul). Also, various kinds of food, such as berries and fish, are set down for the deceased as long as the corpse is still in the yurt and later, after the cremation, for the ashes in the raff; therefore in every raff one finds all kinds of implements, baskets, and bowls of birch bark and the like, on which the food is placed. The little stick with the small bowl at the tip is to serve the dead for more quickly journeying on (therefore as a walking stick); the eagle feathers on the other stick are supposed to lend wings, as it were, to the soul. (Bm. I, p. 54.)

[532] 55. Gilyak. According to the information by Judin from Tebach, the little stick, tututor pyk (*), which one finds in the

* Pyk occasionally alternates with pyt in the author's work.

/769 cont./

764 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (tútut) or a 532 cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter for a woman. The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird; hence the designation tututor-ngir and tututor-ngit or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely 764 shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word pittyssj, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (*), on which hang berries,

* According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a deceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to [562] be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and -- according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tututor pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank 184 of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to the bank and close to it a pittyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. Its roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pittyssj, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an ex-184 tremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan, had erected 556 in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, red, and white,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

2: Schrenck--1259 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3

Idols in animal form: 1--tiger (Goldi); 2, 3--leopard (Goldi); 4--seal (Olcha); 5--unidentified animal, a human heart in its mouth (Olcha amulet); 6--white whale (Gilyak); 7, 8--toad (Gilyak); 9--"chas" of the Gilyak.

2:Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
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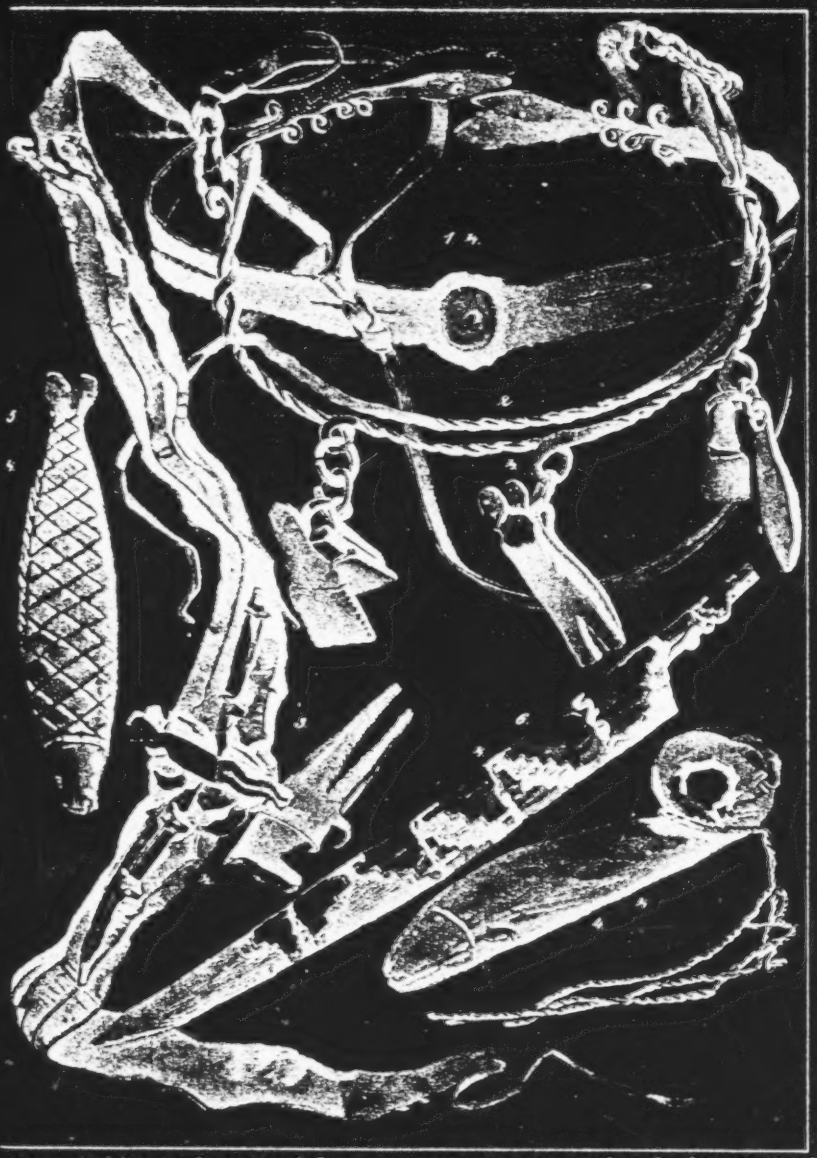
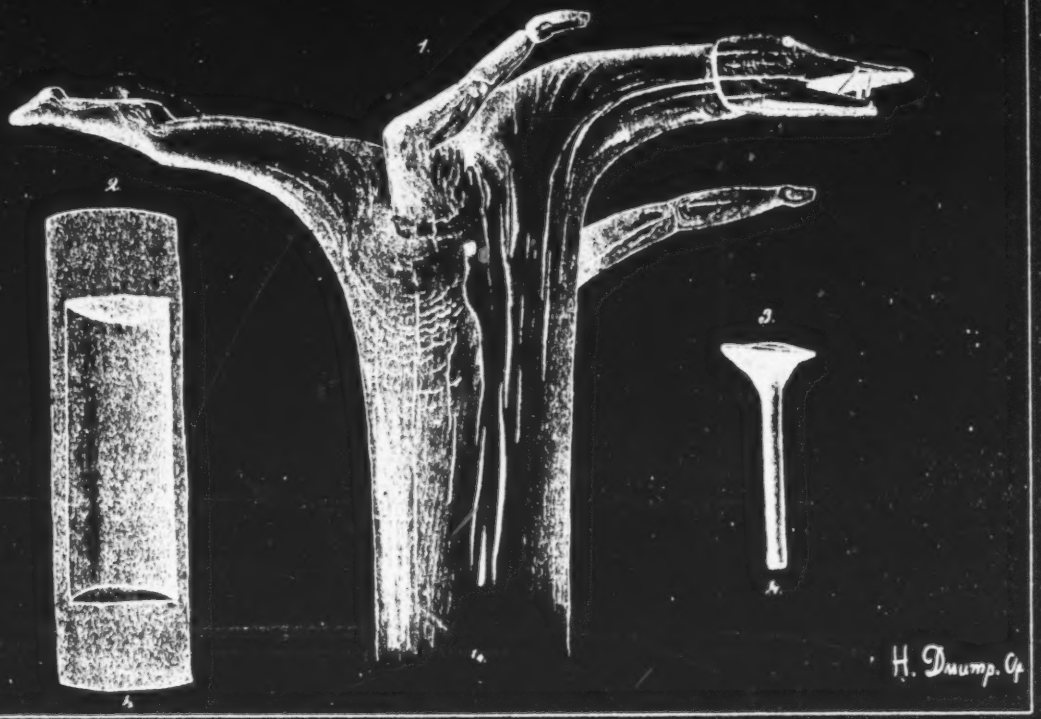


1. Iron circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). 2. Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to prevent sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal figures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak child's toy representing a dog.

2: Schrenck--1266 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

766 [412] [532] [415]



1. Grave marker of a murdered Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle, from the tomb of a drowned Olcha.

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for
size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting
for splitting the bear's skull; 6--s

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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collecting bear fat (reduced in
bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax
poon.

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

/771 cont./

880 years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
766 of a person killed by an att (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
778 [262] lar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
[755] remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

764 59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk,
184 and Tschilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for
[162] them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p. 8.)

[778] 60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shavings (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

766 61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
778 (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
532 in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (**). It is made out of a

** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-knobbles serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

/771 cont./

766 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,
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† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266 /, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn,
[674] projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

778 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the
532 ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the
825 Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

[628] [627] 1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

G /772 cont./

778 1. (cont.)
532 members of a village -- or -- as in the case
825 of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.
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Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does
766 not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the
775 wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

G 62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin)
764 told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes
184 of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)
778

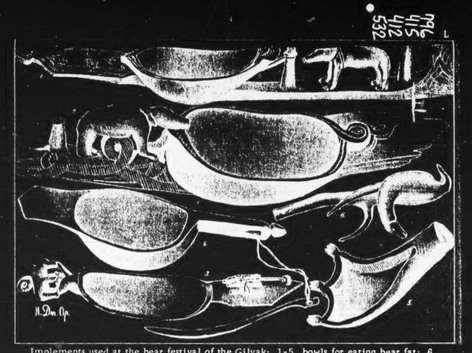
63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo
G 764 (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-
184 wise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tututngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tschant-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

G- 64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of
[784] Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak
[171] are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

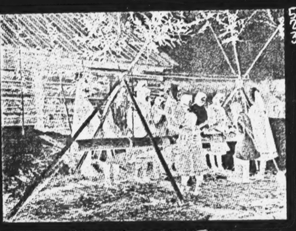
/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 28).

G-i 65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of
764 Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pulji (Pulu
531 on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings



Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

The Nivkhi 781



Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi
and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the
ear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers
ere often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved
ith pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given
ear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they
ndicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt
r reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so
orth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a
primitive one-string instrument (t'yugrygg) and a lip jew's-harp (kanggyh,
during the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an
ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu-
ion. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary,
Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two
there were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds.
Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the
Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be-
came the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized
o fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted
several years.

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"Dr. Laufer, a member of the recent Jesup Expedition, despatched from Washington, U.S.A., and the greatest [195] authority on the art of the Amur tribes, has declared of the Gilyaks and Golds that their art is lacking in realistic representations. Their purely decorative work—and he excludes from this all wooden objects, animals, etc., carved as charms or toys—he alleges, is confined to copies of Chinese representations of animals which these natives have never seen, such, for instance, as the cook, the tortoise, and the mythical phoenix. It is interesting in this connexion to note that in this particular hut in the village of Kamavo, I found several carvings on the timbers of the wall of the hut of bears, as well as other crude mural decorations of a chess-board pattern. Perhaps these may be regarded as the exception which proves the rule."

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
775 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
777 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

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/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
504 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[782] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
532 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of de-
parture of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/680 cont./Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I
myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak, however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. It is the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region, Olcha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of ga urging

1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them this so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

the continuation of the song is replaced by a nasal kā, kā (2).

2. Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/," Zap., Sibirsk. Otd. Georg. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 29) relates that an Ainu in the village of Tschikapergunai, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, an improvisation about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Ainu called out in unison the words kā, kā, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 137) similarly reports that the Chukchee, as spectators at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, etc., which take place among them, express their approval with the words kahi kahi, which means the same as da capo.

/680 cont./

513 On the whole, it is surprising how often and readily the Gilyak,
171 or Olcha, etc., interrupts his night's sleep even apart from the nocturnal singing, he abandons his bed as soon as sleep leaves his eyelids, gets up, squats in front of the hearth, stirs up the fire in it or on it, smokes one pipe after another, etc. But I never
[123] saw him, day or night, pace back and forth in the yurt, and whenever I did it, which was not infrequent on stormy days which permitted no activity in the open, this walking back and forth, inexplicable to them, evoked general amazement and smiles among those present, indeed, sometimes a direct question as to the purpose of it.

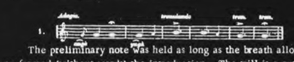
533 Since I rarely heard the Gilyak sing in the daytime, for the reasons given above, a statement by Middendorff about this, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, is all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (3) became acquainted with the Gilyak at the Tugur

3. It is well known that Middendorff crossed the northern river system of the Amur from the mouth of the Tugur and via the Amgunj /Amgun/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and Dseja /Zeya/ to Ustj-Strelka, at the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and Argunj /Argun/ to the Amur (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615-625).

and Ulbanj Bays, that is to say, at their extreme northwestern boundary, to which he had come in the company of some Yakut and Tungus. Through the latter his attention was called to the fact that there were some accomplished singers among the inhabitants of the place, and he requested them to exhibit their art. At first they refused; then one sang for a while, but soon, perhaps becoming embarrassed, he broke into laughter, whereupon all the others followed him. Now each one had to step forward in turn. In general they sang with far more melody than the Yakut, but gutteral and /681/ nasal trills also always played an important

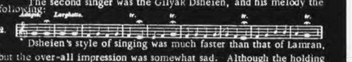
/681 cont./

533 part. In pithy and drastic language, after a statement about the music concerned, Middendorff characterizes the style of singing of the individual singers. "First, the Gilyak Lamran stepped forward. He had a pleasant voice and truly a great deal of skill. During the singing one could hear only a few words besides anga -- ynga, and it seems as though these words, used as an introduction and refrain with each song, had no meaning, but simply belonged to the singing. Here are the notes:

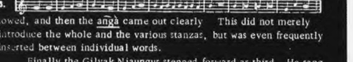


The preliminary note was held as long as the breath allowed and formed (without words) the introduction. The trill is a gutteral trill and is likewise held a long time. Since Lamran held a very pure note and also had an acceptable vibrant gutteral trill, this slow style was very pleasant, but not a little melancholy.

The second singer was the Gilyak Dsheien, and his melody the following:



Dsheien's style of singing was much faster than that of Lamran, but the over-all impression was somewhat sad. Although the holding
[194] of the gutteral trills was also the most important thing for him, a special virtuosity was added: in holding the note, he suddenly acted as if he were losing his breath and as if someone were choking him, so that one became quite fearful and afraid that he would suffocate, but then the word begun came out quite clearly. Moreover, in between there was a sort of belching and sobbing, during which only the beginning of the word was pronounced, as by a stutterer, for example, ań --- ańga then the loss of breath and the sobbing and belching fol-



owed, and then the ańga came out clearly. This did not merely introduce the whole and the various stanzas, but was even frequently inserted between individual words.

Finally the Gilyak Njaungur stepped forward as third. He sang as follows; /see No. 3 above/

/681 cont.

533 Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing; even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, too, produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the gutteral sounds, besides the subsequent belching out /682/ of the words like greater skill, and, moreover, besides the sobbing gutteral trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's-harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them so long and to produce them so clearly. It is also interesting physiologically that in producing these trills the soft palate plays an important role."

Middendorff continues: "From all these songs the differences caused by the individuality of the singers became clear: whereas Lamran, with a good voice and a clear trill, had in his way a melancholy, pleasant, and grave style of singing, the other two singers were like our artistic virtuosos who play violin variations on the cello. Along with the singing it must also be kept in
[194] mind that the Gilyak language, and thus also the ańga, sounds as though the nose had a chicken wishbone clamped on it; in addition there is the childish pronunciation of the r, which sounds as though it were midway between the r, g, and l and which is connected with d, g, and b, and, furthermore, the French ñ, the English th and w, the g combined with d, etc."

Middendorff also noted down the words of the last two songs,
114 but unfortunately I must disregard them here since they cannot be
533 even approximately deciphered. And this should not surprise one, for, in view of the traveler's very short sojourn among the Gilyak, the many and very peculiar sounds of their language must have sounded most strange and bewildering to his ear, which was as yet wholly unaccustomed to them. And there is also the circumstance, making comprehension more difficult to so great a degree, that the singer has the greatest freedom to change and to modulate the words as he pleases to make them fit his rhythm and melody -- a freedom which he does not give up as a rule even in repeating the words, because they were once impressed upon his memory this way during the singing. Hence it is more than doubtful that an interpreter, of

/682 cont./

533 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
114 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song; instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
[126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under the title of Waighytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list; see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p. 41 /this appendix is not included in the book translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

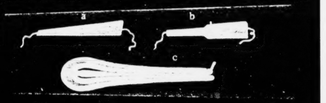
534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
[439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, accordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood, and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining attached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

534



Gilyak jew's-harps.

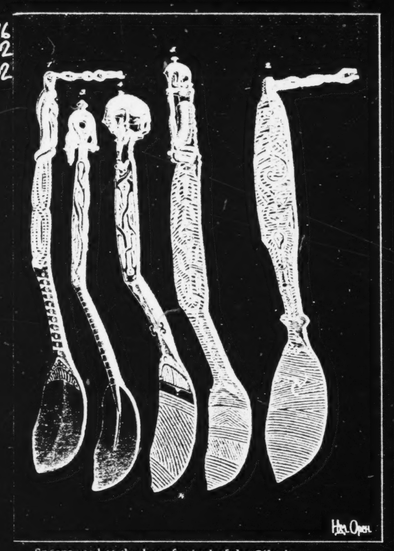
517 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
533 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.
534

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak
[824] tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[825] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

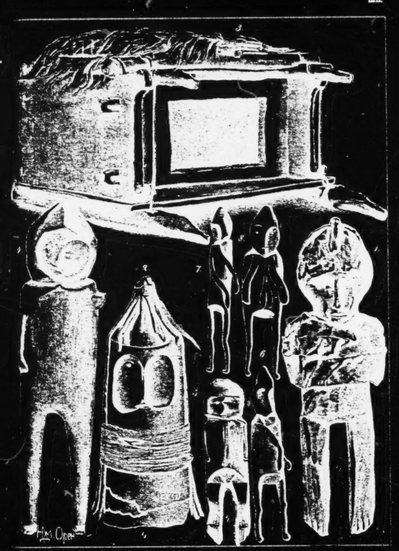
Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

2: Schrenck--1252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



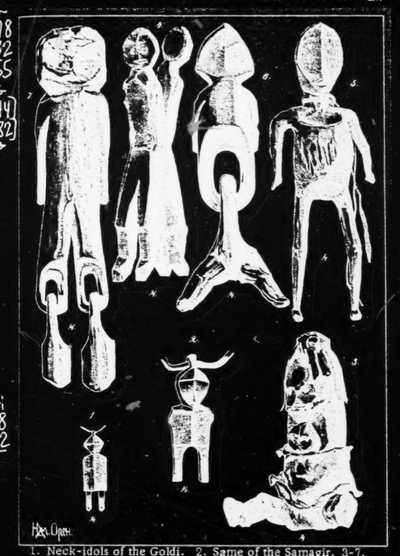
Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1253 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3



Idols in simple human form. 1,2--Gilyak house idols. 3. Dwelling of the idols. Fig. 2 (reduced). 4. One-armed Gilyak idol. 5. Gilyak neck-idol. 6-8. House idols of the Goldi (reduced).

2: Schrenck--1254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3



1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

1: Shternberg--246 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/164 cont./

582 614 marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother. "Pfandfukh an'g:ej gen urdra" -- "from the clan of your 'pandf' (see above), from the clan from which you originated (were born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother came, you [533] should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree to which these principles play a role in reality. From the very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature, I was astounded that in each clan there were so many kinsmen's wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who called each other, according to the generation of the husband, sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It was necessary to record many Gilyak who were married several times, and most often their wives turned out to be from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan of the husband's mother. One of my companions on my journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters and brothers.

582 171 The preference shown for this form of marriage even today is always the result of the religious imperative; we have seen above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to the role of this form of marriage among the Gilyak, one may express it in the same words that have been used to describe the same phenomenon among the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India. In these tribes, "marriage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

1: Shternberg--274 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/184 cont./

*835 183 587 768 [614] levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 *835 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. [796] In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in [825] beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the [762] same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging ● [533] of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

1: Shternberg--367 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/251 cont./

831 [192] words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych, n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 882 593 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the [684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many ● [533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances [835] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in [762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to 584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly 593 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

1: Shternberg--368 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/251 cont./

584 593 childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an unloved man. But these are exceptional cases

831 In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in any way from love in civilized society. Coarse sexuality is completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive people we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lover's sorrow to the stormiest outbursts of heroic passion, which neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a manly resolution to part with one's life.

831 ● 533 These psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in love songs, especially in the songs of women.

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching images and forms. "Night and day do I think of thee... As on my own mother do I gaze...If thou leavest me, only of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I walk. From the well whence we both did drink, thy dark shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and flint that hang from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like rain, the calf of my right leg fails me, it has become immovable, wholly dry have I become, my legs do not move" -- with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy that the same sentimental notes sound in the songs of the men, and the references to left and right tears pattering like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly, all of thee"... Only rarely does clumsy vulgar (from our point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat thigh the joint (the calves) spins(twitches), that is how I like it." But never any cynicism.

1: Shternberg--369 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/252 cont./

831 ● 533 The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

831 584 593 762 An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides 831 58 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary 593 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save 762 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself. [847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had 831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. 58 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with 159 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the [682] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

2: Schrenck--1165 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

76 /721 cont./
94 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
94 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
42 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
42 gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
53 pated in the meal; indeed, even the women and children re-
55 ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among
5 the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

04) 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call môps (1).

14) 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of 97 punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once 33 outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
4) ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

2: Schrenck--1212 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

756 /754 cont./ such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak
55 Räppun in Tebach, about whom the following miracle is reported.
55 His hands are tied to his back by straps, and his throat is likewise
789 strangled by a strap. Then he sits down on the floor of the yurt, in which the light and the hearth fire are extinguished. As soon ● [533] as it is dark, he begins singing, which, in shaman fashion, is performed with long prolongations, monotonously frequent repetition and transposition of the same words, and with a trembling, wailing voice. After this the shaman falls down as if dead. /755/ Now all those present in the yurt, men, women, and children, begin a song that serves to conjure up a kägn.

During this conjuration a kägn appears, invisible to everybody [787] except the shaman, loosens the straps on his neck and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

The shaman Chorvin from Tschcharbach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a matscherlagu-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miraculous things. Thus the Gilyak say that he sits down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are [787] extinguished, and all the onlookers begin a shamanistic song, in which the kägn is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a small kägn hardly larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy shaman stands there unfettered.

Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they 756 mean and whether they are also sung on definite occasions. It 533 seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a 787 kägn who is supposed to appear and to lend assistance, be it for curing a sickness or for divulging the future, etc. It also seems that, according to the conception of the Gilyak, the kägn always produces his effect while dancing, a conception that may be connected with the practice of dancing on the part of the shaman himself. In the aforementioned shamanistic songs the kägn is expressly invited to dance (lärta). But the appearance and the dancing of the kägn are never visible to anyone in the yurt other than only the shaman, and this is precisely the mark and proof of his higher power and supernatural strength. (Bm. II, pp. 47, 48.)

2: Schrenck--1213 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/755 cont./

756 31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Jutschin from Patchä gave me a [124] minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center 756 of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman 787 is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around 789 his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwyssj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kägn who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kägn, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kägn answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kägn, during constant noise, approach the shaman lying bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the ● [533] Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the conjuration song of the kägn; but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kägn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The [533] song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

This song moves the kägn to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him heave a deep sigh -- this time breathing in life anew -- and now he stands there freed

2: Schrenck--1222 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/761 cont./

000 II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

775 42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven [532] is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which [998] resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

775 43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an 533 interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained ● 533 a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung [124] by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place [766] in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 Above.)

6: Kreinovich--3 E-5 (1931) 1935 Gilyak

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore. 225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the ● 533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we 824 182

3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskar plant. (1) Then we

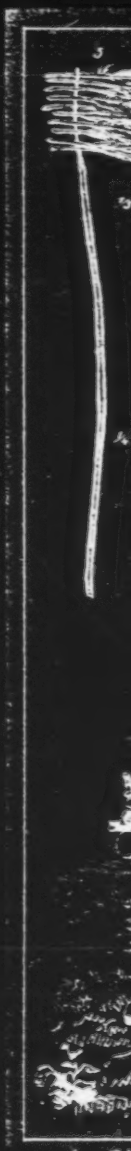
1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskar to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

2: Schrenck--1250 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

796
415
412
532

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

764
532



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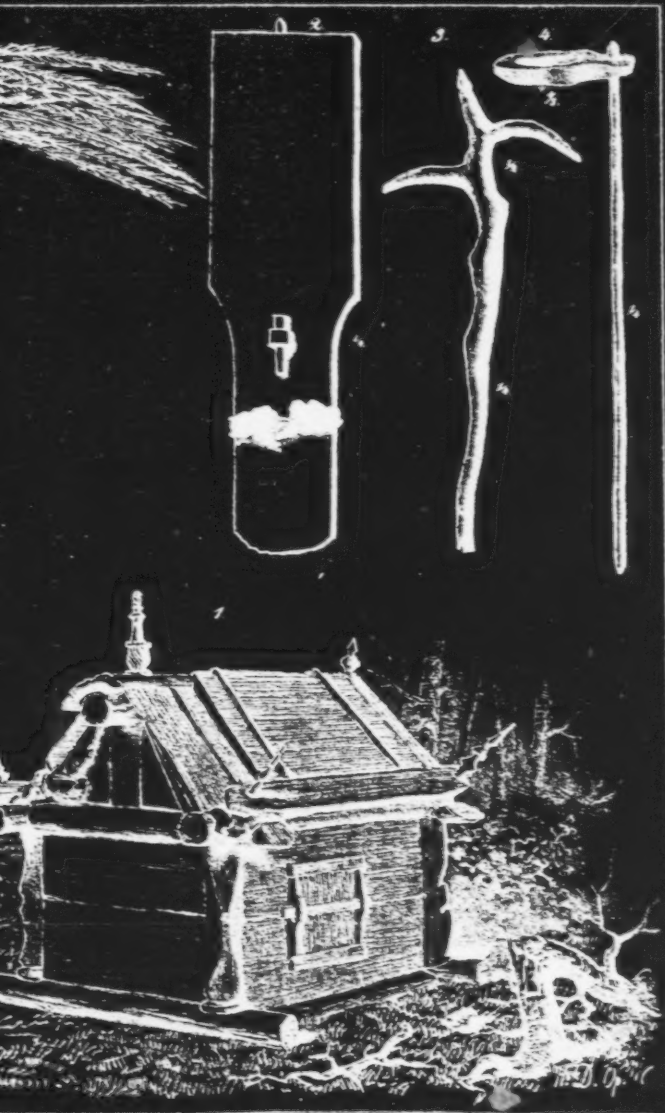
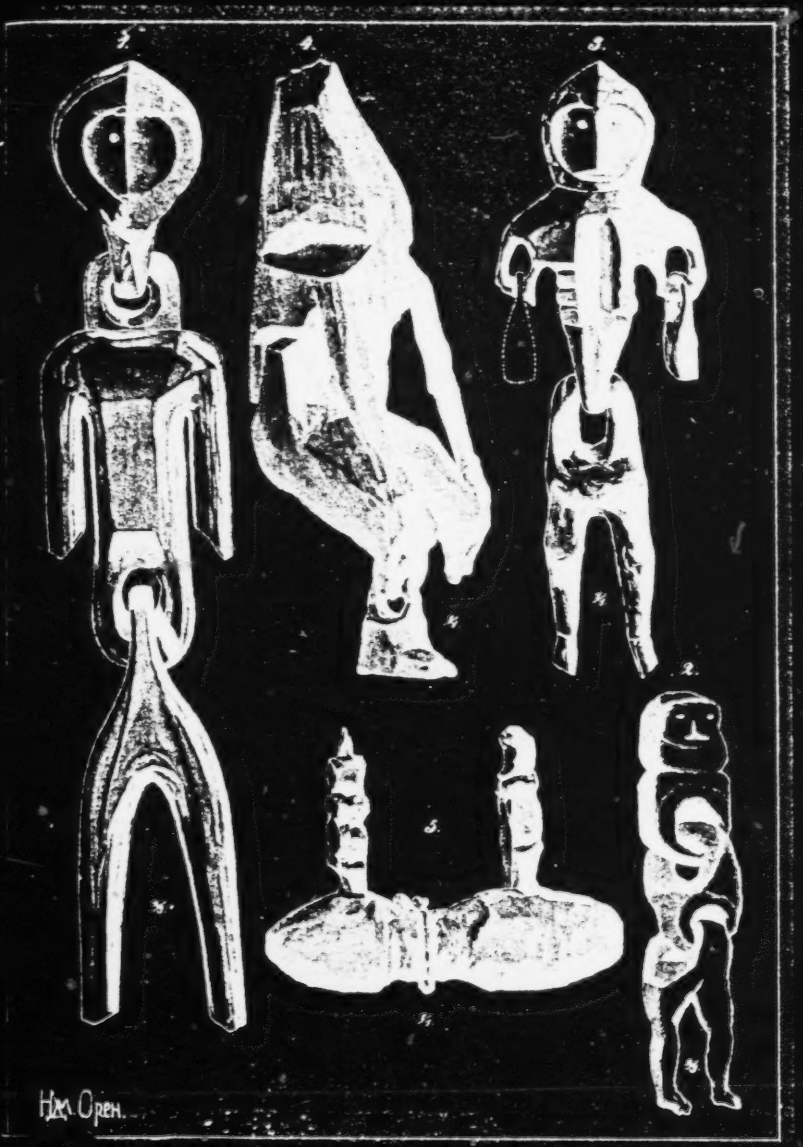


lyak tomb. 2-5. Objects of symbolic significance found in the tomb.



1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

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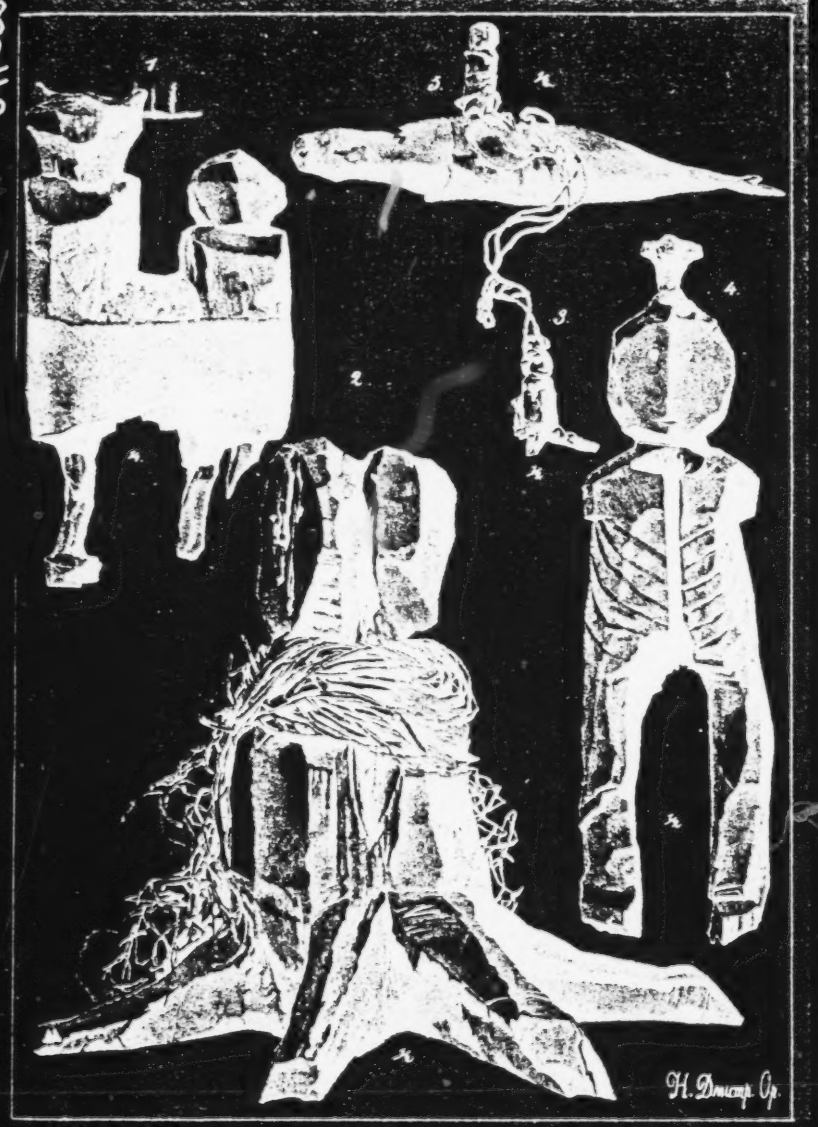

Gilyak idols made out of combined human and animal forms. 1. Human being and tiger. 2. Human being, tiger, and bear. 3. Human being and bear. 4. Human being and owl. 5. Human being and white whale.

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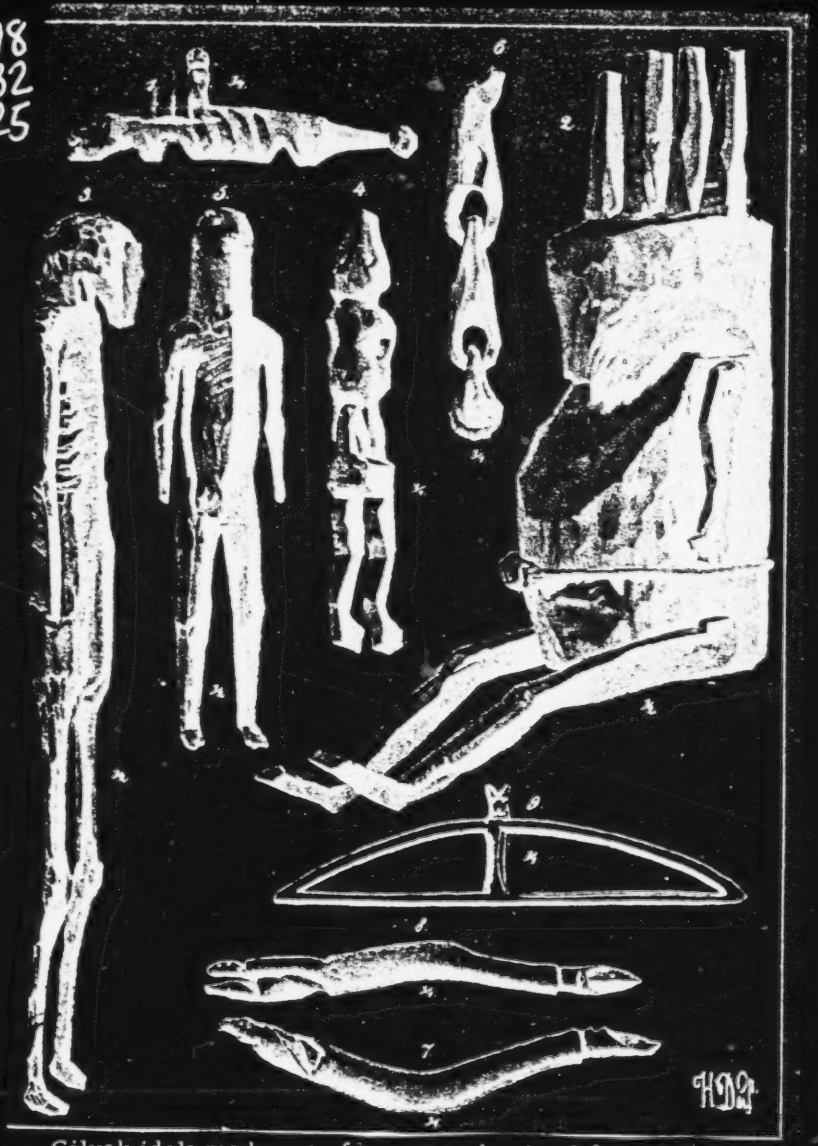

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal forms combined: 1--human being and tiger; 2--human being with tiger head; 3, 4--human being with bear head; 5--human being with owl head; 6--human back-joint with bear head and paw; 7, 8--Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9--similarly, a bow with human head.

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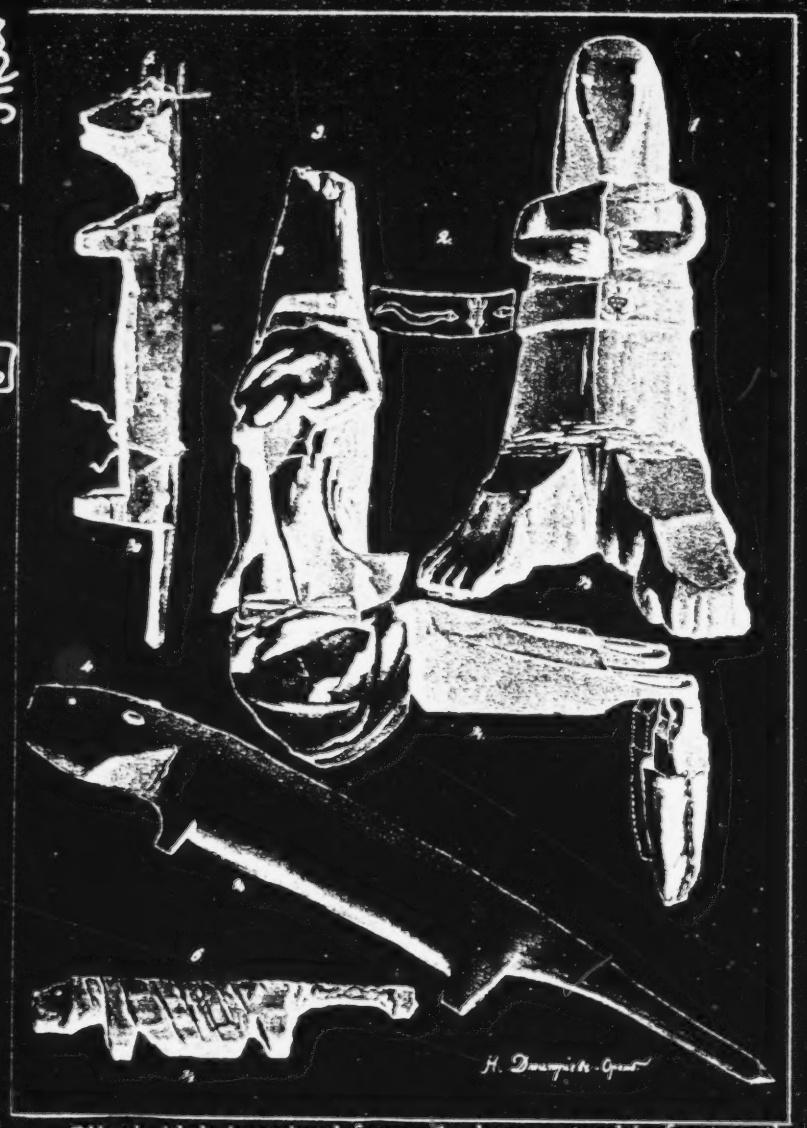

Gilyak idols in animal form: 1--bear, a toad in front on the belt; 2--in the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3--bear, jointed, dressed in fish skin; 4-6--tiger.

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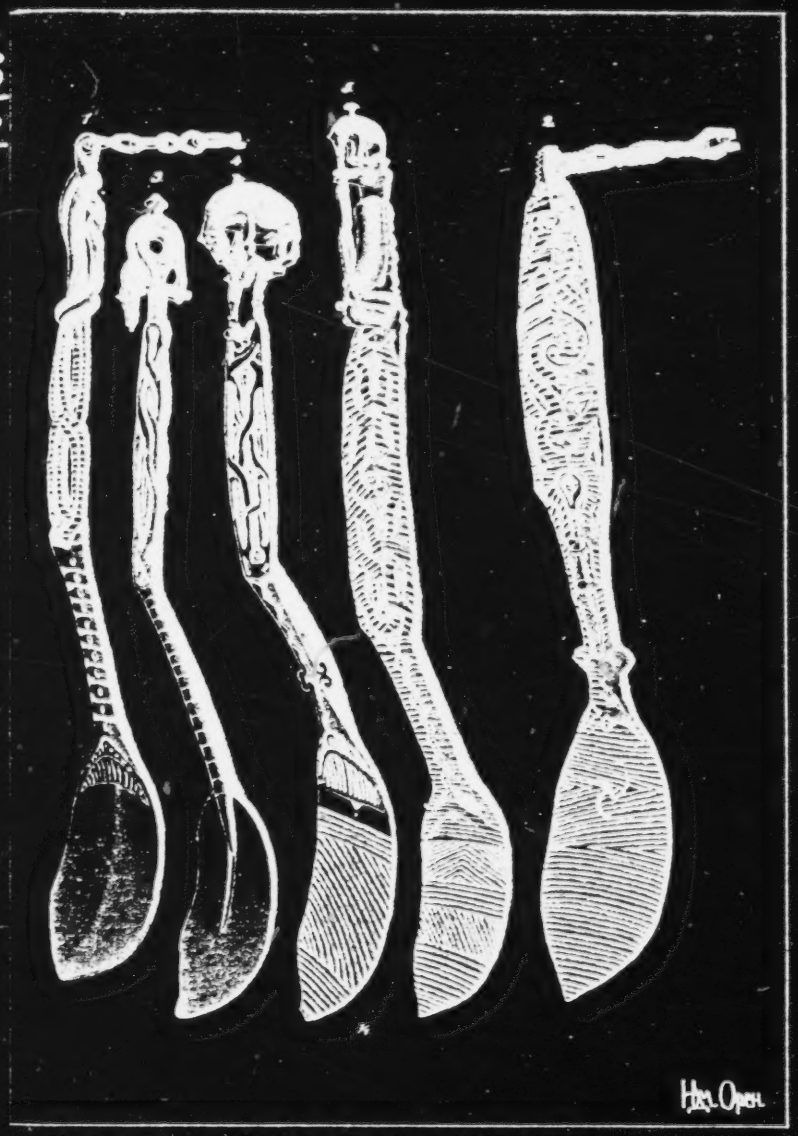

Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

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Idols in simple human form. 1, 2--Gilyak hou
of the idols. Fig. 2 (reduced). 4. One-arme
Gilyak neck-idol. 6-8. House idols of the Gi

se idols. 3. Dwelling
d Gilyak idol. 5.
ldi (reduced).

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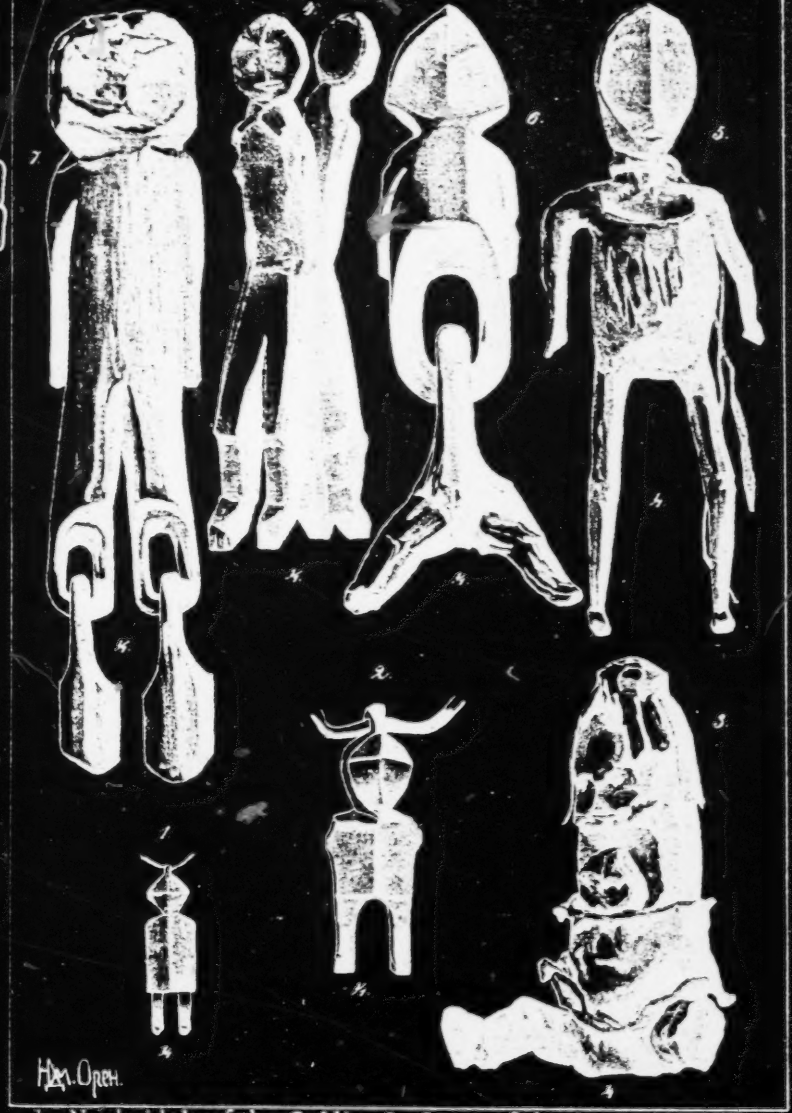
[782]



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1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

823 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately
acid, for the former are held by the Gilyaks to make a man
brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
775 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
785 know about, some are good and protect man, but the major-
ity are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated
with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kiza (on the
island of Sachalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
779 ponds to the devil. Abrimm, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
kegn-mimi, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or
kegn-beddi. Usually they are kept in the storage pits and only
brought out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
means that its inhabitant, the kobeldi, is at home, but when
it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about
somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet,
tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared
with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect.
Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have
different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the
vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be
taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans,
others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
idols represent children, others old people. Some have
hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body show-
ing a bowel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
944 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.
Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
777 stands on the so-called Tyr (I) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank
a Buddhist temple formerly stood, of this only a few stone
pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

/63 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
5714 bear meat. The feast takes place on the next day, which is called
the day of treating the nash'i (nash'-arin-ash). The nash'i
seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the
host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
576 bear meat. More gracious host feed their guests with their
own hands, sticking into their mouths /68/ a huge piece of fat;
the guest bites off a piece. Leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[24] what he has started. Only the nash'i are allowed to eat bear
[24] meat; and his clan are denied this; they are allowed to
eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears'
carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous
quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
2471 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
5714 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit
it, the host respectfully offers him water and drinks the vomit.
It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In
intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with
sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
5714 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is
played by those who have contributed most to which lifts
634 the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests
drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday
the nash'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once
boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of de-
parture of the nash'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds
of viands prepared for their families and classmen are placed
[192] on their sleds. At the last moment the nash'i head several
dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor
to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear,
a thong, and other small articles next to the head of the animal
or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nash'i are lavishly

/64 cont./

582 164
114 marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother.
"Handfish angoj gen udra" -- "from the clan of your uncle"
(see above), from the clan from which you originated (were
born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother comes, you
● [533] should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the
house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the
contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree
to which these principles play a role in reality. From the
very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet
conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature,
I was astonished at the frequency of the marriages of Amurmen's
wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who
called each other, according to the generation of the husband,
sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It
was necessary to record many Gilyak who were married to
several times, and most often their wives turned out to be
from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan
of the husband's mother. One of my expeditions on my
journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always
to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of
cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only
cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters
and brothers.

582 The preference shown for this form of marriage even today
119 is always the exception, and it is important to observe; we have seen
above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to
the role of this form of marriage among the Gilyak, one may
express it in the same words that have been used to describe
the same phenomenon among the Sog and Ryga tribes of the
province of Saptpas in central Asia. In these tribes, "mar-
riage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a
brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and
Kurnai, p. 154.

/164 cont./

831 levirate. Then, in order that the
192 woman remain in the clan of her
142 deceased husband, he is given, ac-
cording to the decision of the clan
council, to a relative of the
ascending or descending degree of
[24] kinship with her late husband.

634 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons
● 835 of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.
In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such
a man and his relatives, it is considered the inspiration of an evil
spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in
[796] beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a
fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the
[825] same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay
[842] themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging
[533] of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair,
the woman sings of how /165/ her elder sister called her a
[634] "bitch" for her love for her brother, and how the latter a
"devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters --
urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the ob-
ject of her criminal passion, the brother, could be of her age,
could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the
criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

● 835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the for-
bidden categories has a psychological character, like the
very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in
our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced
on us by the feeling which prompts the Gilyak to suppress in
himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests
when the question of the group-husbands of his individual
spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the
noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the
realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; un-
restrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'ad'mych,
192 n'ad'ch. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage
142 of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This
view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down
on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's
nagging about her passion, sings:

Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time,
let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
192 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
575 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considera-
tions, since during the period of passion the young people
neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In
general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the
sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[634] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter
or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer,
but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he
may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the
amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural
phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the
confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
● [533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly
address their mothers with requests to protect their suffer-
ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved.
Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
[192] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In
such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
582 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
575 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/250 cont./

831 childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an
192 unloved man. But these are exceptional cases
575

In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in
831 any way from its civilized counterpart. Coarse sensality is
192 completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive peo-
ple we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the
tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lover's
sorrow to the torrinent outbursts of heroic passion, which
neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a
manly resolution to part with one's life.

The psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in
● 831 love songs, especially in the songs of women.
192

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and
delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching
images and forms. "I think and day do I think of thee...
As on my own mother do I gaze...If thou leavest me, only
of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I
walk. Food shall I eat, water shall I drink, thy dark
shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth
831 most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful
192 and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and
573 that that hangs from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy
boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like
rain, the calf of my right leg falls me, it has become im-
movable, wholly shall I become, my legs do not move"
with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak
songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy
that the same sentimental notes sound in the songs of the
men, and the references to left and right tears patterning
like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the
same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One
finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly,
all of thee". Only rarely does crudity creep in (from our
point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat
thigh the joint (the calves) spins(twitches), that is how I
like it." But never any cynicism.

831 The importance of the role of love in the life of the
192 Gilyak can be judged by the wealth of song material. Not
● 575 every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone
knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in
Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. A thirsty
831 sanguinous lovers sing improvised songs to each other in
192 place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to
meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through
a third person. Special terms have even been made up for
such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
831 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
192 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
831 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
192 are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is
575 presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary
motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the child-
hood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides
831 take place quite a long time after the mercenary
192 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
573 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event
of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, compelled her to become his wife, and forbade her to leave him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate women hanged herself.
831 There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
192 her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
● 575 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
831 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
192 the aid of relatives, but they will not stop at slaying the
575 husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/234 cont./

instance of such erroneous beauties in the village of Hyaiwe. The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time he received was foolish gives in verse, but there was also the file saw his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of coarse cloth, and naked, despite the cold of winter, he danced in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his wife by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her constantly for many years (the last time he had time to see him about him for-far-off years and fear for such out of sable traits.

The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here the tragedy is inevitable. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily in such cases the lovers go to the place of their death and relives side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave and of their happiness in their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that the parents, narrow, the man, beside loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity. /235/ his long song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago. The certain nation became attracted to the wife of the brother of her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, the [illegible] (now idea of monarchy) in the Gilyaks was expressed by the term [illegible], literally -- "of a good face." [illegible] the good that he had brought back, released his bear, which [illegible] fetching out for a feast, [illegible] and [illegible] himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the moment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its entirety in the text in lyrics. Here we quote only the first lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Myen (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on the wall of my yurt.

The Gilyak empty magic means against unequited love. One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which is mixed with white beeco and offer to the girl in food. But they surreptitiously see the feather of a cuckoo to her dress. But there are other means that are not so harmless and lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these drugs, falls into a deep melancholy, and in a few days dies. I know two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to such drugs for a high price, and several women died of them.

Among the Gilyaks, as in our country, there are timid individuals who are being tormented by the unfortunate feeling of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old women, who, for, this, must be given "tea" or a present. Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries, ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresponding to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love are. Generally speaking, the individual attracts the beauty of her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, the [illegible] (now idea of monarchy) in the Gilyaks was expressed by the term [illegible], literally -- "of a good face." [illegible] the good that he had brought back, released his bear, which [illegible] fetching out for a feast, [illegible] and [illegible] himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the moment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its entirety in the text in lyrics. Here we quote only the first lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Myen (1).

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/235 cont./

childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic quality of voice. Her mother sings a young girl there is even her lullaby.

A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing a unwanted lifiter most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

/236/ Samail Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversion as pederasty had bestiality were known among them. He replied, "No, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for bestiality, there is one instance, a dog, which, I have seen them with dogs, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were sitting on a big shoal when a Gilyak passed by. He saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then he indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth you be beasts forever." Then, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward hermaphrodites (called in the eastern dialect, [illegible] -- in the western dialect, [illegible], in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/236 cont./

Representatives of a intermediate nature. To compose, [illegible], a song in honor of a man, [illegible] is a great honor.

[illegible] may (the body is a [illegible]-[illegible] (menyuel) (1) a shamanic cradle and a [illegible] (2) a [illegible] (3) [illegible]-[illegible], who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When initiating about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and begin [illegible] (1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of her father-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his daughter to the brother of his own father-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the [illegible] (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the [illegible] of the relation of the father of the clan, have frequently participates, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the trade price, and frequently, if the bridegroom is poor, the clansmen, because of the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and renowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/237 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an appointment concerning an orthodox marriage, the clan of the groom sends a young girl there or even the bride herself.

Gilyak-[illegible], who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When initiating about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and begin [illegible] (1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his father-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his daughter to the brother of his own father-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the [illegible] (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the [illegible] of the relation of the father of the clan, have frequently participates, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the trade price, and frequently, if the bridegroom is poor, the clansmen, because of the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

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/237 cont./

[illegible] (menyuel) (1) a shamanic cradle and a [illegible] (2) a [illegible] (3) [illegible]-[illegible], who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When initiating about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and begin [illegible] (1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his father-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his daughter to the brother of his own father-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the [illegible] (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the [illegible] of the relation of the father of the clan, have frequently participates, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the trade price, and frequently, if the bridegroom is poor, the clansmen, because of the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and renowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/1862 cont./

a wife when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle with the mother bear ends not with the killing of the animal, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness are also fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness are also fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness are also

9: Hawes--265 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 533, 558, 562, 593

"All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old, old songs, the epics of their race, but with the lyrics it is otherwise, for they are very numerous, and always being added to. These are composed by the maidens of the tribe, who tell them to their girl friends, and they again to the Gilyak world. It may not be known who the authoress is, for that would be considered a want of modesty. Sometimes one may be heard to say, 'There goes an old woman who made songs in her youth;' but it is not 'good form.' Woman's mission is the ménage. The Gilyak's notions of modesty are very strict. After they have passed the age of childhood brothers and sisters are not allowed to speak to one another. If the former attempted it, the latter would turn away in injured modesty."

151 XIV Amusements and Festivities. Burial Ceremonies.
Among such peoples physical pleasures, naturally, take
a most important place, and foremost among the e are the
joys of eating and smoking. They are not very sensitive to
odors, for fish, smoke, and seal blubber to them have an
indifferent, or even an agreeable odor. But they abhor the
odor of decay, and conversely, they like a nice fragrance.
Whenever I experimentally held a bottle of eau-de-cologne
up to their noses, they always made a pretty face.
822 Among colors, the Gilyak prefer red and blue, but they
definitely do not belong to those peoples who go in for bright
colors. For instance, many of them could acquire a red
shirt or caftan instead of the dirty-blue ones, but it would
never occur to them to do this. The colored borders and
curlicues on the caps and petticoats of the women suffice;
otherwise clothes, houses, weapons, and tools are dark-
colored. A black dog pelt as a coat is, as I have said, re-
garded as particularly beautiful.
534 The Gilyak love music. If neighboring Russian peasants
strum their balalaikas or play the accordian, the natives
who are present like to listen. Their own music is very
primitive. It consists of a sort of jew's harp which looks
somewhat like a longish horseshoe. The broad end of the
instrument is grasped with one hand, the narrow end is
placed on the lips, the tongue of the player is placed forward
somewhat, while one finger of the other hand alternately
pulls and releases the little hook connected with the tongue
of the instrument. The tongue vibrates and a low buzzing
tone results, which can be modified by the tongue of the
player. Not everybody knows how to play on this
"harmonica".
Other quite embryonic music, or rather, clinking noise,
is produced as follows: a thin dry tree trunk is suspended
parallel to the ground by ropes, and on this they beat
rhythmically with a stick. During the bear festival the
audience is edified with this sort of "music": some woman
who has a talent for this, calls together a troupe of children
and, as though under the baton of a conductor, lets them hit
533 the limb with sticks. In winter time on a journey, the Gilyak
often sings a monotonous song which actually consists only
of all kinds of unrelated sentences about anything that happens
to occur to him [235] or that he sees. Actual songs that are
handed down from father to son the Gilyak do not possess,
and in general they are stingy with their singing. I never
heard them sing in the village, their houses, or on their

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.
535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.
527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.
527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]
Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.
527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on thi
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the drau
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact tha
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, whi
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding and following exactly the calls of the leader
are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to tak
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by
522 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gil
succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other h
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds an
sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, howe
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule
their luckier companions.
796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followe
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Th
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the gues
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the v
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the
described above since it gave indications of no longer wan
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. D
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parti
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of
companions, and those that came after him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, ho
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam abo
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of t
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like st

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901)
116, 533, 584, 762

"Among the eighty-eight adults who d
S: of Sakhalin] one was a young Gilyak
been given in marriage to a man she di
dirt-encased, skin-clad, unkempt, ill-
of nature;' and yet the old, old songs o
death of the disappointed lovers, or of

Perhaps one day we may hope to have
Mr. P.; [LSS: Pilsudski] meanwhile, h
tell the story of another.

The usual motif of these lyrics is the
sequent violent and secret attachment t
sion is strong, then rather than become
she and her lover will commit suicide.
ing a knife to the heart, or by stranglin
same way will be together in heaven. T
which tells how a young man loved a fai
another, and how they agreed to commi
and not only did not fulfil his word, but
said the maiden's spirit has never ceas
you would kill yourself, and you have n

ied between 1891 and 1895 on the west coast, [LS
woman who hanged herself, because she had
sliked. Under this strange wild exterior, this
favoured form, we are startled by the 'one touch
f this people tell mostly of such events–of the
the impassioned appeal to the loved one.
e some of these Gilyak lyrics from the pen of
his kindness enables me to give one here, and to

betrothal of the girl when young, and her sub-
o another and youthful lover. If the mutual pas-
e the wife of one chosen by her parents for her,
This they do in the same manner, i. e. by plung-
g, since those who thus kill themselves in the
here is one song, well known among the Gilyaks,
r maiden already betrothed in her childhood to
t suicide. This man, however, proved faithless,
had never intended so to do. Until this day, it is
ed to upbraid him, calling always, 'Ah, you said
ot. You deceived me! Men are liars!' [265]

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 533, 584, 762

And to-day the reproachful tones of the cru
swish of the sledge and the howl of the dogs
'You said you woul
And you did not.
You are a deceiver
Men are liars!' "

uelly deceived maiden may be heard in
as the narta starts off'—
d kill yourself,

!

Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.).

fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told m that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After w cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cu some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared som berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eye

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they burie

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the hea

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

which they hit the beam rhythmically, two slow hits
owed by one fast one; this activity was not accompanied
any songs. They led the bear slowly past these women and
placed it so that its head was turned towards the house,
hough he should take another good look at the place where
had received its last nourishment from the inhabitants of
village. After a very brief halt they then dragged it further
ng to the river bank and then forced it to go on the ice to
ut the middle of the river. Thereupon the whole crowd
urned to the village and moved to the house inhabited by the
mer owner of the bear. Here the bear was awaited by a
y similar reception as that described above, except that in
place they forced the bear to stick its head inside the house
thus, in a way, to take leave from its master and nourisher.
n he was again led to the enclosure, and there they tied
up as before.

Only now had the moment come in which the bear was to lose
life. Amid general silence which was also commanded with
emn mien to our traveller, an old Gilyak--whether he was
owner of the animal or not is not indicated in Jakobsen's
ount--stepped forth from the crowd and grasped bow and
ows which were lying there ready for him. Then he slowly
off his under-jacket, wrapped some leather belts around
left hand in order not to injure it with the bow string, and
ed out an arrow with much solemnity and circumstance
ch made a rather comical impression, and finally he placed
arrow on the bow. At first it seemed as though he was
g to shoot in the air because he raised his bow while he
tched it. Then he lowered it again very slowly till the arrow
directed exactly at the bear's heart, and then he shot it
The bear fell down on the spot, as far its bonds permitted
do so, it reiled to and fro a few times, and then died after
w convulsive movements, thus proving what a steady hand
archer had preserved in spite of his old age. During this
le procedure, which lasted rather long, there reigned a
athless silence among the Gilyak standing around the fence,
this created an even more solemn impression since it was
uch sharp contrast to the foregoing deafening tumult.
fter the bear's death its former owner came and embraced
animal tenderly like a dear friend of whom he wanted to
e leave. Then they pulled a number of the sticks of the fence
of the ground and laid them down to serve the dead bear as
resting place. Later they drag the animal into its owner's
se, as the traveller was told, since he did not have the time
wait the end of the festival. In the house they lay the bear

534

534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS--idiophones (e.g., clappers, gongs, rattles); membranophones (e.g., drums); cordophones (e.g., zithers, lutes, harps); aerophones (e.g., flutes, pipes, trumpets); special instruments (e.g., bullroarers), complex mechanical instruments (e.g., piano, organ); care and repair of musical instruments; etc. See also:

Drum signaling . . . . . 202 Sound recordings 216
Radio . . . . . 207 Musical supplies industry 949

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now *majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife.* The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman."

Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn

• [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands.

[174] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head."

[372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begin. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/317 cont./

349 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of
787 the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple
787 streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking
789 is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a
[176] good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and
342 drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in
776 autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They
782

[372] 1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the follow-
789 ing fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his

• [534] hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes
[756] with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and
756 such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy,
789 gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner.
[176] Mang (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/682 cont./

533 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
114 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song; instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
[126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list; see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p. 41 /this appendix is not included in the book translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection with the /683/ place Kliygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

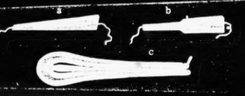
• 534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but
are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
[439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, accordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood, and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining attached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/683 cont./

• 534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

534



Gilyak jew's-harps.

517 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
533 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.
534

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak
[824] tyngrach, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[825] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

/684 cont./

534 The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs over
192 a bridge set up on the fish skin (Gilyak twua, as in the case of the bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak tyngr-puntsch) is sharply curved and strung with horsehair (Gilyak kich). The string, of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the stick stuck through the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems to
91 me, judging also by its name, to be of Olcha, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to those of the Gilyak.

535 It is very characteristic of the serious, sober, and practical state of mind of the Gilyak that in the course of two years I never saw dancing either at their bear festivals or on any other occasion; apparently this type of social entertainment does not appeal to them at all. Middendorff encountered it, but it took place under quite extraordinary circumstances; it was in Burukan, a place which the Gilyak visit only for trade; the Tungus, presumably excited by alcohol, performed a wild demonic dance, into which the Gilyak, at first only spectators, finally let themselves be drawn (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p 1486.

Otherwise, they said, they did not do it, as Middendorff, too, remarks in his handwritten notes. And at the time their entire behavior revealed this. Whereas the Tungus in their short, tight-fitting fur-jackets moved nimbly and skillfully, the movements of the Gilyak, who kept on their long dog-fur coats reaching down to their calves, were bear-like and extremely stiff and awkward. Moreover, when they tried to imitate the former, the dance always soon ended in exhaustion and a loud burst of laughter, because they felt so childishly silly behaving in this, to them, completely strange and foreign manner.

45 It seemed no less surprising to me to find nothing among
97 the Gilyak that might suggest the performance of masquerades or

/705 cont./

*796 hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay
231 only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of
541 another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain control of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the
*796 hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with
541 cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework
534 in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and requires some special knowledge, for there are various types and modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode
*796 of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p1248/). As soon as all
541 the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal
231 is set before them in the house by the women. The men, however, in-
[521] dulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connection with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

*796 After this interlude, the leading of the bears which had
231 been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything was repeated as on the preceding days, for example, the large

787 /753 cont./
75 that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and
825 pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as
782 the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During
[534] these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

825 753 [752]

2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as tolli-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magâ, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuik. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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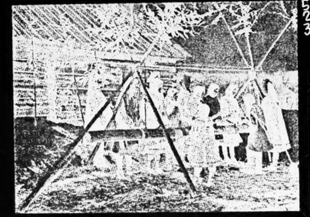

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth.

532 322 [791]

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkanggâ). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

534 [796]

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

871 [212]

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Marinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 648

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

9: Hawes--272-273 1-3 (1901) 1905 Gilyak

116, 534

"The younger wife of our host [LSS: The chief of Nivo] was considered the belle of all the Gilyaks, but I will let the reader judge of her claims to beauty from the accompanying illustration, [LSS: See Visual File] in which she is represented playing a musical instrument. Vanka, who claimed to be a cousin of hers, had brought this forth from the recesses of the hut, and both he and she played upon it. It is now in my possession; but I must confess the music appealed more to the imagination than the ear, for when played with the tongue or even the hand it was with difficulty we could hear it. It consists of one string of fish-gut, strung along a stick and over a cylindrical piece of birch bark; and it goes by the scarcely euphonious name of tin-kirn. Other musical instruments are a little wooden jew's harp called a kos-cha [LSS: Erratum; it should read kanga]; a small bag of fish-skin stretched tightly on to a circular piece of wood like a [273] drumhead, containing bones which are rattled; and the fish-skin tambourine already mentioned."

1 XIV Amusements and Festivities. Burial Ceremonies.

Among such peoples physical pleasures, naturally, take a most important place, and foremost among the e are the joys of eating and smoking. They are not very sensitive to odors, for fish, smoke, and seal blubber to them have an indifferent, or even an agreeable odor. But they abhor the odor of decay, and conversely, they like a nice fragrance. Whenever I experimentally held a bottle of eau-de-cologne up to their noses, they always made a pretty face.

2 Among colors, the Gilyak prefer red and blue, but they definitely do not belong to those peoples who go in for bright colors. For instance, many of them could acquire a red shirt or caftan instead of the dirty-blue ones, but it would never occur to them to do this. The colored borders and curlicues on the caps and petticoats of the women suffice; otherwise clothes, houses, weapons, and tools are dark-colored. A black dog pelt as a coat is, as I have said, regarded as particularly beautiful.

4 The Gilyak love music. If neighboring Russian peasants strum their balalaikas or play the accordian, the natives who are present like to listen. Their own music is very primitive. It consists of a sort of jew's harp which looks somewhat like a longish horseshoe. The broad end of the instrument is grasped with one hand, the narrow end is placed on the lips, the tongue of the player is placed forward somewhat, while one finger of the other hand alternately pulls and releases the little hook connected with the tongue of the instrument. The tongue vibrates and a low buzzing tone results, which can be modified by the tongue of the player. Not everybody knows how to play on this "harmonica".

Other quite embryonic music, or rather, clinking noise, is produced as follows: a thin dry tree trunk is suspended parallel to the ground by ropes, and on this they beat rhythmically with a stick. During the bear festival the audience is edified with this sort of "music": some woman who has a talent for this, calls together a troupe of children and, as though under the baton of a conductor, lets them hit
3 the limb with sticks. In winter time on a journey, the Gilyak often sings a monotonous song which actually consists only of all kinds of unrelated sentences about anything that happens to occur to him [235] or that he sees. Actual songs that are handed down from father to son the Gilyak do not possess, and in general they are stingy with their singing. I never heard them sing in the village, their houses, or on their

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced
527 in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.
527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.
527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the consumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.
764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also seek to consolidate their authority by means of various magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly, disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle. After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these "Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine. From this we may see how much they really understand of their new religion. We have said before that they regard

535

535 DANCING--dance styles (e.g., imitative, pantomimic, symbolic, stylized); technique (e.g., movements of the head, trunk and limbs); gestures, postures, and their symbolism; solo, pair, and group dancing; choreographic patterns; extemporization and formalization; rhythm; musical accompaniment; occasions for dancing and associated dance forms (e.g., war dances, shamanistic dances, ballroom dancing, tap dancing); participants and spectators; dancing places (e.g., dance halls); dance costumes and paraphernalia; emotional expression in dancing; training in dancing; specialized dancers and dance leaders; choreographic arts allied to dancing (e.g., figure skating); etc. See also:

Gestures	201	Dance performances on the stage	545
Postures	616	Night clubs	547
Skating	628		

/684 cont./

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[192] a bridge set up on the fish skin (Gilyak twua, as in the case of th bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak tyngr-puntsch) i sharply curved and strung with horsehair (Gilyak kich). The strin of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the
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171 the Gilyak that might suggest the performance of masquerades c

27, pp. 196-197.] the same performance was
ut of his owner and around it three times. E
oked him with a tzakh, or twig adorned with
ne thrust. This circumambulation was done t
our young women, keeping time, beat with st
his highly varied 'musical' performance was
ne 'artiste' in this case was the oldest woma
nteresting than the ritualistic dancing which
rally, such for instance as that of young girl
First of all the old lady, dressed in seal-sk
ormed a little level square plat. Then taking
elf into queer postures, using the branches a
ut occasionally, and all unwittingly, she ove
oundering in the deep snow, to the amuseme
o way disconcerted her, for she came up lau

s gone through, and the animal led to t
ach time that he passed the door the m
shavings, and broke it with the force
to the strains of a unique band. Three
ticks on a log supported on short uprig
s accompanied by [198] dancing. Althou
n of the village, the display was far m
the traveller in the East meets with ge
ls in the sacred temple of Nara in Japa
kins, stamped down the deep snow, an
two pieces of evergreens she threw h
as fans. Her movements were not rapi
rstepped the limit of the plat and fell
ent of band and spectators too; but this
ughing to renew the performance."

/104 cont./

8 Most infrequently the khlaj-nivukh is a chosen one of the gods in
7 other respects as well: he is a rich man, adept in hunting, worldly-
4 wise, courageous, has a great natural wit, and enjoys authority
4 among his fellow tribesmen.

Every clan, every settlement has its own small khlaj-nivukh, but there are celebrities who enjoy extensive fame among many nationalities of the region, and who, when necessary, are sought after, just as renowned lawyers are among us. They perform their functions rather honoris causa, because the customary honorarium -- a Chinese silk costume and a Japanese saber -- can hardly be a recompense to a rich man for the loss of his time and the burden of the obligation. The clothing and arms presented to them serve rather as their insignia magistratus, their official vestment, in which they carry out their obligations during the discussions.

4 And so, when the clan of the avengers has sufficiently worn
8 itself out in its attempts at a bloody retaliation, or if from the
37 first the slaying took place under conditions easily lending themselves to a reconciliation, then they begin to search for a khlaj-nivukh who would undertake the negotiations and be able to obtain the most profitable conditions. The khlaj-nivukh must necessarily be from a neutral clan. One may not send a clansman in the first place, until the reconciliation, it is a sin to have anything whatever to do with the clan of the slayer; moreover, in view of the naturally inflamed feelings of the parties, negotiations through a clansman might end in another slaying. The other side, in turn, selects its "orator," who is /105/ obligated to defend its interests in the negotiations over the ransom. Ordinarily the offended side takes the initiative.

One fine day a company of the armed avengers, with their khlaj-nivukh at their head, appears at the settlement of the slayer. In the adjacent taiga or on the shore of a river the avengers light a fire and make camp, while the khlaj-nivukh in his regalia, with a spear in one hand, a kettle in the other, goes alone to the enemy settlement. Here, in one of the yurts, await the opponents with their khlaj-nivukh at their head... Leaning on his spear, or sitting down and lighting his pipe (only with "his own" fire) he

/105 cont./

*614 628 ●537 [426] what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1):

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement...

[576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and
[171] [198] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 628 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods

/105 cont./

*614 628 536 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients
[782] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above), while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

628 ●537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

/119 cont./

*614 628 536 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator,
● [537] "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the
[532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions.
[523] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the
[522] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

628 614 628 682 ●537 [542] /356 cont./ every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only women are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful, burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer lives under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any comer, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time, in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necessarily neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for
614 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from
628 some neutral clan an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlaj-nivukh" --
682 literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, and
●537 the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries be-
[292] tween the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a silk gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, and sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. Then, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village of the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary. The latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as possible. The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-nivukh

/357 cont./

614 628 682 ●537 of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in anger. The khlay-nivukh of the murderer goes after him and tries to enter into negotiations with his comrade-in-arms. More than once the two diplomats sear themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the khlay-nivukhi move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and both sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his khlay-nivukh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other steps the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his khlay-nivukh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the khlay-nivukhi strictly restrain the adversaries, speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is not merely a ritual, for there have been cases where in that minute the avenger has boiled over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arms, run toward each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another variant, the avenger and the slayer stand facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy; when the khlay-nivukhi call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/358 cont./

614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A

614 628 682 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 628 628 The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and

● [539] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re-

[762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 628 772 One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell

[777] of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

538

538 LITERATURE--literary styles; poetry (e.g., epic, lyric); verse forms (e.g., couplets, stanzas); poetic techniques (e.g., meter, rhyme, alliteration); prose forms (e.g., tales, sagas, proverbs, fiction, short stories, essays); narrative plot and structure; literary subjects and themes; characters (e.g., animals, men, gods); treatment (e.g., realism, fantasy, allegory, satire); composition; literary conventions; recitation and narration (e.g., occasions, audiences); specialists (e.g., poets, prose authors, story tellers, ghost writers); etc. This category is reserved for generalized descriptions of literature. For literary texts, and analyses and commentaries related to specific literary works see 539. See also:

Stylistics	198	Riddles	894
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/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,

[242] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from

[874] the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the

[796] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and

● [538] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February, there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the

[261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance

[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/55 cont./

776 For the Gilyak, the most important gods--"masters" are

825 Pal'-yz' -- the master of the mountains and of the taiga, and Tayrnadz, the same as Tol'-yz' -- master of the sea. The first lives on the highest mountain, and with him, whole settlements of his clansmen. Bears serve him as dogs. All the beasts of the taiga are subordinate to him, and, at his discretion, he distributes them to the Gilyak. It is he who orders the sable to dress himself in a new skin and hurry into the noose of the Gilyak; he, again, orders the bear to offer a good spot for a true blow. The god of the sea, Tayrnadz, lives on the bottom of the Sea of Okhotsk. He is a very old man with a white beard, who lives with his old wife in an underwater yurt. In the yurt there is a huge number of boxes with all kinds of spawn, which he throws by the handful into the sea from time to time. It is he who, at the appointed time, sends the countless detachments of salmon, without which the life of the Gilyak would be impossible; it is he who sends out the kosatki to establish order in the sea and drive all kinds of sea animals toward the Gilyak.

776 Besides these most important gods, there is a great number of less important ones who watch over the Gilyak. In the house of the Gilyak the master of the fire and the mistress of the threshold, keep vigil over him. Some kind of "master" watches at every stream, looking after the well-being of the Gilyak...

Not all the gods, however, are on such close terms with man. The sky is inhabited by whole tribes of tly-nivukh'i, heavenly people, who only rarely interfere in the affairs of the Gilyak, and then to no purpose, for a joke; for example, out of mischievousness a heavenly man will lower a fishing rod with hooks to the earth in order to catch some Gilyak. This does not always work, however. For example, the young

● [538] Gilyak, Il'k, from the village of Arkovo told me that tly-nivukh once caught his father with a golden hook, and he just saved himself by grabbing a tree, thus getting away with only a scare and a torn coat.

/100 cont./

000 To meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers. Chivalry

* 614 manifests itself in many other forms. Although ordinarily

628 the raid of the avengers is too impulsive for people to be

721 able to think about any kind of formalities of attack,

● [538] epics and legends have preserved many formulas for the declaration of "war" through special intermediaries, about whom we shall speak in more detail later.

The conventional formula laconically declares: "He (the avenger) has irrevocably said that he prepares to come to do battle with thee; if thou art stronger, thou wilt slay him, if he is stronger, he will slay thee -- thus he spoke."

Military expeditions are undertaken for purposes other than avenging the slaying of a clansman. Extremely frequently they are on account of women. "Lovely Helens" are the tragic causes of war among the Gilyak much more frequently even than slayings. The latter are extremely rare and never bear a mercenary character, being exclusively a case of a momentary flare-up on the part of an easily aroused "barbarian" because of a slight offense to his vanity. But conflicts over women are much more frequent. Either a group of clansmen undertakes a purely romantic raid to abduct the beloved of their comrade. Or expeditions are undertaken with the forcible recovery of the abducted wife of a clansman as their objective -- a more serious incident, because this action is as obligatory for the clan (up to the third generation exclusively) as revenge and blood money for the slaying of a clansman. Customarily they strive to avoid bloodshed, choosing a time for the attack when the men are absent, but the matter rarely ends -- either at the time of the abduction or during the pursuit -- without bloody conflicts, which inevitably bring on the necessity of "raising the kindred bones," i.e., war with all its consequences.

/137 cont./

614 all in the fact that it embraces persons of both sexes alike;

*601 it equally signifies brother and sister. Another peculiarity --

602 still more important -- consists in the fact that under tuvn an understood not only own brothers and sisters, i.e., the children of one father, but also the children of all brothers of the father, own and collateral of all degrees of kinship, i.e., m and female first cousins, second cousins, etc. in the male line. Thus, within the clan, all the male and female agnat of the same generation are brothers and sisters; male and female cousins in the male line and likewise a married wom and the wives of the brothers /138/ of her husband are tuvn in relation to each other. But a man, as we shall see, can

*601 have tuvn outside his clan as well, namely, the children of

602 those persons outside his clan whom he calls father and mother (see the class of fathers and mothers). Within this class there is one large and important subdivision that plays a leading role in both terminology and sexual norms, namely the one for those persons who are older than the speaker or person referred to and persons younger than he, namely, "akand, aki" -- elder brother or sister (tuvn) and "ar'khand, ar'kh" -- younger brother or sister (tuvn). For the designatio of the elder sister, in view of the peculiarity of her position in sexual rights, there is in addition the term "nanakhand, nanakh, nankh" -- identically used in reference to her by bo men and women. Certain special terms for separate categ of this class, however, have been developed. Thus, there is a general term to designate the concept of "sister" in the class sense, namely, ranr (same root as ranikh -- sister). One meets (very rarely, however, and only in poetry) the term "kivung, kiun" -- brother (1). Descriptive forms are

● [538]

1. "Chikhys' kivung khendra" -- "I considered you a brother," says the heroine to her beloved in one song. "Kiun" could also be formed from the rare form akikhun.

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The eyes
foams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evil s

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man well.'

The first syllable in each line is articulated quickly
slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to end

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has any
he may ruin the whole family by his interpretation of t
to bring all their dogs and everything that they value m
times human offerings were demanded."

of the cham are like flames; he
pirit—

, and the last vowels in the line

in a—aa.

spite against him or his relatives,
he spirit's demands, forcing them
nost. It is even said that in olden

boats. However, there are some to be found among them who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort who entertain the others with their song.

The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one includes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays. The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival, are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as a good omen.

The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home. An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water. The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those places that had their own bear festival and had already consumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the mainland at this time, although they themselves are well supplied with bears.

Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

536

536 DRAMA--compositions for dramatic representation; types (e.g., tragedy, comedy, farce); themes (e.g., from myth, history, everyday life); treatment (e.g., realistic, stylized); conventional limitations on dramatic composition; characters and parts; impersonation; acting techniques (e.g., gestures, postures, emotional expression); costumes and paraphernalia; make-up; staging (e.g., scenery, lighting, props, musical accompaniment); acts, scenes, choruses, and interludes; specialists (e.g., playwrights, actors, stagehands, directors); relation of drama to dancing, mythology, magic, and ritual; special types of plays (e.g., puppet shows, shadow plays, musical comedies); special roles (e.g., clowns); etc. See also:

Gestures	201	Humor	522
Patterned expressions of emotion	201	Masks	532
Radio and television	207	Pageants and circuses	541
Cosmetics	302	Stage productions	546
Theater buildings	345	Motion pictures	546
Postures	516	Religious ceremonial	706

/105 cont./

* 614 628 537 [436] what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1):

> 1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and separations. [171] [789] Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

* 614 628 ● 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/105 cont./

*614 628 •536 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen [782] lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above), while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

628 537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

/325 cont./

756 538 [688] Improvisation of a storyteller-shaman. To compose, tyl'gund, is not allowed; it is a sin. This is a legend, truth.

[776] N'as'tund may (be told) by a n'as'tun'-n'ivukh (storyteller) or a shaman, who is helped by a special kind of kekhn (mif-n'ivukh-kekhn, who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When inquiring about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and began to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that this was inspiration by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyurn listened with ecstasy and with interest asked for explanations.

756 533 538 Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanies n'as'-tund; there is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In places a quiet tenor vibrates beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pianissimo, while shrieks and artificial throat vibrations sound with tremendous dissonance. The entire song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of a stanza the shaman comes to the end by abruptly cutting off with the words "hand furu" -- "thus it is said." Frequently, he finishes his song covered with perspiration.

Declamation and singing in narration. 1. In a nas'-tund: a) first humming, b) then -- monotonous, vibrating, doleful singing with all one's might, ending in c) fortissimo with exhaling.

2. In descriptions -- a single-tone recitative.

• [536] 3. Dramatism: the artistic communication of conversations in a rhythmic recitative is especially good. If one becomes accustomed to it, it is very melodious.

4. Those present support him with yells: "Ola! epoj, epoj!" etc.

756 776 The kenchkh is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull on a thong with the kenchkh during the song. Two men (one a shaman) cast a rope, and the kenchkh seizes it and pulls over the people.

537

537 ORATORY--rhetorical style; patterned forms of oratory (e.g., narration, debating, exhortation); techniques of declamation (e.g., exaggeration, repetition, figures of speech); gestures and postures in orating; training in public speaking; occasions for oratory; etc. See also:

Stylistics 195
Gestures 201
Postures 516
Boasting 521
Lectures and debates 544
Parliamentary debates 646
Electioneering 666
Arguments in court 695
Pronouncing of spells 789
Preaching 793

*614 even to his own clear advantage,
771 already tested expedient, with th
gods with full observance of his c
other cases, to pious deception o
opportunity both to fulfill his rel
*614 gains from the conflict. Usually
628 procedure of the institution of bl
771 and indeed traces of religious ce
preserved among all peoples, am
count later on, this is distinctly
which demands a preliminary im
form of a battle between represe
killing of dogs, and the feeding
their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the pr
● 537 The principal role in the pro
554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (
*614
[192]
[197]

1. I use the term of
western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: t
orator. Such a man enjoys speci
for in his view the eloquent indiv
ticular deity who constantly inspi
spires in him beautiful, convinci
influence on his hearers. The ve
ability to speak fluently and rapi
apart from the content of the spe
talent of the highest order. "His
windmill," thus, with awe, does
standing orators. The latter, in t
[532] ones. On the continent they alw
head of which is carved a human
deity which inspires them and hel
pathetic moments they wave thes
them in the event of the failure o
wrath of the gods upon themselves

but he has, as we know, an
e help of which he pacifies the
wn interest; he resorts, as in
f the gods, which offers him the
gious duty and to derive material
, this most important religious
ood money is completely ignored,
emonies of reconciliation are not
ong the Gilyak, as we shall re-
clear from the ritual of ransom,
itation of blood revenge in the
ntatives of the warring clans, the
of the spirit of the dead man with

actice of this institution.
ocedure of reconciliation is played
1).

the more widespread

he explaining man, /104/ eloquent,
al regard in the eyes of the Gilyak,
vidual is the chosen one of a par-
ires him, dwells in him, and in-
ng speeches and an irresistible
ery quickness of speech, the
dly for a prolonged time, even
ech, is already considered a
tongue turns like the wings of a
s the Gilyak characterize out-
turn, regard themselves as chosen
ays carry a wooden rod, on the
face, depicting, apparently, that
lps them to convince others. At
e threateningly, swearing to break
f their arguments and bring the
s and their intractable opponent.

/145 conc./

Both the case-form *gilenq*, in the form gila ч̌ьнчун or ginenq, appear at a kinship term — namely, in the meaning of younger brother of the father: *gila-ч̌ун* — father — is a term that has evidently been made up under the influence of the Tungus *ajja*.

Plural kinship terms. Due to the classificatory system there has developed the concept of the plural of the term such as father, mother, wife in reference to a single individual, for example, *ч̌ун* plurals *ч̌ун* — "I am going to my fathers" (i. e., to the village where the clan of the speaker's father lives, even though his own father may no longer be alive); *ч̌ун* plurals *ч̌ун* — "I am going to my fathers and mothers."

/146/ Owing to the frequent use of such terms in the plural, a sudden curious phenomenon has resulted. In the first place, they have begun to use the plural form of a given term in those cases where by the sense that reference is to only one person, for example, in the phrase, "I have a kinsman" — "where did my father go?" they often say, "*ч̌ун-ин* (kinsman) *ч̌ун* — "where did my fathers go?" Another example: "*ata*, *ритйин ninja*" — "O, elder brother, only one father (?)"! Said immediately after the characteristic example

1. L. Sibenrieg, Materialy po inostrannoj gilliarskoju azyku I Sa'ksyr (Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore), I, p. 15, Iste 173. Petersburg, 1896. Published in the Notes of the Gilyak Language and Folklore, I, p. 15, Iste 173. Petersburg, 1896. Published in the Notes of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vol. 73, Appendix No. 1.

from one of the texts taken down by me (G). The hero of a

2. Ibid., p. 85, Iste 108-109; p. 86, Iste 110-112.

/146 conc./

In these cases where the "older brother" are evidently form the class "*ata*" with respect to the river of "younger brother" — namely, the "younger brother" is the "older brother" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brother," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the name "*ata*" — "father." However, in killed too, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my will in my report." In such is the force of the elective categories of importance of marriages between the categories common relatives. This interpretation, the Gilyak *ритйин* ninja, must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon, when he has not the exemption in comparison with the bears of marriage later on. For one purpose the right—although not necessarily—of the levirate, and *ритйин* lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the marriage terminology, in other words, in the condition of the normal marriages. This right—obligation characteristic of the levirate, which, as we have seen, is a thing more considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall further — the Gilyak *ata* is also used in the meaning of father and mother, father and clansmen, "*Гоголевайн*" (relatively, "my wives") — in the sense of the beloved and her girl-friends. The term "*ata*" (namely, "father-in-law /*ритйин*") — the son-in-law together with his wives. In a curious clan in Tamgu we evidently meet the same phenomenon. I judge this by one case introduced by Imbut'sen, where a man says "my father" (father-in-law) of "my father", although Imbut'sen admits that the plural could be used out of respect to the man's father, namely, in the case, in the same context — "a friend to my fathers will wander" — the father is being addressed by the plural form, which, most apparently there is no need for rendering any particular respect.

/147 conc./

Marriage of the Gilyak. Then he immediately enters the killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, and he says to him: "I have come to allow into his house, and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly says: "Brother, I have killed, I killed you, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my will in my report." In such is the force of the elective categories of importance of marriages between the categories common relatives. This interpretation, the Gilyak *ритйин* ninja, must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon, when he has not the exemption in comparison with the bears of marriage later on. For one purpose the right—although not necessarily—of the levirate, and *ритйин* lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the marriage terminology, in other words, in the condition of the normal marriages. This right—obligation characteristic of the levirate, which, as we have seen, is a thing more considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall further — the Gilyak *ata* is also used in the meaning of father and mother, father and clansmen, "*Гоголевайн*" (relatively, "my wives") — in the sense of the beloved and her girl-friends. In the Gilyak *ata* also stands for the son-in-law /*ритйин*/ — the son-in-law together with his wives. In a curious clan in Tamgu we evidently meet the same phenomenon. I judge this by one case introduced by Imbut'sen, where a man says "my father" (father-in-law) of "my father", although Imbut'sen admits that the plural could be used out of respect to the man's father, namely, in the case, in the same context — "a friend to my fathers will wander" — the father is being addressed by the plural form, which, most apparently there is no need for rendering any particular respect.

/147 conc./

body was laid on the funeral platform amidst a huge and solemn crowd of Gilyak who had assembled from all directions, the relatives of the deceased, before the wife of the older brother, with her hair unbound as a sign of mourning, climbed up to it, made obeisance to the corpse, and in complete silence, as if in a trance, she solemnly says: "Brother, I have killed you, give me your daughter." Then the relatives of the deceased, and in complete silence, as if in a trance, and in complete silence, as if in a trance, and in complete silence, as if in a trance

/336 cont. /

In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual intercourse and marriages of Gilyaks women are often confused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyaks known to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement of Yanu, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak, Chokhu, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum stille was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing. Later the membrum virile attained the proper development, and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married. I learned of another instance in the settlement of Ney Gyrk on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. There I once met two young people sitting on the dikes, a man and a woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter very much resembled a man in dat face. My companion explained that only a year ago the had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her sex to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against it. /Taking this into account, there can be no question of a rise to the legends about transformed persons (those werewolves), /

/337 cont. /

but the latter very boldly and seriously spoke to me with concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which could send sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years the hard grow and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

XII.

Methods of Obtaining a Wife

/338 Data from the epos. It is first of interest to reconstruct the picture of the acquisition of a wife in the old days according to the old texts of epic poems. Judging from these texts, especially from the so-called yrkhnad (poems), the acquisition of a wife in the old days was not at all an easy matter (1).

/339 (1). That the procuring of a wife was a matter of great difficulty is very expression for this undertaking, gulyk i yarpgyl, literally "to the dogs, to wash or nanygyled is a technical term for the hunting of a beast, usually accompanied by difficulties with the stench and all sorts of dangers.

On the contrary, one of the chief exploits of the heroes is the search for a wife. In order to find his wife, the hero of a Gilyak poem must undertake the most difficult and arduous journeys to the end of the world; he must kill over normy seas, even among the heavens in the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all sorts of heroic deeds with whole clans of the most fearsome foes -- deeds concerned in the course of these peregrinations.

Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportunity to find a wife nearby?

First of all, we shall note that the aforementioned term nanygyled "to seek a wife" is very clear, and we have to think that the ordinary mode of securing a wife for the heroes was force, abduction. They, the heroes, did not buy wives, but most frequently they obtained their wives in the most peaceful manner, without even paying anything. This is

/359 cont. /

evidence is known to every interested individual, and consequently we can find them in the same settlement. But such is the fate of heroes; marvellous adventures always fall to their lot. Commonly they are isolated people, whose lives have suffered some catastrophe. In the epics they relate that the hero appears with his demands he is addressed by the term yrmyl -- son-in-law /yrgyl/, and the woman to whom he makes claim are designated ninyl, he then also refer to some other possible candidates, silent to him, they do not call her ninyl. Here is a characteristic example. The hero of one poem (2) /360/ was rejected by his

2. L. Shternberg, Materialy po inorodtsam gilliatskogo laryka i t.d. Sbornik Muzeiskogo Obozreniya. Otdel. Gilyatsk Language and Folklore/, 1908, p. 118.

lawful nanygyl, who declared that if she had to marry him she would kill herself. Then the hero said: "Why, why, why? Once the maiden does not want him, what can you do? Go and seek another woman." And, appearing at the house of whom he is to be his wife, he must kill over normy seas, even among the heavens in the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all sorts of heroic deeds with whole clans of the most fearsome foes -- deeds concerned in the course of these peregrinations.

Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportunity to find a wife nearby?

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/360 cont. /

such statements, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. In the epic poems of the Gilyaks, the hero, faced the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful nanygyl, who belongs to him by law, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage -- proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /bilyl yrk/ as its bloody consequence, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

The one and the same, the father of the bride, questions the hero: "Then art a man from where?" Our Gilyaks: "I am a dweller of the village in the middle of the bay; I have come to take my daughter in marriage." The hero said: "Give me, Father, my child, this giant has come to take thee, go with him." This woman said: "Why, why, why? I shall go with him." The hero said: "No, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest". -- Our Gilyak sat with his wife. Having eaten, having finished, he set out with his wife" (1). Another example: the hero

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that woman sits with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, attained, came to the house of the bridegroom, got in under one blanket, lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero departed with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

But along with such lawful marriages there are also marriages of a different character, which have no sanction. And this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the hero that the clans of his lawful father-in-law may become extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/361 cont. /

Contemporary method of obtaining a wife. Up to the present time Gilyak law has retained the old custom of marrying a woman of the nanygyl category, a woman who is regarded as his wife by right, which, however, is frequently not consecrated "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the categories of nanygyl the most complete example is the daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most schedule in marriage. The hero is more dear than the daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a marriage is so highly valued that even before the future spouses appear in the world of the living they promise to each other their word to unite the children in marriage. Even before the birth of the children, when they have reached age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the classmen of one side or the other a formal act of agreement in the form of betrothal of the future spouses. The mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not with the father of the bride (as is the case in other cases, versation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to this: the mother-in-law /yrat/ /yrat/ /yrat/

/ГЛ1 conds./
of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, sympathy or the desire to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and what is important is that, it is not in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to intermarry between clans. Here, too, men's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot marry her.

There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Ilimsing clan who have entered into a union with the Chukcy with the Khydyr' in Chal'bo. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak who which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun: they were sent on the Amgun by Pytyvu (1). There are

1: In the text, "bea," but, judging by sense it is a misprint for "bea," meaning "marbleskin glitterbugs satyba I fed Mom Pakhamsin to the Gilyak and Tungus and Yukagir and Yukhtsyr, this is a mistake

also Golds who are kin to snakes.

A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Koman, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Koman stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover was in the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home — her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Koman demanded that his wife sleep with him. But she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating, a tumpline saber, and also burned tried to protect her; the Koman complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Koman (petitioner) the

/ГЛ2/
A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without marriage. A man is helped by a sister to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and what is important is that, it is not in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to intermarry between clans. Here, too, men's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot marry her.

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/ГЛ4/ Kin
Interpretation of a storytelling character. To compose, to tend. In Gilyak dialects, it is kin. This is a legend, truth.

/ГЛ5/ Kmal may be tied to a gl'ka/ "gl'ksh (marvellous) in Amurian, meaning a feeling of joy and happiness. / gl'ksh-/ Gilyak, who sits on the origin of the speaker. When interrupting stories (multiple) or conversations, Gilyak (a Gilyak) said, "I can," and begin to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that one man who was impatient by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyen listened with ecstasy and with interest mixed for explanations.

Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanied /ГЛ7/conds. There is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In Amur-Sakhalin region Gilyak dance beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pizzicato, while they believe that Gilyak pizzicato sound with tremendous elegance. The strike song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of the strike, the Gilyak performer, the cat by the shoulder, and the word: "Kmal ka" — "than it is said." Frequently, in the Gilyak language, there are Kmal, Kmal, Dictatorium and singing in narration. In a /ка/ conds. a) fact belonging, b) that which belongs, c) belonging, d) singing with all one's might, ending in e) fortitude with exhaling.

1: Dictatorium — a single-verse recitative.

2: Dictatorium, the artistic communication of conversations in Gilyak: recitative and especially Gilyak. The sick woman is accompanied to it, it is very melodious.

4: Those present support him with yells: /ylk/ /ylk/ /ylk/ /ylk/ etc.

The /ылк/ka is a kind which comes on the wind. They pull the /ылк/ka, and the /ылк/ka sings the song. Two men come a distinct and a tape, and the /ылк/ka raises it and pulls over the jungle.

/ГЛ9 conds./
with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. Tyen attempts to sing and has great reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of respect for a poorer man is a peculiar source, not complete, rather, however, to our understanding. It was the feeling of respect for the poor man (Gilyak) said, "I can," and begin to improvise.

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burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they had to make a fire, which they had brought the corpse and the shaman. Shaman's corpse was placed in the fire, and the shaman was placed in the fire. The burning of the corpse took place indefinitely later, on the day of the "rib." The fire in the corpse was burned, and the shaman was placed in the fire. The fire in the corpse was burned, and the shaman was placed in the fire. The fire in the corpse was burned, and the shaman was placed in the fire.

/121 conf./

Lakkam. Whatever I have, (with it) am ready to aid thee, although I have nothing.

539 Pavu. If thou hast something, wait thou not pay me, with this not wish to laugh?

Lakkam. To day I have nothing (but nothing, it is not so?

Pavu. Of course.

Lakkam. If thou hast something, then wait have pay me.

Pavu. Then thou hast have nothing, I gladness me. Thus in truth thou not ready to give me what thou hast?

Lakkam. What I have, if thou shall ask, I am ready to give thee.

After this the matchmaker again proclaimed, and finally, everyone fully assented. Then the bridegroom's father gave me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a son. Let us become ahmrah's."

To this Lakkam replied: "I have already given my word to others."

Pavu: What if you did give your word to another man? You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to court with you.

After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the business negotiations concerning the bride price.

Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak Shamanist of the bride price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call this institution is extremely characteristic. The term, I believe, throws light on the very origin of the institution.

In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the word gif, gif from mimgif, or-kaa-gif, or-kaa-gif, literally, gif means a present, a gift, which the family or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of the bride. This term was not formed by chance it shows from two following. In other tribal clans where compensation for such relative is obligatory, for example, in the case of [illegible] — [illegible] said for an abducted woman, for a

J:Sternberg--412 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RXG Gilyak RXG

/124 conf./

539 be advised on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is unhappy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way possible. During the farewell feast the groom's father introduces the bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe, but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the groom is supposed to compact himself modestly the whole day, and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next morning the newly married woman brings breakfast to her husband. The newly married woman calls her husband." On that very morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last [illegible] and at that time the parents of the bride exchange prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such benedictions, taken down on the Amur.

"If god gives happiness, they will live out their time happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time badly. O god, make the life of our children happy ever."

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /125/ the following prayer: "O god, make, may there be the time of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life together give good fortune."

Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually carrying out they go through a ceremony which begins the wedding. The ceremony is called "the battle." It consists of the following. At the inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large Manchurian kettle with two little ears (for the feeding of dogs) from the bride price of the groom, and at the outer side a small kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the bride and the groom, each with the other, pour one ladle of the large kettle and the other four in the small kettle, not treading on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a friendship union of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence of the two female penates — the "old woman-mistress of the threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

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/126 conf./

539 They saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one saw them an Amur Gilyak named Tyr, 22 years old and from the upper (or inner) side of the Amur, went to the Ulcha land (Tyrkhala) and married the Ulcha girl Ulchi Ulchi. The Ulcha girl Ulchi Ulchi, while the Amur Gilyak Tyr, 22 years old, was in the Ulcha land, married the Ulcha girl Ulchi Ulchi. The Amur Gilyak Tyr, 22 years old, and the Ulcha girl Ulchi Ulchi, married in the Ulcha land

/346 cont./

539 down; no one knew. They were sleeping; he dreamed (that the fish said to him: "This is your little boy, see to it that no one knows. Feed him well. If another Gilyak looks, the little boy will die. You will have many fish, in hunting you will have many sables and bears." Many days passed, and there were many fish. In autumn he went to set nooses; the god provided 50 sables; he looked for bears in the ridges and killed three bears. One more year passed, and the little boy grew rapidly, the little boy began to carry the dagger -- the ytk (father) became old -- and the god gave many fish to the little boy; then he went after the bears /346/ and killed many with the dagger, no weapons except the dagger; he killed 30 bears. On one occasion the largest bear came. The bear wanted to eat him, but he struck it in the head with the dagger, and the bear ran away alive; again the little boy went home and lay down to sleep. Again he had an uyngid. Pal-n'ivukh came with a hole in his head and blood and said: "Party! You constantly strike our head with your dagger; if you are strong, I shall not kill you, if I am strong I shall kill you. Now you will have ukhmund." The little boy again went to hunt for bear. The big bear himself came; the bear immediately grabbed the dagger that was hanging on his body and the little boy was not able to get at it. Then they entered into single combat; they wrestled for a long, long time, and both fell dead.

A bear argued with a chipmunk /burunduk/: "I am afraid only of dogs." And the chipmunk said: "And I am not at all afraid of dogs." The first: "I am afraid of arrows." The second: "And I am not afraid of arrows." The bear became angry and scratched the chipmunk with its paw. Hence, five spots (?--illegible. S. Sh.) on the back of the chipmunk.

A noose said to a trap: "Go ahead and catch by yourself, I shall not catch." The trap said: "You go yourself and catch," etc. As a result they did not catch anything.

/750 cont./

778 532 [126] Several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patt. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart; on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two hearts (Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 5). /751/ The heart (ngif), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1202/ above).

[825] Among the idols here there was one with the head of a tung or sea bear /fur seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2 S.R. I, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschchyrkrach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is similar to the head of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached near the back of the neck. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1). C. v. Ditmar (who was in part instrumental in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patchá there is a legend which he was not disinclined to connect with it, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

778 532 539 "Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patchá returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

G /751 cont./
778 third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time
532 they decided to keep watch during the night in order to detect
539 the destroyer of their catch. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a structure similar to the one erected for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchä and Cape Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the Gilyak returned it was no longer there."

G 778 764 I now asked among the Gilyak what the figure represented and what its purpose was. They replied unanimously that the figure was called wagn, and they explained to me that this designated the place where the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned (Bm. I, pp. 50, 51.)

23. Gilyak. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt (on the right bank of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for a Gilyak who had been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Nägda
G [126] /Negda/. The wagn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the extremities were all there, only much less carefully /752/ worked than on the specimen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The wagn reached from the ground up to my belt and was pointing with the head to where the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of the Amgunj. I do not wish to say, however, that such an arrangement was the rule among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)

G 778 825 764 [163] 24. Olcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the information of the Olcha Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is based on the bird kóro whose appearance in any village is disastrous for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a
G 778 825 773 case had happened many years before in the village of Chala, opposite Kisi (Kidsi?). The kóro had come and perched on the tip of a larch tree (Olcha sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of Chala saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

9. Hawes--116 L-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 539, 766, 775, 825

"Wild swans occasionally flew across high overhead, and a woodpecker could be heard tap-tapping the trees. Our natives eagerly asked us to shoot the eagles which soared aloft or settled on the top of a high tree, only to fly away as we approached within gunshot. These were the white-tailed eagles (Haliëtus albicillus), prized by the natives for their tail-feathers, for which they declared the Chinese gave them three dollars (about 6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are said to use them to indicate the residence of a person of importance by placing them over his door; in any case, the Gilyaks themselves value the feathers, which they use for arrow-heads. The wings are also prized by them, being placed at the grave of a Gilyak who has been murdered or has committed suicide, to aid his soul in its flight to heaven."

116, 173, 183, 212, 539

"The Gilyaks have no written language, but they have a legend to account for the want of it. I learnt it from one of their number, Imdin by name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak known to have been brought up and educated by the Russians. He is an intelligent youth, and had been sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I met him in the charge of a political exile, to whom he owed nearly everything.

'The legend current among my tribe,' he said, with a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and a Chinaman were talking together one day on the shore. The former was showing his books and letters (characters) to the latter, when most unfortunately a great wind arose, and blew away all the letters save five; and to complete this great catastrophe, when the Gilyak's back was turned the Chinaman meanly made off with the small remnant.'

The Ainus have a not dissimilar legend, in which, according to one version, their letters and records were stolen by their guest from Japan, while they were yet recovering from after-dinner effects."

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by
i. e. the medicine man immediately preceding t
as given me by an observer on the island.

The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, ami
close to the bear and whispers in its ear—
'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'brok
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years,
(dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "sumn

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's
business getting him out of his cage; and th
frequently, it was then autumn, than once a

this functionary at this juncture, [LSS:
the sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête

d the deep silence of the spectators, goe

en' many Gilyaks:

not stinting the delicious yukola

ner year,"

memory. It is such a difficult
ose I saw were not taken out more
fortnight for a constitutional.

116, 527, 539, 756, 782

'And three "winter years" you have li
'He, your host, will not kill you:
'Therefore you must not complain ab

ived in a nice warm lodging;

bout him to the great lord of the mounta

[A Legend about Pilavo] Amur

/294 cont./

539 generation has now all died out. They bore children and multiplied (Takhta -- two yurts, Kabachi -- two yurts, Chilma -- eight families, Khez' -- all Pilavyn. They bore children and multiplied and built a large isba -- about 15 sagenes (1) (three

1. I.e., about 30 meters.

ordinary ones); he lived there. All the Pilavyn (inhabitants of Pilavo) lived in this crowded yurt, while the others lived in another yurt. They lived richly, made trips to Japan, Manchuria (Saysin), and Korsakovsk, they bought Chinese women, female slaves for them (beyond Saysin), and also Ainu women and male and female slaves (krǒgrys) for them; they lived very richly, they all had full wealth. Once there was a holiday. They boiled dog meat (formerly they ate dog meat). The children began to fight, the elders stepped in, and a fight broke out. It even came to knives. The old man Yuryng (from the Arkhong clan) came from Tebakh and reconciled them. After that, however, they would now and again get drunk on khan'shina and, once again, a fight. A full assembly was called (assembly -- vopud kymlydz), and /295/ the people began to divide things up. The workers had married, and their children were also slaves. First they divided the slaves, various things, and furs. One [103] brother, together with his slaves, set off up the Amur: "I shall look for a place like Khez' (formerly it was called Pilavo, in the Chinese books it was called Tajrá, and in Goldi daj gasá -- large village). Their nickname was hes'-pilavo from the word hes' -- gullet, because they fight over their gullet and not over serious things. He stopped near the Goldi settlement of Yky (the settlement of Sarapul'skoye). Yky was inhabited by the ancient Gilyak emigrants from the settlement of Pilavo on Sakhalin. They bore children and multiplied and now not many of them are left. They still burn their dead.

Amur

/297 cont./

614 796 but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate a common bear festival." Each k:khal should buy one, or better, two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare mos'. The bear is fattened as fat as possible; they feed it about two years; they prepare mos' and buy racing dogs. The time for the festival finally arrives: they play games, wrestle, then kill the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected -- he does not have to be the bear's master; he is the nga khez'-ni'vukh; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi pilá pal' urgur p'ach adz: kukujá pkhylava:r chajpidugujá!" -- thou, big mountain (mountain man), shake off well our Gilyak dust. Turn around so that I can see you."

They killed it, cut up its meat (the bones must not be broken), brought it into an isba, and boiled the meat. They compete in a "race" -- vardz:. They call together both clans, men and women, and distribute the bear meat to all. As a rule, the elder consults with the master on how to divide the bear. The main bones are the two tibial bones -- tereng, and the two pelvic ones -- pyjkh. The tibial and the pelvic bones are given [688] to the most honored persons. It is a sin to give the head and the 614 kidneys to the young people, the kidneys are very important. The 796 khlaj n'ivukh then says: "K:khal m'ekh:r: ólagu k:khálgu 539 umguólagu umgugu-tokh itdz: furará; navat m'er: chuz'n'akhr: ngar: /298/ n'akh:r: munakhana. K:khal itdz: furará: "umgu n'i ó:la, utku n'i ó:la, umgu n'anak, n'i n'anak, n'i nanak'ar. Nafkhá-chi n'anak furará navát, chiagr. Ni ykyn furará n'an ch'ach'ek munakhana." Another representative answers: "Agitlá, pilymra siktumá mer: vará tyngyztá ching ag:yr: ningrota, ningagr vara chingrodá, n'ishak lyt k:khal, k:khal munakhanó." "To the children of the two clans, to the clans to the little girls and the women I say: 'Now we shall become common meat and common blood.'" The clan speaks thus (1): (Every) woman is my

1. Evidently, one representative of a clan to another.

Amur

/298 cont./

614 796 child (daughter), (every) man is my child (son), a woman -- 539 an elder sister (also aunt) is my sister (my aunt). Now thou, comrade, art called sister; thou, too. I am an elder brother, but I shall now also become your younger." "Of course. We all equally did great things together. You also helped us and we also helped you equally. Once we have formed a clan, we shall become a clan.

"Elder (i.e., the person chosen for the distribution of the meat; he may be young)! Think well; do not give the good to big girls, to big sisters (aunts), or to sons-in-law /zyat'ya/. Give much to the big people, less to the little girls, feed the kidneys to the big old man of the clan, serve the head; distribute the back fat equally, do not share unequally. Give the tibial bone to the elder sons-in-law, give the pelvic bone to the sons-in-law. "Pilynga urgur kymlyjá, umguolagu pilý, nanakagú pilý, ok:ongú-tokh urlý chus' ngokh ta rozgujá, pila n'ivukhdokh malg:ógur khet'ijá umguolagudokh khiskioguja! K:khalgu pila, hejmartokh, tafut jarjá k:orkh khet'ijá. Tereng pily okhomdokh khitirá, pyjkh n'yn'yv póradokh khet'ijá, mur:k ngokh vará rozjá ta rozgujá..."

614 796 After preliminary consultation, a certain person finally brings in the bear and hands it over to the important person, who then, in the presence of several urdla n'ivukh (good people), inquires: "Why?" The person who brought in the bear answers: "I want to enter into ceremonial brotherhood." "All right,"

Next k:khal are consulted without him. During the festival the new clansmen buy dogs and prepare food. During the eating [606] the son-in-law says analogous things, while the fathers-in-law call him father-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. At the end of the festival they give the adopted one their own flints -- tugur:, but they do not give him the real uig tuur (the tabooed fire). There are no more than two or three uig tuur in a village. They light the fire at a bear festival; on a hunt only the urdla n'ivukh takes it when he goes for bear.

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
794 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
796 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
● 539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
841 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
854 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/344 cont./

VIII.

Folklore (1)

114
● 539 1. The two tales printed below were found in Shternberg's archives without a Gilyak text. All the remaining folklore materials not included in Volume 1 of his Materialov po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/ are planned for separate publication. S. Sh.

539 Tale No. 1. Once upon a time two brothers, no mother, no sister, no one, lived alone quietly by themselves. In the spring they went to hunt a bear, one in one direction, the other in the other one. The elder brother sat down to s--t (in great need); a fishing rod from the sky caught (him) and took him into the sky. The younger brother searched for but did not find his brother. He returned home alone. At night, when he was asleep, he dreamed (tyjnd) that a Gilyak came and said that his brother was taken into the sky.

"Be careful, you, too, will be taken into the sky." He woke up and began to look for the Gilyak, no one!

He took a long leather rope and a pole and make a large shed. In the morning he went to s--t, the fishing rods descended, grabbed him, and picked him up. The chain broke and fell. He looked; the chain was all gold. With the chain there were four small bells -- (k:ongkh):, three large, one small. The Gilyak did not touch anything. There was a whole pile of chain.

The following night he was sleeping -- someone got the chain and the little bell, and the little bell rang. In the morning he did not find them; he looked in the storehouse -- bears' heads. He went fishing and caught a whole boatful of small, small fish. One small, beautiful fish /345/ was unfamiliar; he put it in the bow of his boat. Upon approaching a seal, he saw smoke from his yurt. He thought: "Where is that coming from, are we on fire?"

/345 cont./

● 539 And he was still sitting on the bank and thinking thus.

At this point a little boy came running toward him. He caught the beautiful fish and ran away home. He began to think, what sort of boy is this, he must look, find out. He went into the yurt, looked: two women, his elder brother, the little boy. Both women were the daughters of Tlyik Tol-n'ivukh, taken to the sky by Tly-n'ivukh.

The elder daughter loves the Sakhalin Gilyak very much; she lowered a fishing rod and dragged off the Gilyak. Then the younger sister lowered her fishing rod and it broke. The younger had a son from one of the Tly n'ivukh; she did not want him; it was impossible to catch anything with the fishing rod; they descended.

To lose a little bell -- means to lose one's reason. When they took the little bells, it seemed as if their reason returned. The younger brother took the younger sister; the little boy became the son of this brother. The wife began cleaning fish.

The elder brother said to the younger /fem./: "Here is your husband, and this fish will be yours, go, clean it and dry it." She took a knife and went. Her husband thought: "I shall do a little smoking and then go and dry the fish." He finished smoking, went outside, and his fish was already prepared. Then they lived richly. They put the little bells with their things, and they had (everything).

Tale No. 2. Tylgund (from Obona). The first Gilyak was born in Aleksandrovsk. He caught a fish, caught Tarmyk-cho; he could not kill it because it was umgu, and he threw it alive into the sea again; on the following day he again caught it -- "threw it into the sea, did not tell anybody." He did that many times. In the summer the fish gave birth to a little boy and cast him on the shore. The man saw: "Who is this little boy?" If he has a father, he will come and take him. The father found out, took the little boy, and made a balagan on the shore; by the side of the boy there was a big dagger, which his father took with him. The Gilyak gathered grass (kenkhong), made a bed, and they settled

Hawes--265-268 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 539

On the End of Cape Siata h
Wrinkled up
And featherless,
From his forehead mud ru

Oh unhappy I! I look round
I am sorry for myself,
The owlet
Sat on my knees, (1)

1. She is distressed because, in her mind's eye,
beside her or on her knees.

Hooting and trembling;
He lifts up
His head (all) white.

In a boat I saw thee,
On a level with the edge,
But the boat was without p

e sat

ns down.

myself,

she sees him come and sit

row;

10: Coxwell--121-124 B-3 (no d
116, 539

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AN

2. L. Y. Sternberg, p. 201.

A father and his two sons went together on
firewood, sacrificed to the Sea and the Moun
made an [122] offering to the Fire. When the
up the entrance. They were terrified, but, a
dreamed that he approached the tiger, and s
tinder? Speak! Have you come because you h
various valuable things? I may not have then
for you. Maybe, you require dogs of another
require anything of you, but your son has be
kill me; if I am the stronger, I will kill him.
your younger son.'

Afterwards, the old man got up and said,
Do not boast! I told you before, but you did n
son and said, 'My boy, we will both go back;
'Father, why are you going without me? Oh,

D THE GRATEFUL TIGER (2)

a sable hunt. They reached their tent, cut
tain, obtained water, entered the tent and
ey had eaten, a great tiger came and filled
fter awhile, the father fell asleep and
aid, 'Have you come because you have no
ave no flint? Speak! Perhaps you require
n, but, if I go to my village, I will get them
breed?' The tiger answered, 'I do not
en boasting. If he is the stronger, let him
Tell him of my command! and go home with

'Son, here is my order. Are you listening?
not obey.' Then he turned to his younger
roll up your bedding.' The elder son said,
wait for me. Will you not forgive me?' The

9: Hawes--265-268 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 539

A long whip (lay)
Across the bow,
I raised the whip
And cried,
'Owl bird,
Thy face is against the s
Wrinkled
Is thy high forehead.'

I am sorry for myself,
But do not thou say of m
That thou art sorry for

The meaning is not everywhere clear, and the t
was intended is one that has to be resisted. There
Her disappointed lover is described as featherle
his forehead; and, again, as peevish in his cries
In the third verse (the divisions are mine) she b
cause his attentions make her miserable, and he
whereupon she strikes a note of contempt in her e
Another picture rises without warning before us

sun, and therefore

e
me. [268]
emptation to read more into it than
is no doubt of her withering scorn.
ess (bald), and with mud running down
for 'various things.'
reaks into her plaint, apparently be-
persists in sitting down beside her,
pithet of 'owlet,' or fledgeling.
in the fourth verse. It is like a child's

9: Hawes--265-268 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 539

story made up on the spur of the moment. She
prow), and a whip, a long dog's whip the words
'Thy face is against the sun, and therefore wri
tempted to see in them a warning to the suitor
the night, aspiring to the sunlight of her counte
that the maiden authoress, having kept up her
into narrative, and drawn a picture from mem

is in a boat, a canoe apparently (without
s imply, lies on the prow. Then she cries,
nkled is thy high forehead,' and one is
that he looks too high—he, a denizen of
enance. But I think it is more probable
metaphor so long, has a t length slid off
ory's portfolio."

10: Coxwell--121-124 B-3
116, 539

In the middle of the floor sat a v
girl. The man said, 'Dear father a
brought him in order to give him m
replied to his son, 'Send for your y
otter's flesh and bear's meat. Whe
chattered and laughed. It seemed t
who had been a tiger turned to then
friend, out of gratitude, in order t
you wish to give her, I am willing.
my village.'

The next day six men, heavily la
the Gilyaks went to Manchuria, loa
Manchurian Governor. The wife of
the tigress woman?' 'Yes,' was th
wife.' The Gilyak received the gif

In the autumn, when the elder sc
accompany him. But the elder scol
allowed the elder to depart, and th

ery old man and woman and, before them, a young
nd mother, out of gratitude to my friend, I have
ny sister; that is why he is here.' The old man
younger brother and explain to him.' They ate fish and
n the sun set, people appeared behind the hut and
o the Gilyak that eight people entered the hut. The man
n and said, 'Younger Brother, I have brought my
o give him our sister.' The younger man replied, 'If
' Then our Gilyak said, 'To-morrow, I will return to

den, bore furs to the village. The following summer,
ded three boats with the furs, and visited the
the Manchurian Governor said, 'Gilyak, did you marry
e reply. ' I send this pipe and this kerchief to your
ts and returned to his village.
n was about to go hunting, the younger wished to
ded him and forced him to remain. The younger
en followed in his footsteps. After going a long way

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

9: Hawes--265-268
116, 539

"The song that follows
the Gilyak maiden in c
the song of a Gilyak gi
summary and cruel re
picturing him as an ov
words—

i.e. admit that thou a

Coxwell--121-124 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
539

reaching a tent, he, the younger son, went into the forest, hewed wood, obtained
er, then entered the tent and kindled a fire. Just at sunset the noise of a tiger's
vements was heard. The elder brother said to the younger, 'These are my father-
's people, I am taking a wife from them. Do not fear them.' The tiger man's
ends appeared behind the tent and talked; whereupon our Gilyak went out to them a
d, 'Friends, will you not smoke tobacco?' The visitors laughed and talked, and
ered and, taking places, sat down. Afterwards, one of them noticed the foot of the
nger brother, who sat in a far corner so as not to frighten them; they were alarm
r Gilyak said, 'There is no reason to be alarmed; this is my younger brother.' T
er-man's party ate and slept soundly, rose the next day and departed, and the Gily
nt with them. After they had gone far, they reached the tiger's hut. They entered
nd [124] the wife was there. 'Friends,' the Gilyak said, 'I shall go home to-mor
e following day, taking his wife, he returned to his village and they lived."

, which I give in the original, with an English translation, reveals
uite another attitude. [LSS: See category 533, pp. 264-265 for
rl rejected by her lover] This is no impassioned appeal, but a
jection of her lover. She holds him up to ridicule in her song,
vl. She will have none of his addresses, and finishes with the

'Do not thou say of me
That thou art sorry for me.'
rt unworthy of me, and cease to say thou lovest me. [266]
GILYAK MAIDEN'S SONG.
[LSS: The Gilyak text of this song has not been
reproduced for the Files.] [267]
(TRANSLATION.)
The owl bird
Sat on top of a barkless tree
Hooting and trembling
And bending down.

The owl bird raises his head and cries,
For various things he asks;

l
-in-
nd
e
ned.
he
yak
and
row.'

1. L. Y. Sternberg,

Two women were dwelling togetl
seals, they were well off; they liv
the next day do something; they ha
After collecting a quantity, they r
entering a passage, they heard a r
I heard, sister?' The elder replie
young sister remarked, 'I am afr
replied, 'Never mind, let us go in
entered together and looked at the
the dish and set on the seat. They
'what is this? I do not understand.
it.' Helping herself, the elder sis
replied, 'I do not wish to eat; I ar
I shall sleep.' They both slept.

10: Coxwell--120 [3] B-3 (
116, 539

"Gilyak stories not included here, are
who Married a Seal, ' 'The Gilyak who M
who Married a Gilyak Woman. ' Clearly,
look on animals as little below themselve

: 'The Woman who Married a Fox,' 'The Woman
arried a Mountain-Woman', 'The Mountain-Man
, the Gilyaks are in the early stage when men
es, and on Nature as animated."

10: Coxwell--121 B-3 (no da
116, 539

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFEN

1. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 38.

Five men went into the forest to set snares.
sacrificial offerings and arranged snares. Bu
for the animals often got the better of him. H
In the evening, he prepared food and, seizing
fire with a single cup and said, 'If the lord is
he broke up the hearth, and all the party lay
In the night, the head of the party dreamed
set snares!' So when his companions departed
in his tent. A strange man appeared and said,
commanded to make you a present.' They wer
which were many sables. A man with a banda
and he gave the visitor twenty sables and said
broken up the hearth at the beginning of a sab
next year, with a bow and with arrows and a
will kill you; if you are stronger, you will kil
that!' In the summer this Gilyak perished dur

DED THE FIRE LORD(1)

. They erected tents, prepared food, made
t the chief hunter of sables was unfortunate,
e grew angry and collected all his snares.
an axe, placed it beside him; he fed the
present, let him eat!' Next, lifting his axe,
down to sleep.
that a man said to him, 'Remain here and
to their homes, this hunter stayed alone
'Come with me to my house; I am
nt away together and entered a house in
ged wound upon his face was sitting there
, 'If you come upon a Gilyak who has
le-hunt, say to him, "Provide yourself,
spear, and walk about; if I am stronger, I
l me," when you meet such a man, tell him
ing a hunting expedition."

father and the younger son tied up
'Step away and let us pass.' The
away.

The tiger returned and occupie
shirt and with his sleeves turned
After the Gilyak had struck with h
mighty effort, jumped into a larc
lad's boot, tore it away and fell d
die. The Gilyak let himself down,
much effort, drew him away, so

The lad descended, took his sp
He finished eating, and the tiger
ready to discharge an arrow; the
finished eating and threw himself
they came to a clear place. Ther
several tiger skins. The tiger ap
for the tiger, he shook himself,
Having lifted his [123] tiger-skin
the hut!

o their beds, and the father, turning to the tiger, sai
reupon the tiger moved aside and the two Gilyaks wer

d the entrance. Then the Gilyak, attired only in his
up, holding a little Chinese axe, approached his ener
is axe, the tiger gave way. Then the lad, with a
h tree. The tiger sprang after him, bit the heel of th
own into a fork of the tree, where he was likely to
seized the tiger by the back of the neck, and, with
that the animal could depart.
ear, fetched water, cut wood and cooked some food.
came and looked. The Gilyak raised his bow and got
the tiger retreated, but appeared again. The lad
on the tiger's back; when they had gone some distanc
e on a height stood a large hut, before which hung
proached and crouched down. The Gilyak stood up; as
hrew off his skin and, in a second, became a man.
and hung it on a pole, he said, 'Friend, let us enter

10: Coxwell--120-121 B-3 (no
116, 539.

"THE GILYAK WHO

2. From the Russian of L. Y
of the Gilyak Language and F

Two brothers had a sister. The younger
partook of its flesh, and gave to other peo
to a neighbouring promontory, and there d
bringing nothing, he returned home alone.
possessed of a devil, these words, 'She is
take a tigress as his wife! Next summer,
will collect various dogs and kill them; he
sacrificial dish; he will visit his bride, an
sister lost consciousness, but revived[121

The following summer the party went to
dogs and many fish-skins; they killed all s
Then the younger brother went to the mou
told."

MATED WITH A TIGRESS(2)

. Sternberg, Materials for Study
olk-lore, No. 23.

brother killed a bear and brought it home and
ple; he then went in his boat across the water
leposited the rest of the carcase. Later,
Afterwards his sister sang, like a woman
beloved by my younger brother; he intends to
having set out for the coast of Saghalien, he
will take all sorts of fish-skins and make a
d we shall smoke tobacco together!' Then the
]
the coast of Saghalien; they took all sorts of
orts of dogs, and made a sacrificial dish.
ntain and took his wife, and they lived. It is

10: Coxwell--125-126 B-3
116, 539

hurled itself upon him, but when the y
it proved useless as a weapon. The be
man, but died; Son-of-the-Mother-of-

(no date) 1925 Gilyak-2

oung man sought to defend himself with the sable,
ear and the man fought; the bear rose above the
Water went down in the water and perished."

10: Coxwell--125-126 B-3 (no dat
116, 539

"SON-OF-THE-MOT

1. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 39.

A certain Gilyak, who lived alone, took as h
called Mother-of-Water. A boy was born to the
with him a sable, by aid of which, in the sprin
cleft their skulls.

Once the old Gilyak set out upon the river's
sat and ate frozen fish, said to him, 'Come wi
together. When they entered the hut a big man
head toward the entrance, and half of his head
the-Mother-of-Water that I send him this mes
the movement of the herrings, I will come dow
himself with a spear and await my coming!' T
message to Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water, and,
Water frequently sharpened his sable's claws.

Next year, in the spring, the man with the b
time when a whale was lying on the seashore.
an enormous bear. Son-of-the-Mother-of-Wate

THER-OF-WATER (1)

is wife a fish from the sea. She was
em, who, when he grew up, used to carry
g time, he frequently killed bears; he

surface to get frozen fish. A man, who
th me to my village.' They departed
was lying on the boards, [126] with his
bound up. This man said, 'Tell Son-of-
sage: in the spring of next year, during
n from the mountains; let him arm
The old man went and delivered the
in consequence, Son-of-the-Mother-of-

andaged head came down to the sea, at a
The man with the bandaged head became
er arrived and jumped back as the bear

10: Coxwell--126-127 B-3
116, 539

"THE MOUNTAIN-D

1. L. Y. Sternberg, N

A party of three, consisting of a
Having pitched their tent on a moun
the Sea; then they cut some wood, g
and took up his position before the t
sleep, 'Has someone come because
or because he has no tinder? Has h
for valuables?' The answer sounde
said, 'Please, do not touch him!' A
the tiger, and the sister's son woke
tiger bit one of them so that his blo
tiger has killed our boy; get up!' T
mother and younger brother may lo
for you to go; if I tell the news, the
let us go together!'

Each took a spear; the son had a

DEVIL IN THE FORM OF A TIGER (1)

No. 35.

father, his son and sister's son, went to set snares. tain, they sacrificed to Fire, to the Mountain and to got water, and entered the tent. But a tiger approached tent's entrance. The father said to himself, in his he possesses no steel? or because he has no flint? e come because he needs dogs? or because he wishes ed, ' I have come for your sister's son!' The old man After a time, the old man's son woke, but did not see but did not see the tiger; they both went out, and the od flowed. The other ran back and cried, 'Father, a he father got up. 'My son, ' said he, 'go home; your se their lives. ' The son replied, 'No, father, it is y [127] will not believe me!' 'My son, go!' 'Father,

gun and the father had his bow and arrows and they

10: Coxwell--126-127 B-3
116, 539

started. They saw the tiger eating th
son ran up and gave a thrust with his
together they killed the tiger. Father
his plait of hair, his buttons and his
his body and that of his prey upon a s
returned to the tent. They cut down w
kettle and boiled some water. Sudden
the fire and let us run away!' They w
water! There is a devil!' 'Where did
heard twice some barking, but it was
us descend to the shore!' They enter
hearth, kindled a fire and went away.
came up, but father and son aimed th

The pair went home and the father
tiger has killed the boy! We are goin
was late and father and son went to s
approaching the tiger, raised him up,
to their home. 'Old woman, prepare

e youth. The tiger sprang upon the father, but the
spear, and the father thrust with his spear;
and son approached the boy's body and removed
shirt. They stripped off the tiger's skin and placed
caffold, for preservation from wild beasts, and
ood and lit a fire, then got water and hung up the
ly the dogs barked twice. 'Father, pour water on
ent out, and the son said, 'Father, jump into the
the noise come from?' replied the old man. 'I
an illusion, there is nobody about.' 'Father, let
ed the tent, broke up firewood, placed it on the
After a noise of stamping and trampling, a tiger
eir spears at him and he disappeared.
called out, 'Old woman, collect the neighbours, a
g in a dog-sleigh to fetch the body.' However, it
eep. Next day they returned to the mountain and,
and set him on the sleigh and carried him almost
a sacrificial dish for the people; and son, go off

10: Coxwell--124-125 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak-3
116, 539

Our woman ran off and, shutting the door, spat and pasted up the whole of it. The bear approached and attacked the door with its teeth; but the door was of iron, and he broke all his teeth. Our woman rushed back, and, arriving at the village, entered her hut; then she passed into the passage. Her elder sister was inside asleep. The younger sister cried, 'When did you arrive?' The elder sister replied, 'A bear took me, and carried me away; he ate all my body; only my head remained. You took my head and beat it on every side. I arose from the dead; somehow I came back and have here awaited you.' The younger sister said, 'The bear will no longer come to us now; you will die.' "

10: Coxwell--130 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 825

"SON-OF-THE-MOTHER-OF-WATER

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 125-126]

Sternberg remarks that the son of the Gilyak and of the Woman-Fish grew up and defeated many bears. The Lord of the Bears, being much offended because Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water fought with the aid of a sable, instead of with the traditional spear, challenged him to a duel, and both perished. As an instrument of the chase, a sable would be useless except for self-defence. Only a man of unusual physical strength would, thus armed, risk a contest with a bear. But the hero of a certain legend so fights and, at the last moment of the contest, stifles the bear in his embraces."

10: Coxwell--126-127 B-3
116, 539

with the dogs!' The son went in the
took it from the shore, where the vi
mountain; there they killed dogs, an
body and returned home and lived, b

(no date) 1925 Gilyak-

dog-sleigh and brought home the boy's body. They
llage was standing, and bore it some distance up
d sacrificed to the mountain; then they buried the
out remained incensed against the mountain-devil.

10: Coxwell--128 B-3
116, 224, 539, 688

"THE GILYAK W

[LSS: For the text of this tale, se

Sternberg says that after every s
performed; part of the meat being e
side. In our story, the hero carrie
crime punishable by the gods. The
extraordinary, namely his love for
and he married her. The largeness
importance of the tigress."

(no date) 1925 Gilyak

HO MATED WITH A TIGRESS
e category 539, pp. 120-121.]

uccessful bear hunt, a religious ceremony must be
eaten and part carried to the relatives on the mother's
s away meat to the forest; such an act being a great
Gilyak was induced to behave thus by something
the tigress, a creature more powerful than any bear;
of the sacrifice in the story corresponds to the

Coxwell--124-125 B-3 (no date) 1925

539

" A TALE OF A BEA

I. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 24.

Two women were dwelling together in a storehouse.
als, they were well off; they lived comfortably. One
next day do something; they had abundance. Once th
ter collecting a quantity, they returned to their store
tering a passage, they heard a noise within. The you
eard, sister?' The elder replied, 'I do not know! I
ung sister remarked, 'I am afraid, and will not ente
plied, 'Never mind, let us go in! The younger agree
tered together and looked at the middle seat; all the
dish and set on the seat. They sat, each in her own
hat is this? I do not understand.' The other answere
' Helping herself, the elder sister ate, and said to t
plied, 'I do not wish to eat; I am afraid.' The elder
hall sleep.' They both slept.

R (1)

Whenever they caught fish or
day they would sit at home and
ey set out together for berries.
house and went upstairs. But,
nger said, 'What was that noise
do not understand it.' The
r on any account,' but the other
d. 'Yes, let us go in!' They
meat had been cooked, and put on
place. 'Sister,' said the younger,
d, ' I do not know; but I shall eat
he other, 'Eat!' The younger
remarked, 'Now that I have eaten

10: Coxwell--124-125 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak-2
116, 539

In the night the elder sister began to converse with someone, and the younger sister rose and looked. There was a light round about! The younger sister was frightened, and could not sleep, but the other conversed continually. The younger sister, at last, fell asleep, and heard nothing more; then she awoke and rose; it was already dawn, and had become light. She looked for her sister, who was not to be seen! Becoming anxious, she jumped up and dressed herself; then, running down, she went out and sought the mooring rope and the boat. One of the boats had gone, the other remained. Reaching it and pushing off, she began to row; when she landed she found the footprints of her elder sister, and looked; there were foot-[125]prints of a bear alone, of her sister alone, and next of a bear and her sister near one another. The bear and the elder sister had climbed a mountain together.

The younger sister ascended the mountain in their tracks; she ran uphill, and crept along after them. A hut stood alone, and the girl entered. Her elder sister's head lay in the middle of the plank bed. The younger sister said, 'So, you have been lovemaking? Not bad!' The elder sister's head answered, 'I thought it would be well.' The reply came, 'I told you, I told you how I feared those food delicacies! Why did you not obey me? You took and ate. Why did you not obey me?' The elder sister's head wept. The younger woman took her sister's head and beat it on all sides. A bear issued from a corner and opened its jaws.

10: Coxwell--128-129 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 839

"A TALE OF A BEAR

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.124-125.]

This story of mating with a bear is one of several stories mentioned in the Note to the Kalmuck story, 'The Birdcage [129] Husband.' But in the present tale we have no mere allusion to the subject; on the contrary, as in 'The Gilyak who Mated with a Tigress,' the tale actually deals with a wooing, and the life of the characters concerned.

The majority of stories of men or women mating with animals were probably, even in the first place, amusing fiction and did not arise from abnormality and depravity of savages or barbarous races. Similarly, considerations of totem ancestry, while interesting from the standpoint of man's early evolution, seem too remote to have played an important part in origination of the mass of folk-tales, even of the most ancient, such as the Egyptian, Indian or Kalmuck. This is not to deny the possibility of such causes, but to lay stress on the greater influence of a story-telling faculty which has used striking ideas and situations in order to divert childish persons or to arrest the attention of dull minds. To the primeval hunter it doubtless appeared that the hunted are not very different from himself, for they lived in the same environment, and were influenced by similar considerations. He developed, but an inherited tendency to look on animals as his fellows persisted after notions of totem ancestry had vanished."

Coxwell--128[3] B-3 (no date) 1925
, 539, 776, 825

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AND THE
[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp

The story of Androcles and the Lion will occur to th
e East transmutation is into the larger animal forms
a Kalmuck tale, a demon appears as a buffalo, as o
olf of a Russian tale and into a yellow dog of a Mordv
ansformed into a tiger by a curse, as in Western we
e general Gilyak belief that there are special beings
ving the appearance of Gilyaks, can assume the shap
adowed forth. The absence of ceremony is noticeabl
ger-man's sister."

GRATEFUL TIGER
. 121 -124.]

e reader. It is observable that in
, thus here is a tiger-man and,
pposed to the transmutation into a
in tale. But the man has not been
rewolf stories; on the contrary,
in the mountains and forest who,
e of wild beasts, seems here
e when the Gilyak marries the

10: Coxwell--130 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925
16, 224, 539, 782

"THE MOUNTAIN-DEVIL IN THE FORM OF A

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 126-127]

It is noticeable that the hunting party, on setting out, sacrific
out to the mountain and the sea. Later, the sacrifice of dogs to
real relief in the power of the mountain spirit. In the Ostyak tal
n the middle of a perilous adventure, bends his neck in worship
sacrifice a reindeer at marriage; also deer to a river. The Tch
foal, an ox or a cow to their gods, Keremet and Sheert.

The Eskimo have a tale of a mountain spirit that dug up the bo
pretended to be dead in order to see what the mountain spirit wo
spirit carried the man to its home and the man soon opened his
captor, also the latter's children. The dead mountain spirit's w
he escaped by telling hills to rise up and a stream to flow betwe
pursuer. (3)

3. Rasmussen and Worster, p. 84."

Gilyak

A TIGER

ed not only to the fire,
the mountain shows a
e, 'Aspen-leaf,' the hero,
of spirits. The Yukaghirs
eremisses sacrifice a

dy of a man, who had
uld do. The mountain
eyes and killed his
ife pursued the man, but
en himself and his

: Coxwell--128 [2] B-3 (no date) 192
, 372, 539, 776

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFENDED THE
LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, p

The Lord of Fire is considered by the Gilyaks to
nd all the deities; and the hunter who sacrifices to
ropitiates the Lord of the Forest, and secures suc
tory, 'The Mountain-devil in the form of a Tiger,
ire. In the Yakut tale, 'Al-Iot: the Spirit of Fire, '
he Fire. Among the Yukaghirs, a definite form of
hen a new net is dedicated."

FIRE LORD

p. 121.]

be an intermediary between man
fire considers that he thereby
ccess in the chase. In the Gilyak
a party of hunters sacrifices to
a spoonful of all food is thrown to
words is employed before a fire

a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded. If the baby was born in the summer, the children are told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to have found it in the snow.

Twin births.

No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these cases both children are of the same sex. I personally came to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions rather well known to me there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all these twins died immediately after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote down are twins of different sex mentioned. The brother is in love with his sister and, in this song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away. But, not being certain which of the children is not an offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.

It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

796 in this the proof of
entirely enough to a
making the archer u
bring him into the d
torture that they im
meant to be a symbo
Even this conception
one torment an expi
enough by its innoce
besides, does not th
death give the impre
overbubbling festive
the traveller was un
of the ceremonies d
unable to explain the
way their fathers an
worrying any further
Jakobsen's friends i
him adequate explan
fore, we need more
than is available tod
clearly.

115 Finally, a saga c
173 heard from a Russia
539 territory for a long
time ago there appea
a small vessel full o
complexion. These
them down, and, wit
ate all the inhabitant
the river, they actec
Goldi till finally the
terror, banded toget
the barbaric enemy,
battle. All the cannil
destroyed. From thi
more foreign people
up to the time when
the river and took po

eriousness or mourning; rather, it is
sume that in this way they want to avoid
nsteady by noisy behavior, and thus to
nger of missing his mark. Or is the
ose on the poor animal before its death
l of the serious nature of this festival?
seems untenable to me, for why should
tory sacrifice that already has to suffer
nt death, as happens in this case; and,
cruel treatment of the bear before its
ssion of proceeding entirely from the
joy of the celebrators? Unfortunately,
able to give any hints as to the significance
scribed, since the Gilyak were themselves
m. They celebrated [382] the festival the
d forefathers had celebrated it, without
about the meaning of the various actions.
n Nikolayevsk were equally unable to give
ations on this subject. Probably, there-
frequent and more detailed observation
ay before we can see into the matter

urrent among the Gilyak which Jakobsen
n station master who had lived in their
time. It goes as follows: A long, long
red on the Amur coming from the east
f enormously strong people of a dark
vent ashore, attacked the villages, burned
hout distinguishing age or sex, killed and
s that they could lay hands on. Sailing up
l in the same fashion in the land of the
invaded tribes recovered from their
her and moved in large hordes against
whom they then defeated in a bitter
bals were killed and their ship was
s time on, the Gilyak always add, no
came to the Amur River from the east
he Russians appeared at the mouth of
ssession of the land.

541

541 SPECTACLES -- patriotic celebrations; parades; fireworks displays; mil
tary reviews; secular pageants; carnivals, circuses, and rodeos; anima
racing and fighting (e.g., horse and dog races, bull baiting, cockfighting
gladiatorial combats; public hangings; organization of spectacles; financ
(e.g., by profits, voluntary contributions, subsidies); admissions (e.g.,
gratis, by ticket); specialists (e.g., organizers, performers); etc. See

Breeding of racehorses 232
Animal transport 492
Attendant gambling 525
Clowns 52
Religious spectacles . . . . . .

/705 cont./

*796 divided into approximately even halves. The path leading from Judin's house to this place of death for the bears was also marked out with a few whittled sticks.

*796 231 ●541 Meanwhile the dog-feeding was going on in the house in the same way as on the day before, except that those animals that were to participate in the races an hour hence did not get anything for the time being; they were also brought into the house, to be sure, but could only watch while the other dogs ate, their feeding being postponed until after the races in order to stimulate them to run faster. Everyone now set out for one end of the racecourse, which was laid out on the ice-cover of the river and consisted of a strip about two fathoms wide, on which the snow had been shoveled to the sides and the ice smoothed somewhat for a distance of about one and a half to two versts. Here stood two sleds, one harnessed to 14 dogs, the other to ten, of which the three front ones on the first sled were adorned with elegant Manchurian collars, the above-mentioned rüssk (1). In front of the sleds two other dogs were held

1. See p. 750 ff. above with the woodcut, and Plate XXXVI /p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5.

on long straps. Many spectators had stationed themselves on the elevated embankments at both sides of the racecourse. First the two dogs not harnessed to the sleds were released; they pulled behind them at the end of their long straps only a fox tail and the tail of a black dog, respectively With this light burden they disappeared from the racecourse in an instant and ran up the hill to the house where they were caught by the women and children. They were particularly swift-footed animals, one of which was a so-called kylâ or kylâ-kan among the Gilyak, over the possession of which Judin was very proud, saying that in the whole Amur region there were only two or three animals of the same quality, and he could name their owners. It was not clear to me, however, what the special characteristics of the kylâ-kan are, aside from swift-footedness. The animals harnessed to the sleds did not get off so easily, for although the burden which they had to pull was

/705 cont./

*796 231 ●541 hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain control of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the

*796 541 534 hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and requires some special knowledge, for there are various types and modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode

*796 541 231 [521] of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248/). As soon as all the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal is set before them in the house by the women. The men, however, indulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connection with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

*796 231 After this interlude, the leading of the bears which had been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything was repeated as on the preceding days, for example, the large

2: Schrenck--1147 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/709 cont./

*796 574 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit. In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore, [123] as Judin told us, there are even more ufitsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented 516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in [614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal /710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal, Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.

*796 ●541 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

/710 cont./

*796 ●[541] amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river [264] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

*796 824 From all the houses of the village the people congregated around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of [291] [239] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 231 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi- [156] ment. Chuzisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

/718 cont./

*796 252 [784] [263] just as it would be extremely uitsch if one wanted to fry, not only bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward [782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and were intended for the forthcoming feast.

*796 [887] [251] In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in additional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.

*796 23 541 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng. Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 252 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the meantime, more life and commotion had entered into these preparations for the feast; some young men began to cut up the six

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.
535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.
527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.
527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]
Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.
527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate
buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where
various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through
the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and
this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house
to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the
river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an
abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who
put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all
sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cran-
berries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also
prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means wor-
ship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun,
some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek
revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is
not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo them-
selves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful
blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty,
with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this
happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard
to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak
seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are
passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237]
roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a
bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as en-
tertainment has been described. Special music is produced
527 in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered - two
old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were
supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was
destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

796 Elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
374 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their in-
voluntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house
to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.
796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that
they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are
attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these
chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and
others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand com-
pletely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on
whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it
wants to attack its leaders.
796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also
fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, how-
ever, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the
track by their owners and placed next to each other, they
were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the
way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do
not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that only one sled races along the track at time; the test is, rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders, are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak succeedes very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand, were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of their luckier companions.

At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the village. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his companions, and those that came after him would kick and jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, however, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding, scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He [illegible] a beam about three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

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543 EXHIBITIONS--international expositions; local and regional fairs; animal-judging contests (e.g., horse and dog shows); handicraft displays; automobile and flower shows; art exhibitions; special exhibits (e.g., by libraries and museums); offering of prizes and awards; organization of exhibitions; mode of finance (e.g., by sale of tickets, sale of articles on display, voluntary contributions); specialized organizers and dealers, etc. See also:

Libraries, art galleries, and museums	217	Markets	443
Zoological and botanical gardens	367	Sales promotion	446
Auctioning	427	Advertising	447

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

150 A MOTLEY GROUP.

000 evidently on a trading expedition. He had a boat about twenty-five feet long by eight wide, with a single mast carrying a square sail. His boat was full of boxes and bales and had a crew of four men. A small skiff was towed astern and another alongside. These Manjour merchants are quite enterprising, and engage in traffic for small profits and large risks when better terms are not attainable. Before the Russian occupation all the trade of the lower Amoor was in Manjour hands. Boats annually descended from San-Sin and Igoon bringing supplies for native use. Sometimes a merchant would spend five or six months making his round journey.

437 The merchants visited the villages on the route and bar-
● 543 gained their goods for furs. There was an annual fair at the Gilyak village of Pul, below Mariensk. and this was made the center of commerce. The fair lasted ten days, and during that time Pul was a miniature Nijne Novgorod. Manjour and Chinese merchants met Japanese from the island of Sakhalin, Tunguse from the coast of the Ohotsk Sea, and others from the head waters of the Zeya and Amgoon. There were Gilyaks from the lower Amoor and various tribes of natives from the coast of Manjouria.

A dozen languages were spoken, and traffic was conducted in a patois of all the dialects. Cloth, powder, lead, knives, and brandy were exchanged for skins and furs. A gentleman who attended one of these fairs told me that the scene was full of interest and abounded in amusing incidents. Of late years the navigation of the Amoor has discontinued the fair of Pul. The Manjour traders still descend the river, but they are not as numerous as of yore.

226 With a good glass from the deck of the steamer I watched the native process of catching salmon. The fishing stations are generally, though not always, near the villages. The natives use gill nets and seines in some localities, and scoop nets in others. Sometimes they build a fence at right angles to the shore, and extend it twenty or thirty yards into the

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545 MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS--public concerts; operatic productions; performances by dance troupes (e.g., ballets); burlesque and vaudeville; production of musical comedies and plays; stock companies, amateur musicals and theatricals; metropolitan show business (e.g., selection of a play, backers, producers, casting, try-outs, staging, rehearsals, promotion, advance sales, first nights, reviews, runs, motion picture rights, royalties, returns on investment, road companies); promotion of other musical and dramatic productions; etc. See also:

Fine arts	68	Theatrical supplies industry	948

/684 cont./

534 The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs over
[192] a bridge set up on the fish skin (Gilyak twua, as in the case of the bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak tyngr-puntsch) is sharply curved and strung with horsehair (Gilyak kich). The string, of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the
[191] stick stuck through the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems to me, judging also by its name, to be of Olcha, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to those of the Gilyak.

535 It is very characteristic of the serious, sober, and practical state of mind of the Gilyak that in the course of two years I never saw dancing either at their bear festivals or on any other occasion; apparently this type of social entertainment does not appeal to them at all. Middendorff encountered it, but it took place under quite extraordinary circumstances: it was in Burukan, a place which the Gilyak visit only for trade; the Tungus, presumably excited by alcohol, performed a wild demonic dance, into which the Gilyak, at first only spectators, finally let themselves be drawn (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p 1486.

Otherwise, they said, they did not do it, as Middendorff, too, remarks in his handwritten notes. And at the time their entire behavior revealed this. Whereas the Tungus in their short, tight-fitting fur-jackets moved nimbly and skillfully, the movements of the Gilyak, who kept on their long dog-fur coats reaching down to their calves, were bear-like and extremely stiff and awkward. Moreover, when they tried to imitate the former, the dance always soon ended in exhaustion and a loud burst of laughter, because they felt so childishly silly behaving in this, to them, completely strange and foreign manner.

● 545 It seemed no less surprising to me to find nothing among
171 the Gilyak that might suggest the performance of masquerades or

/684 cont./

● 545 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc.,
171 whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great delight in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected
[157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/. St. Petersburg. 1840. Part II. pp. 85. 93. With regard to the Eskimo, see above. pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind
[526] as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parad their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a
128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next sectio devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

524 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak gam
439 which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese; I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[197] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur". p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending
the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza
Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the
[43] A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethno-
graphy of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are
working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and
club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
[47] committees.

[64] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is con-
ducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first
of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the
Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of
the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of
Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year
schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding
schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women
entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the
songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also
participate in regional Olympic games.

● [545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the
Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely
spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic
clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi
began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know
how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusias-
tically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki
(canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

[182] The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the
collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unifi-
cation in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to
different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors
have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous
remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
561 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the
house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to
them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had
to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they
attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their
fr ers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure
and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome
the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built
near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had
to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

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548 ORGANIZED VICE--prostitutes and houses of prostitution; recruiting of prostitutes; business methods; auxiliary specialists (e.g., procurers, madams, pimps); organized homosexuality; illicit narcotics trade (e.g., drug peddlers, opium dens); underworld gambling establishments; illicit liquor business (e.g., rumrunning, bootlegging, speakeasies); organization of underworld activities; political protection and graft; racketeering; etc. See also:

Use of narcotics and liquor 27
Political corruption 66
Sex 83
Gambling 525
Crime 674
Public health 744
Religious prostitution 786

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
609 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
177 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had be-
fore that behaved properly. The causes for that may be
found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated
individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain
extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. How-
ever, this fact has in recent times been badly misused
and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have
pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to
put themselves in the place of strangers as well as
fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one
must remember that, where strangers are concerned,
moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of
pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever
make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that
tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed,
vindictiveness, etc.- breaks out more easily if one is
177 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
682 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
627 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le
Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by
way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was
robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But
this case was and has remained an exception. The
village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants;
at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or
eight men took part in the crime, of which none is
living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are
caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives
of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge;
now, however, they usually file complaints with the
Russian administration. [226]

● 548 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
837 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
684 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself
be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself
is not too much offended, provided only that there
are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity
have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not
taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself
completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

● 548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about
them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what
I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have
already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which
people live together does not permit such delicacy; however
the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers.
Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the
open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of mem-
bers of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in
urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard
against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had
some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was
taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawn-
ing and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not
make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are
forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the
Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of
course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the
Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating
expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-
Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the
streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has
deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can
be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about.
In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent
that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably
partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they
want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they
love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen
that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

551

551 PERSONAL NAMES--proper names of individuals (e.g., number and va
meanings, circumstances of use); sex and status differences, special n
usages (e.g., nicknames, aliases, teknonymy); name taboos and avoida
etc. See also:

Incorporeal property 426
Naming 553
Titles 884
Kinship terms . . . . . .
Names as souls . . . . . .

601 /31 cont./
191 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
104 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
[595] the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
[835] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
581 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
[583] rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[851] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
611 is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
[551] of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
[684] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
[614] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
[582] tion, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
[592] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
[352] families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
[765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/130 cont./
58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
[551] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[555] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[59] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are married off. If after the death of the parents only one daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry, the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by going against the wishes of his wife.

428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general one can draw the following conclusions from what has been said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives; b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, provided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit and have their own property, but in general they are not left as much; however, they have the right to be supported; e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they become joint owners of the estate along with their children.

565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also have family names (which are handed down by the males); many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not, are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one, and by this name they are known even among their fellow-tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually intelligent lads and understand Russian.

567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
554 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment. Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit, both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

845 who are descendents of the Ainu bury
766 their bodies in the earth.

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

845 If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
551 rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their
769 neighbors and friends although there may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual progenity and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

845 The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in
766 childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the
782 mountains who, while living among ordinary human
775 beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they try hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

552

552 NAMES OF ANIMALS AND THINGS--proper names of individual animals, houses, boats, and other objects; meanings; bestowal and use; etc. See also:
Names of sin groups 61
Place names 103
Vocabulary 192
/Property in names 494
/Names of supernatural beings 778

411 called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the
seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom
of the seine. They are called tətr-paχ. Large wooden floats
(vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the
head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to
flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of
the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and
finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into
the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught
in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of
the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk,
Lo ri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. 'ayqej,
524 3. ət.
471 Lulvəχ-pər and 'ayreqej are names of rocks sticking out
of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks.
ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock.(1)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paχ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (tenot ferd).

Clan Tnaunuŋ owned: 1. Mat-lonri, 2. Tpəri-yrə, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapəə-vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552

198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ĭevropy i severnoĭ Azii"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Ĭtnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.
mu 'boat' they say orq.
ker 'sun' they say am.
la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.
t-lu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiulaf.
umgu 'woman' they say hiuraq.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.
va a 'lake-salmon' they say vəlik.
al o 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 ti r 'fire wood' they say opa; tuin ops-ket tuγr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'
la r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say lərŋ.
i d 'to kill' they say ŋazd.
pət 'tomorrow' they say mandəa.
e r vida 'let us return' they say pəγtkuda.
saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvəta-mu.
kər-ŋoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ŋod 'tava hurts.'
kraəzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqq-tangad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-ŋod 'the hand hurts.'

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of kəs, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
228 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home?" he told me. "Surely kəs must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kəs exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivəvə 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
874 following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals:

Pila-lar 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-ŋa 'present-time animal,' i.e. a sivuch born in the given year.
2. Tje-ŋa literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 3. Pila-lanr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825

Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qr-ŋr is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-ŋəγəl is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-ŋəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' ŋəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-ŋəγəl last year's ŋəγəl.
4. At next in age to tje-ŋəγəl.
5. Siusui-a next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta a - a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Kr-ŋa - next in age to ta a, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alχ.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (mat) and two upper ribs.

225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋət."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzγi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

553

553 NAMING--bestowal of names in infancy; name givers and namesakes; naming ceremonies; exchange of names; reciprocal relationships created by naming or name exchange; assumption of new names (e.g., occasions, ceremonial); posthumous assumption of names; reasons for name changing; bestowal and assumption of honorific names and titles; etc. See also:
Personal names . . . . . 551 Godparents and godchildren 60
Titles . . . . . 554 Ceremonies during infancy 28

/118 cont./

614 556 554 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on the scene in special cases and either personally or together with the "village community" of their clansmen display, as those having the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they play in ordinary life?

They are the so-called yz' -- the "masters" (1), or otherwise

1. Up to the present, little attention has been focused on the role of such persons in the structure of primitive societies. Their role is obscured by their being classified only as representatives of wealth. Here is one of the most recent examples of such a relation. Separate classes of "nobles" and "commoners" do not exist in northwestern California, but in almost all affairs of life the rich man plays the most important role ("Types of Indian Culture in California," by A. L. Kroeber, University of California Publications, June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be grateful, however, that such facts have been noted at all.

[171] [13]

the urdlya-nivukhi -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /119/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

/119 cont./

* 614 ● 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, [539] "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned [532] images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions. In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, [623] which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the community in the name of the clan. Under other circum- [622] stances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

* 614 ● 554 556 [622] /119 cont./ the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for life, or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not that integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individuality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there is no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

* 614 182 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring is the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

[623] Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

/120 cont./

* 614 182 623 Then there are the hejmary, the elders, all of whose authority consists in the solution of moot problems of cult and kinship. They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

* 614 182 Finally, the third element of authority is the yz'i.

● [556] [554] Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/

VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 * 614 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhmal'k and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
818 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Piłsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[186] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and uncivilized by any

/189 cont./
602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual,
602 who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the ad-
195 dress is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For
193 example: "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian,
602 Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural num-
193 ber, which is commonly used in addressing old people and
[278] honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in ad-
[554] dressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

/269 cont./
584 my children and your children also be akhmalk'i. If you do
582 not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied
177 circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages
178 in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the causes was the depopu-
614 lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com-
433 pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause,
556 perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought
[582] about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they preferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
177 the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
178 took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation-
556 ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's
554 dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good
[582] person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

192 /270 cont./
584 orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox
[197] /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom
602 the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the
[593] father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla
584 n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
602 marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently
614 participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy per-
[556] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing
[583] with them at once the articles of the bride price, and frequently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

583 The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all
422 alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
554 nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the
[559] maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married
595 man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself
584 usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter
614 herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

422 /278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
[194]

[773] 1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus" pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s'if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienab[illegible], extra commer
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence o
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answere my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are re served for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or wh one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among pers of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utili objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

583 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided m
735 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evide
[556] of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his o

/130 cont./

8 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
91] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emi-
grations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
9 succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
51] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
51] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
53] ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" --
teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
84] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
14] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with
regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and
wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/
relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between
spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
601 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
21 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
125 own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
59] realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
14] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

13] 1. At the time the account of this was

/266 cont./

174 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
611 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
614 lived.
186

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

• 553 Usually at the present time children are given names
184 according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general
614 rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement
611 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names accord-
ing to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as
though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
611 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
174 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the
present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins,
the children of brother and sister, and the members of each
clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that
the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each
other, and in the main between male and female lines there
does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate or-
ganizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not
in effect.

/336 cont./

854 A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days
[844] and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the
whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung --
789 ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used
instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies,
they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next
child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they
preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride
784 along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no
854 fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows,
755 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of
787 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up
at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her
husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece
of her husband's belt.

• 553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are
too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not
take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter
the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and
[776] the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn,
i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of
the sea.

845 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for
782 Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small
quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them them-
selves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/642 cont./

553 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
352 is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him or the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are
756] practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving. In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special
756] celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villagers and friends.

354 When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle
92] (Gilyak tschjakk). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of
952] a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head, can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttocks, is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

844 The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

845 Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people
784 talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

844 In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

845 If a child is born with a caul which, however,
777 happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

844 The newly born child is not simply called a boy or
553 a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

554

554 STATUS, ROLE, AND PRESTIGE--relative prevalence of ascribed and achievable statuses; statuses adapted to particular personality types; general comments on the social ranking of statuses and roles; types of roles and achievable statuses which bring the largest rewards in prestige; individuals typifying the foregoing (e.g., celebrities, national heroes); symbolic tokens of the achievement of prestige (e.g., medals, titles, insignia, praise songs, special privileges); general statements on the various avenues of mobility (e.g., technological skill, wealth, shrewdness, valor, piety, wisdom); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Relation between individual roles and culturally defined statuses 156
Ethos 181
Occupational specialization 463
Ethical ideals 677
Military virtues and prestige 703

/33 cont./

835 171 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of the tribe. With regard to this group, she is piruari, and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

835 684 The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed [554] [722] between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tenderness from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted [593] about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

/54 cont./

825 [766] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 776 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" -- master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, 825 seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, 776 however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. 554 It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
574 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
533 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
● [554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/103 cont./

*614 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an
771 already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material
*614 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious
628 procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored,
771 and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.
539 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played
● 554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).
*614
[192]
[197]

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen
[532] ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/104 cont./

Most infrequently the khlaj-nivukh is a chosen one of the gods in other respects as well: he is a rich man, adept in hunting, worldly-wise, courageous, has a great natural wit, and enjoys authority among his fellow tribesmen.

Every clan, every settlement has its own small khlaj-nivukh, but there are celebrities who enjoy extensive fame among many nationalities of the region, and who, when necessary, are sought after, just as renowned lawyers are among us. They perform their functions rather honoris causa, because the customary honorarium -- a Chinese silk costume and a Japanese saber -- can hardly be a recompense to a rich man for the loss of his time and the burden of the obligation. The clothing and arms presented to them serve rather as their insignia magistratus, their official vestment, in which they carry out their obligations during the discussions.

And so, when the clan of the avengers has sufficiently worn itself out in its attempts at a bloody retaliation, or if from the first the slaying took place under conditions easily lending themselves to a reconciliation, then they begin to search for a khlaj-nivukh who would undertake the negotiations and be able to obtain the most profitable conditions. The khlaj-nivukh must necessarily be from a neutral clan. One may not send a clansman: in the first place, until the reconciliation, it is a sin to have anything whatever to do with the clan of the slayer; moreover, in view of the naturally inflamed feelings of the parties, negotiations through a clansman might end in another slaying. The other side, in turn, selects its "orator," who is /105/ obligated to defend its interests in the negotiations over the ransom. Ordinarily the offended side takes the initiative.

One fine day a company of the armed avengers, with their khlaj-nivukh at their head, appears at the settlement of the slayer. In the adjacent taiga or on the shore of a river the avengers light a fire and make camp, while the khlaj-nivukh in his regalia, with a spear in one hand, a kettle in the other, goes alone to the enemy settlement. Here, in one of the yurts, await the opponents with their khlaj-nivukh at their head... Leaning on his spear, or sitting down and lighting his pipe (only with "his own" fire) he says: "I was sent to tell you that you have killed our man, and

/105 cont./

*614 628 536 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients [782] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above), while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

628 537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

20: Bush--101-102 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 554, 778, 797

"The Gilaks are a very superstitious, pagan people, worshiping idols of wood and stone as of old, though many of them have been baptized into the Greek Church, and wear small [102] metal crosses suspended about their necks. They have their priests, or 'shamans,' who conduct all their ceremonies and are the advisers of the communiti These shamans are supposed by them to be gifted with supernatural powers, and are held in great awe and reverence."

es.

555

555. TALENT MOBILITY--extent to which prestige can be gained by mastering or excelling in some complex or difficult cultural activity (e.g., religious ritual, fine arts, scholarship, war, technology, business); talents and skills most highly rewarded in prestige (e.g., directly rather than indirectly through the material remuneration they may bring); frequency with which such channels of mobility are chosen; desirable statuses achievable thereby; symbolic tokens of success; specific techniques (e.g., counting coup, writing a bestseller, making a scientific discovery, winning an Olympic race); etc. *See also:*

Education . . . . . 87 *Preferment of war veterans* . . . . . 72[illegible]

Occupational specialization 463

/378 cont./

chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced; a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /379/ installment payment is sometimes practiced, depending on the circumstances. A curious means of paying the bride price in the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagyrd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagyrd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

/380 cont./

contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unhamessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be in great generosity. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him, after he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)" replies the puzzled creditor.

Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet. In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same share as his have-not companion ("navikh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone; he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not resemble one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

/389 cont./ The reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong preference for dog fur for their own use may, in part, be the same ones that according to Steller (1), made the ancient

1. Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 137.

Italmen on Kamchatka prefer to use dog fur for their clothing, even preferring it to fox and sable. Of course, in view of the conservate tendencies of every primitive people, the usage once customary, the custom handed down for generations, may also play an important role. Besides this, however, the advantages of this fur, learned from experience, come into consideration, its "warmth," durability, and the firmness of its hair, even if it has been exposed to wetness -- characteristics which must make it especially prized by the common man almost always exposed to the elements. And finally, in addition to all this, /390/ the fur still another circumstance -- and in this may lie the chief reason /390/ for the universal use of dog fur among the Gilyak -- it is the ease and cheapness of obtaining it, since the Gilyak keep dogs in great numbers as indispensable draft animals, and the fur cannot be used profitably in trade with either the Chinese, Japanese, or Russians.

Nevertheless fur coats made out of the fur of other animals are found among the Gilyak. They do not serve for use, however, but are carefully stored as valued and rare objects. A lynx coat (Gilyak tschlghi-okch) in particular plays such a role among them. A person who owns a lynx coat is regarded among the Gilyak as a rich and distinguished man, and at the time of my stay in the Amur region they could name for me only three of their countrymen and one Olcha who enjoyed such a possession. The Gilyak were: Nenjdan in the village of Allel on the Amur, Ungun in Pal', who is having one coat of this type, and Pawgun in Tamla-wo on Sakhalin, who had two of them, and the Olcha Todo in Tschiwi, who likewise had one such fur coat in his possession.

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Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can thus scorn the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always bordered by the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5), and the skirts of the coats likewise overlap. To hold them together, however, the complete winter outfit includes, besides the belt, which will be discussed later, a special piece of clothing, the so-called konjiha, that is, a short apron-skirt of sealskin, which is tied around the body, which, by better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII and XIX). The konjiha seems to be an article of clothing that is peculiarly Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /391/ the Gilyak always traveling about his low dog-sled, the konjiha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a washing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak tokshas; see Pl. XXII, Figs. 4, 8). The hand covering (Gilyak wontschgi) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX, Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a [illegible] (see Category 16, pp. 1005, 998, 999, 1002 and 1006 respectively -- Analyst).

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is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed animal is also found among around the body, which, by better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII and XIX). The konjiha seems to be an article of clothing that is peculiarly Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /399/ the Gilyak always traveling about his low dog-sled, the konjiha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a washing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak tokshas; see Pl. XXII, Figs. 4, 8). The hand covering (Gilyak wontschgi) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX, Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a [illegible] (see Category 16, pp. 1005, 998, 999, 1002 and 1006 respectively -- Analyst)

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however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I myself have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other Gilyak peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (3), the thumb ring

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 76, 207. Gerstfel'ch, "O pribrezhn. shit. Amura" (Vestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 30, 1857, Sec. on Ret. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from injury as a result of severe abrasion (2). Aside from this practical

3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Lak" i Hriel', Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrow; an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 38), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Moser, in his work, "Ancient and Modern Bows and Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples. Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this

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matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods that the region itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals and legumes, are to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather to persons who are more or less certain of their daily life. They are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During the bear festivals, however, great quantities of them are consumed, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently in the region with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, and are attended by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous men. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese, the most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria italica (Gilyak budi), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudi). Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak mjam) (2).

2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ugumu by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only rarely found among them. Judin, a very distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1868 in the village of Tebach, still had the remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Siam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

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wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, a quadrangular, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (?), especially in Tsitsihar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungank. eisp." (Vosm. Sbornik, 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece proper, the wooden middle piece connecting them twandairr.

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the Gilyak making it always copied it from the Sungari region, where they are factory made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small bowl, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped bowl. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Siebold et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kununai and Mamiya, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notoyama. See his "Reisen im Amurlande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VII th. Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

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Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side, but most of them on two opposite sides, and some all around. Indeed from some of them very fine and graceful [illegible] Gilyak-things (the repeatedly mentioned so-called ŋach of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol, which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits, such as the giving of offerings to the river (2) conjuring away storms (3) etc.

2. See pp. 602-604 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

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[illegible] amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer who is to dispatch the fatal arrow toward the bear, however, is made by the owner himself and it regarded as an honorary token bestowed by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A stick man wears a single mipinch, a woman a double one. The mipinch are always carved out of wood, especially the wapmipinch. It is only on the snout-hand of the dead bear (see pp. 1156, 1162) that a single mipinch of birch bark may be found. The mipinch by the women are made of birch bark and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

The shaman Gondemchach's Dzuchachach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a matscherlaga-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miraculous things. Thus the Gilyak say that he sits down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are extinguished, and all the visitors begin a hide-and-seek game, in which the lŋan is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a small lŋan hardly larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy stands there restored to life.

Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they mean and whether they are also sung on definite occasions. It seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a lŋan, which appears in the form of a little man, or a little bird, indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the laiz beam a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not mapd. (ibm. II, pp. 44-46.)

30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

/754 cont. /

sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipinch. The only means that can help him, however, is a shaman. He conjures up a lŋan (a good god), who removes the mipinch from the sick person. At the same time a mipinch carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A stick man wears a single mipinch, a woman a double one. The mipinch are always carved out of wood, especially the wapmipinch. It is only on the snout-hand of the dead bear (see pp. 1156, 1162) that a single mipinch of birch bark may be found. The mipinch by the women are made of birch bark and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

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?: Kreinovich--5 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches 742 of the pilar as light in campfire. No hunter has the right to 372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose; 475 he has to use the implements of the pilar, instead.

4. To hunt the pilar rudder and to observe the rules and ice-225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely 475 on this rule completely on the pilar. One Gilyak told me: 902 "If the pilar observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilar performs the most responsible functions in the hunters' organization. The pilar knows all anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilar is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organized hunt, but also expose the boat to smoke.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning 475 to the end according to the rules. Each of the hunters occupies a 476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋuivd, the second - ŋafpuf, the third - ŋkiŋ, the fourth - ŋkiŋ (literally "the same as the third"), the fifth - (ŋ)ele mi-pid (placed at the very bow). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋuivd, is oc- 475 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the 501 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the 361 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he occupies the other oars. At the same time there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilar often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits in the bow to fire at the seals. Such cases, for instance, the Gilyak pilar. Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fires at the seals. At the same time Gilyak at tended the rudder which the pilar had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilar Tayŋun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself 47 seals and missed one. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

?: Kreinovich--5 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters 475 must often get in the bow for it is not always convenient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there 225 are five oarsmen, one pilar and one other man, then the pilar 476 -ŋ is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without 501 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The 688 Gilyakes illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Aŋkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the other hunters, then Aŋkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and the pilar, Aŋkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tuŋun, Aŋkun, Pil-ŋkuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pil-ŋkuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tuŋun and Aŋkun, are at the stern, Aŋkun takes over the rudder and Tuŋun, as the oldest of them all, sits at the stern. Thus the pilar is not always the younger than the extra man in the boat. In such case the pilar tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pil-ŋkuk, the pilar, sat with him in the boat old man Oŋkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while pilar tended the rudder. Oŋkan was the best shot in the shooting at the seals and t. to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder. Oŋkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his worn-out boat, he met: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he had built the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to my great regret. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Oŋkan performed a number of functions which are usually ascribed to the pilar, whereas, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient 225 [82] As mentioned above the pilar performs mu-ŋi-d 774 the and t ŋa.

Mu-ŋi-d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short 791 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern 792 board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually performed on heads of children. They believe that a thread made of hair or a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

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223 mu-ŋi-d on the boat supports the assumption that at one 789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as a living thing. Moreover, the Gilyaks believe that it is convenient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.

Uniformers.

782 Aside from mu-ŋi-d, t-ŋ is performed on the boat. T-ŋ 178 means 'image', 'figure', 'picture.' With shavings (tmaŋ) 782 a branch of rowan (ŋaŋ-ŋ-ŋa) the pilar makes two figurines. 225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the 780 other - at the stern. I saw such a figure on the neck of a representation of the bird ug-, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the pilar, the other - back to the bear trap elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before 225 hunt, pour a handful of tobacco into the boat to smoke. 225 They light fires of spruce and boguinik on both sides of the boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. They light the fires in the following way: one place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunters place themselves. The hunters light the fire (evil)-. Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the open sea.

223 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from 225 hunt, put on a sail with the hunters a second time. Two 834 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilar, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the bird ug- and the figurines t-ŋ. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They 833 first go to Ul-ŋkŋ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull 225 [83]

782 1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilar picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

13: Seeland--23 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

225 The seal (1) is caught in several ways. On the island 411

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long with a wooden shaft, the thickness of a man's arm, and a trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyaks pursue it, often at risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to the seal, he places the trough with somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, sometimes he leans against it, holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

225 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbabh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: one place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunters place themselves. The hunters light the fire (evil)-. Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the open sea.

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225 the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. In a place where a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men conduct single combats and go after the animal in pairs, and [123] armed with rifles, sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

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225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They 833 first go to Ul-ŋkŋ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull 225 [83]

782 1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.

428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint owners of the estate along with their children.

565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.

567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
554 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
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1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

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Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first of all at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the most meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs that for which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, for do the clan gods give only to some and not all the members of the clan? The same is true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, but ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without the help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master departs to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting balagan and from there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, in consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dissension and social differences, does not show its thorns here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal talents and virtues. His accumulations cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

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555 556 156 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on his advantages (1).

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

614 156 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard [454] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be [183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-
771 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

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556 ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH--extent to which prestige can be gained through amassing wealth; means used to accumulate wealth or degree of skill involved; principal objects of wealth (e.g., money, cattle, slaves, land); relative importance of sheer accumulation, of display, of generosity in distribution; prominence of wealth accumulation as a mobility mechanism; desirable statuses achievable thereby; symbolic tokens of success; specific techniques (e.g., conspicuous consumption, potlatching, endowing a college, buying a title); etc. See also:

Property 42
Potlatches 431
Saving and investment 484
Individual enterprise 473
Wealth in relation to social classes 566
Hospitality 574

/xxviii cont./

*114 582 595 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

*114 602 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming [174] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 614 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

*114 614 556 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention to it.

/29 cont./

93 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
92 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
35] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles,
56] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

01 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/84/

*614 Once the above-mentioned principle was created and became an immutable imperative of life, the natural consequence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the foundation of the clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyak, as we have seen, is not the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It gives a man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the most difficult problems of primitive man. There are ordinarily
[583] fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and to
[556] make matters worse each of the wealthy men snatch up many wives. For the poor man -- and such are in the majority -- acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy; frequently he must even resort to methods that risk his life.

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, in particular to the daughters of the brothers of his mother; this is simultaneously
[583] his religious obligation and right. The bride price in such cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always has a right to expect his clansmen, interested, like himself, in his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man succeeds in setting up his own family, the families of his older brothers, with whom he shares the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, are his family, their wives are his wives, to
[587] whom he has lawful conjugal rights. When a married Gilyak
[768] dies, his wife passes without any bride price to one of his younger brothers determined by the choice of the clan.

*614 These are all advantages which play a role of the
587 first order in the eyes of primitive man. The crown of
768 these advantages is the social privilege of every clansman of not having to fear for the fate of his wife and his children after his death. His wife and children during his life are juridically, and frequently factually as well, the wife and children of his younger brothers; they will remain such after

/91 cont./

476 to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even
*614 simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will
[261] share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

*614 This same principle of the communality of the ma-
428 terial goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento.[2] In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

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1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price: 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir", cf. translation on p.512. – Analyst]

*614 428 [422 556]

/92 cont./

worn on ceremonial occasions and in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of fathers-in-law, only fur shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

*614 796

4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the fattening of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, ut-gu, narkh muve!": "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear slain in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods. As we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

*614 796 782 [775]

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*614 433 461 476

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* 614 ● 556 554 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on the scene in special cases and either personally or together with the "village community" of their clansmen display, as those having the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they play in ordinary life?

They are the so-called yz' -- the "masters" (1), or otherwise

> 1. Up to the present, little attention has been focused on the role of such persons in the structure of primitive societies. Their role is obscured by their being classified only as representatives of wealth. Here is one of the most recent examples of such a relation. Separate classes of "nobles" and "commoners" do not exist in northwestern California, but in almost all affairs of life the rich man plays the most important role ("Types of Indian Culture in California," by A. L. Kroeber, University of California Publications, June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be grateful, however, that such facts have been noted at all.

[171] [113]

the urdlya-nivukhi -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /119/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

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Among these yz'
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[532] Gilyak. In the i
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which before the
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stances, when th

al products, but also purchased ones, tobacco,
.., because his wealth and associations make
n to undertake distant journeys for the barter
quisition of goods at firsthand. He is the
ommon "shagund" of his closest kinsmen,
of his own rich collection of "shagund,"
en may use in case of necessity.
clan he is not only a man whose home is al-
e one can always go to eat well, enjoy the
co, and hear interesting things, but one who
assist in time of need. Especially invaluable,
elp at times of common misfortune, such as
ising from revenge, disputes with members of
has supplies of the best weapons and con-
me strikes terror into the foe, who for that
willingly consent to a reconciliation, and,
pplies of "shagund" when it becomes neces-
m. Moreover, such a person usually possesses
ligence, eloquence, rich experience, and
and people. He is the natural orator,
who plays such a weighty role in affairs of
disputes; even neighboring clans resort to
ervention of intermediaries is necessary.
there are individuals who enjoy enormous
throughout all the territory settled by the
mage and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned
ds, the "masters" of the mountains, seas,
etc. Moreover, they do not simply display
m, but also a feeling of religious adoration.
individuals, under favorable circumstances,
se elements of authority which we find in
ing on a higher level of cultural conditions.
ch yz'i will become the council of elders,
clan assembly decides the affairs of the
name of the clan. Under other circum-
tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

/119 cont./

*614 554 556 [622] the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for life, or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not that integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individuality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there is no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

*614 182 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring is the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

[623] Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

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*614 182 623 Then there are the hejmary, the elders, all of whose authority consists in the solution of moot problems of cult and kinship. They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*614 182 556 554 Finally, the third element of authority is the yz'i. Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/ VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 *614 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhmal'k and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

/165 cont./

582 584 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to 585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a common economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion [601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more, approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband" (n'an g:ej, n'fu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at which time they become actual spouses, without any of the ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in concluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably explains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yr:kh" and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age when most of us are only preparing to get married the young Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anniversary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage [582] unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old. The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar- [556] riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all the ancient customs and rites.

/175 cont./

*835 837 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.

*835 832 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the relations between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

*835 [593] In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official [595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but [184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters [556] such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

*835 578 184 166 [361] /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southernmost Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well *835 578 834 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village, [166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the *835 578 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the [626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases [554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the [556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/202 cont./

* 174 177 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by [221] [439] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the [439] Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their [563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital relations with them or carried off their women. And although these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

* 174 177 ● 556 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was no stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or success- [439] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possessors of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousness of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the [583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the woman was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circumvent [581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti- ooo tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/269 cont./

584 582 my children and your children also be akhmalk'i. If you do not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything accord- ing to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an ancient one.

177 178 614 433 ● 556 [582] Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the causes was the depopu- lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com- pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause, perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they pre- ferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain

177 178 556 582 584 [594] the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation- ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting ap- peared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

177 178 ● 556 582 584 [565] /270 cont./ in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers, and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my

178 556 58 614 equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek women who were famous for their special qualities, who were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the pro- cedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

192 584 The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex- pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match- maker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh, [174] which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

192 584 [199] /270 cont./ orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orth /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the specia term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 602 [593] Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the of the father. The role of the latter individual is explain apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. Accordin to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry t brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister o the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage o his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-la

584 602 614 If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there freque participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy pe

● [556] [583] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringin with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre- quently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes proper impression, they immediately take the maiden aw with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

584 554 556 [533] The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is a alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re- nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one so maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth

595 584 614 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a marrie man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the lat herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/278 cont./
son, served as objects in the shagred (1).

1. The following spindled legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryun' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagred. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagred. One bears the designation Ulkh-Ul'ka-Ul'ka, "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another bears ul -- "place where the kettle is hulled," and the third, Kyl'ckhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 There are objects which are unalienable, exist commercium. Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty, or in the absence of a kinsmen is the alienation of objects of the shagred category allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the settlement of Pilavo, who lived on the Tymovka River, explained my question as to what she was going to do with the shagred in this way: "Part of it I will sell, and the remainder will go with me to Milyo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of great means, the bride price is not always limited to such unalienable objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

Rich people, wishing a large bride price, are guided mainly by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

/280 cont./
(2) Contract of maternality when the mother's brother played a privileged role: the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin marriage among the Gilyaks is perfectly explain on the ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of the ancient form of marriage.

583 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- the dowry.

For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh ûmdo, signifying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists of the shagred, of clothing, and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable Japanese and Chinese goods, such as large kettles, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated sledes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away her bed, because, if one gives the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in a room of them with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually are stored away. The dowry should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the grouping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to the "bride" and a "poor dowry," or, "the bride price and the greatest price to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (ash), whom they provided with a Japanese saber for clearing the wilds of her mistress boots. Especially anxious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, and in the same lies the dowry, although it is compensation for the bride price, since it from the husband from great expenditures for the wife, it nevertheless can hardly a gift to the bride, but private property /281/ to which the husband has no right whatever.

/278 cont./
clansmen, even in those cases where the families are separately. And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unrepatriated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. In this case, they are with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /279/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in town. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the bear meat goes the general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The newly wedded husband and wife are independent in the matter of property of which he shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of rich means, that the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to a large sum of money, and the groom and the bride are so preparations whatever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom gives very far away, when the given marriage is considered valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the groom's renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement being broken if a richer competitor appears. Ordinarily, in cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their nobles clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged by installments. At first only one object is given, as a token of settle, the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/278 cont./
556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. Just as rich man feels respect and reverence for a dog, a poor man, for example, the unrepatriated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. In this case, they are with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /279/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in town. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the bear meat goes the general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The newly wedded husband and wife are independent in the matter of property of which he shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of rich means, that the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to a large sum of money, and the groom and the bride are so preparations whatever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom gives very far away, when the given marriage is considered valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the groom's renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement being broken if a richer competitor appears. Ordinarily, in cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their nobles clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged by installments. At first only one object is given, as a token of settle, the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/361 cont./ Quick Strokes, Heavier.
are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch bark, are stored away by the Gilyaks as a treasure of great value.

Bear pikes and lances are the weapon most commonly used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like. During the first period of my stay at the Amur, I was under the impression that, if it consisted only a few log houses erected at the edge of the small, completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping there, tried to leap over the people and the Gilyak. The people immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water with their lances, whereupon I expected the elk to be killed on the land. In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order to kill them eventually with the aid of a lance. The Gilyak, however, at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested plains of northern Sakhalin, they pursue in winter with the aid of the Linnan, in the Amur other ways. When in early spring, under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough to support the dogs, but breaks under the reindeer, they pursue it on a light sledge and harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they are on the hunt against the bear. Under the term the Gilyak, among other mythical beasts of ill great rarity, and the no /362/ less unfamiliar leopard, which, according to superstition fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 96-98) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

/362 cont./ Carefully in Sheets at the Beginning of the Journey
the Gilyak, and the tiger and leopard idols, which are the idols of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russian call "Kilaki."

Bear pikes and lances are used among them the least, and only in winter (2) -- a report which was given to little credence

2. Pp. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilaki with the Persian province of Gilan and the Caspian Sea. Yet, I am inclined to regard as question the very existence of such a people,(3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which are especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available not from the people themselves, at least through the Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have to equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown in Siberia Gmelin's time, and they were unknown among the people of the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

/278 cont./
to the property of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have been given the Gilyak on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and the Japanese, who had already received a knowledge of the discovered above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity, in view of the increase acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

The coat of arms armor (Gilyak kâ-petrich) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless cuirasse (Gilyak -- ûrt pal /1/), of a helmet (Gilyak -- ûrt ûl /2/), and of a pair of stiff, cylindric strands of textile -rain cord, such as is also used for fastening fish nets, and with individual strips of wholebone (Gilyak -- ûrt ûl /3/) and of a pair of wooden shoulder pieces with holes, long for and low and a large-bodied big buttoning in, otherwise, of a pair of wooden shoulder pieces with holes, long for and low, remain open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the coat of arms armor is considerably lighter. Both helmets are made of birch bark, the helmet, is 2'-4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 18 /#/ (the coat of arms armor is considerably lighter. Both helmets are made of birch bark, the helmet, is 2'-4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 18 /#/ (the coat of arms armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major hunts, for example, the hunting of a muskrat, wolverine, and the like, and also took to the field against another one. In my time, it was nothing more than an indicator of importance for the Gilyak. In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michaïlovkhoye was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

that even the ancient Matcha (Ayatschi), had pieces of armor and helmet, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pin or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest, the Gilyak obtained the Matcha. The fate of the Matcha were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

435 undoubtedly can be explained by their great quantity, by the
436 as yet still undiscussed wealth of animals in the lower Amur
437 region. Only the very best of fur considerably surpass all the others
438 with their high prices: the black fox and the lynx. The former
439 shows in high price, not only to the absolute beauty of its fur,
440 also recognized and highly appreciated by the Chinese, but
441 certainly also to its far greater rarity. The lynx fur, on the
442 other hand, as was pointed out above, has too high an imaginary
443 value in the eyes of the Gilyak themselves to be marketed in
444 great quantities.

445 1) Like the lynx fur, several other articles are distinguished
446 in the above table by their very high price, in no way corre-
447 sponding to their real value. Among these in particular are the
448 old Manchurian iron armor and helmets discussed above at great
449 length and the Japanese kettles with three handles, which, un-
450 fortunately, I did not see, but these could hardly so greatly
451 surpass in quality the kettles from there with two handles, or
452 otherwise somewhat different from them in form, as to justify
453 the great difference between them in price. The necessity for
454 special marks of wealth and distinction, present even among
455 the otherwise practical Gilyak, is expressed in these things.

456 2) The same motive, vanity, also explains the high value
457 of a live bear among the Gilyak. It brings in owner not only
458 no material /*199*/ advantage, but, on the contrary, even dis-
459 advantages. For the killing and consumption of it can take place
460 only in a festive fashion which entails expense for the owner and
461 host, in return, however, it brings him the flattering reputation
462 of a rich and renowned man.

463 4) Among the various clothing materials which represent
464 the principal barter item of the Chinese in dealing with the
465 Gilyak, the latter most prize the colorful silk materials with
466 dragons and other Chinese patterns and often gold and silver
467 interwoven through them, but not because they themselves take
468 special pleasure in them and live in luxury with them -- instead,
469 one sees them used among them almost exclusively in small

1. (cont.)
583 1919
113

image, one horse, a cow, and an ox,
7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood
of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hope
for the proprietor's sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers
and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various
foods, fish, meat, berries, millet, etc., are given to the de-
parting matched couple, so that the young wife, having reached
the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the
relatives, there, as well as members of the household and
villagers.

As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the
husband has been living, that is, where the groom's parents live.
And take up residence with one or the other of them, according
to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been
described above, are of the type that can accommodate several
families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited
only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps
helped in building it or have some other connection with its
owner. The members of the household remain together until,
through the increase in the families, the space becomes too
cramped, and then one or more families leave the common home
for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides
the central room used by all the members of the household, with
the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the wooden yurt
built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of
the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has
his designated place on them. But these individual sections are
never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains,
or in the one, and the whole interior of the house always gives the
impression of a room used by everyone in common.

As little as such living together by all the members of the
household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally
speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in
this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally
mature people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi,
Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded
as merely another ceremony, which takes place in the bride's
556 house. This is often done without further ado. Weather
people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding
of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers
and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various
foods, fish, meat, berries, millet, etc., are given to the de-
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this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally
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Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

553 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
554 is given a name, usually towards evening of the same day or in the
555 morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born
556 in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any
557 ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him or
558 the mother, or /641/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may
559 propose a name. Or the father approved or said adopts it for his
560 child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are
561 practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving.
562 Thus, however, are by no means to be thought of a kind of special
563 celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express
564 their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share
565 with the neighbors and kinsfolk.

566 When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle
567 made of wood and usually. This has a very peculiar construction of
568 a cone-shaped or flened, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a
569 length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head,
570 can be fitted into it. Although, while its upper body is fixed, is strictly
571 pointed, remain open, the lower end is closed with a cronbaund
572 which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central
573 hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttocks,
574 is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow,
575 whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the
576 other to prevent the child from falling out. A small board is then
577 filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the
578 opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on
579 a cronbaum of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. **Pl. XIII** /see
580 p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by
581 excrement that might seep through the basket, a length board
582 (Gilyak **ям**, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with
583 raised rim and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put
584 on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is
585 suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be
586 put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position
587 as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, it bundle of various
588 small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

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588 small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

presence of several women around one man in the same house
is not a common household in, in the long run, scarcely con-
ceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by
the desire to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of
polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the
lot of their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be
able to live one or another of them. This means is to keep
slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex,
for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house.
These, however, are by no means to be thought of as local
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567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke,
568 and, in fact, are the ones most involved in the work. Finally,
569 indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is
570 rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought
571 by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese is the
572 the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale
573 of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the
574 trading trips of the litter furnish them the opportunity. The
575 Gilyak, on the otherhand, who have been able to preserve
576 their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to
577 be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain con-
578 ditions sell them again, but they must decidedly abhor keeping
579 any of their own people as slaves or sell them to the others.
580 In fact, they were to the opinion that if one of them tried to do
581 it, he /647/ would come such indignation among his countrymen
582 that it would be in outmost danger of his life.

583 On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that
584 of the female slaves who are always more common, is small
585 among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price
586 that they can both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in
587 exchange for their trade by the Gilyak: it is sometimes necessary
588 to acquire a slave intrade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Stogin
589 in Kuik, for instance, paid for three for his slave, an Ainu woman
590 named Ainu-mamu. So Gilyak may marry a female slave, mentioned
591 above, he bought the latter for 150 in = 210 rubles, but the former
592 cost him 60 pieces o Chinese silk, which alone amounted to
593 300 in, or almost tworoubles, aside from other things. It appears
594 once she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from
595 the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of
596 the social position ofemale slaves among the Gilyak. Because
597 of the high price of ne female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can
598 afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful
599 about it, as, for instance, Stogin was. Such a possession seems
600 to envious to them not in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does
601 not hesitate, to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in
602 exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the
603 Purchase Price in some other form.

560 high price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
561 cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less
562 handy and strong, and therefore less useful in the house than
563 the female slave are, and in addition perhaps also because, in
564 spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give
565 cause for concern on the part of their wives and children.

566 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation
567 to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no
568 rights. they are nothing more thin domestic animals in human
569 shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit
570 and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of
571 course, it is only with in the house, such as hauling and
572 splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever
573 else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they only to
574 obey and to work. Nowhere, however, does there is a slave in the
575 house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while
576 the wives of the head of house share themselves only in
577 handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they
578 please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make
579 the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, hard
580 among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as
581 well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which
582 is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they are
583 excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with
584 their social inferiors. So Gilyak may marry a female slave, mentioned
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556 While there is no ranking of individuals as superior or in-
557 ferior in a legal sense among the Gilyak, a social structure
558 determined by differences of wealth is very marked among them.
559 Among a people so generally and to such a high degree devoted
560 to trade as the Gilyak, it could not be otherwise but that wealth
561 would play a important role in social life and become one of the
562 for the reputation, moral power, and influence of the individual.
563 The rich man among them, who on trading trips to the Manchu
564 and the Sisiam provides himself with a stock of everything that
565 his countrymen regard as necessary and desirable, is an important
566 and indispensable person for the less well-to-do who are unable
567 to make such trips. at his place they can always dispose of the
568 precious furs, which they themselves have hunted, in exchange
569 for the clothing, or luxuries that they could not do so. In case
570 of necessity, can also count on help and receive some things
571 perhaps on credit, but other things, and the most essential ones,
572 are for nothing. Furthermore, charity is in high repute among
573 his extensive contacts, the rich Gilyak is as a rule superior to
574 his poorer countrymen in farsightedness, experience, discern-
575 ment, and judgment and that has not only an economic, but
576 also a moral influence upon them. Finally, his means permit
577 him to put himself at the very center of the whole social life
578 of his village and to make his house the scene of its festivities,
579 especially the great bear festivals and the sumptuous feasts
580 associated with them, in which his poor fellow-villagers and
581 business associates may participate. Under these circumstances
582 there is among the Gilyak a quite spontaneous superiority or
583 inferiority of individuals in social relations, based on their
584 greater or lesser wealth. Thus if one enquires among them,
585 at Tolbut did, about this or that person, they will never fail to
586 indicate the part of all the financial position of the person con-
587 cerned by briefly stating whether he is a tscholla nibelch, i.e.,
588 a poor man, or a halla nibelch, a richer one, or mysinnin-
589 halla nibelch, that is, a very rich man, with which in the same
590 time his social position and the respect that he enjoys among
591 them are generally indicated.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--161-162 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 556

"Ukavo was at the time of my visit a rich, or a
basis of its affluence present, or to come, was
township in Australia which, possessing 400 in
and a collection of galvanized-iron roofed cabi
soon to throw Ballarat into the shade! No min
Gilyaks' calculation, but they possessed a far
bears."

at least a potentially rich, village. The
s even more assured than that of the new
habitants, a town hall, a telephone union,
ns of unvarying [162] pattern, promised
es, gold or otherwise, entered into the
more important asset in the shape of seven

9: Hawes--261 T-3 (1901) 190

116, 177, 422, 556

"The headman of Nivo was counted rich
the weapons and produce of the chase. The
arrows, bear-spears, strangely shaped kn
baskets, though of a ruder make than those
my special attention, one, a miniature of t
double-barrelled fowling-piece mounted on
used by these natives and the Tungus in the

among the Gilyaks, his hut being littered with
re were nets and snares, automatic bows and
ives, seal-skins, dog-skins, as well as bark
e of the Orochons. Two other objects attracte
the Tsar Alexander III, and the other, an old
a wooden biped, a cumbersome affair, but
e winter hunts."

9: Hawes--277-278 T-3
116, 461, 556

"From Nivo a start was made
the Tim. Both had been ostentat
to pack I found Armunka averse
Vanka all the work, save what li
so going up to him I took him by
only refrained from boxing his e
tude of the dozen Gilyaks who w
companion, explaining that he h
There was, however, more than
later that Armunka was, as we
cratic family; and therefore his
fused to do menial service! It w
village of Irr Kirr, but in vain
of this Gilyak peer. The hut was
him justice, however, for there
previous year he had killed thre
and would gain him wealth."

with our river crew, Vanka and Armunka, to ascend
iously pleased to welcome us back, but when we cam
from helping. I remonstrated with him for leaving to
ittle I and my interpreter were doing, but to no effect
the shoulders and shook him. I was really angry, an
ears at the request of Vanka, and from doubt of the at
ere looking on. Vanka good naturedly apologized for
ad been making merry and the effect had not yet worn
this in it; and we were considerably amused to lear
should say, of independent means, came of an aristo
pride of ancestry at times asserted itself, and he re
as several days later that we arrived at his home in
looked around for the paternal acres, the vast estat
s [278] comparatively small and rather bare. I must
was no doubt of his being a great hunter. During the
e bears and captured two, which had brought him hor

ONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/665 cont./

556 Among the Gilyak the man who undertakes frequent journeys to the Manchu and Sáisam, carries on extensive trade with his countrymen and the neighboring tribes, and in general lives in evident prosperity is regarded as rich, kolla, and therefore esteemed. He is regarded as belonging to a higher level, however, as mykstschr-kolla nibach, a very rich and highly esteemed man, only if, in addition, he also meets the following conditions: 1) if he owns many of the above-mentioned (1)

1. See pp. 933-937 above.

objects which are especially valuable in the eyes of the Gilyak, such as a lynx-fur coat, old Manchurian iron-armor, bows with buffalo and rhinoceros horn mountings, three-handled Japanese cooking kettles, and the like, and then does not sell these inherently useless, but yet very costly articles, /666/ thus putting them to practical use, but keeps them only as dead capital and heirlooms for his sons, he proves his great wealth; 2) if from time to time he gives great bear festivals with opulent feasts and arranges for the invitation of many guests; or finally, 3) if he displays a particularly large household and has 3-5 wives besides several male and female slaves. It is not necessary that all three conditions be met by one person -- it is enough if one or another of them is satisfied as long as this is done to a particularly high degree. Ssogin in Kuñk-Mäo, for instance, owned a number of luxury items and also had two wives and a female slave, but he was nevertheless regarded as only a kolla nibach. On the other hand, Numkwin in Wair (1), Amin in Kaki, Ssondon and

1. The same who was mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) as one of the murderers of de la Brunière.

his son Libgun in Tschylm, Jondom in Kalm, Pysgun and Mesgun (2) in Patt, and, especially, Judin in Tebach were

[104] 2. In all the Gilyak names mentioned here the s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

/666 cont./

556 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

426 When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of
935 necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly
[439] think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed,
426 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

/686 cont./

G1 556 But wealth does come into consideration to the extent that it does among the Gilyak, and those blessed with it do not enjoy nearly as much esteem, moral influence, and popularity as among the
G1 [1697] latter. But the reason for this, too, in large part is again the greater industriousness and gain-seeking of the Gilyak. If one of them acquires a certain amount of wealth, he continues unceasingly to try to increase it by buying new furs in the neighborhood and on trade voyages, through which his name and reputa-
G1 [1697] tion /687/ will become known far and wide in the country. The Olcha, on the other hand, are decidedly of a more indolent and
G1 more easily satisfied nature in this respect.
G1 181 171

Another social trait that distinguishes the Olcha from the Gilyak is that their communism does not work merely within the boundaries of tribal affiliation nearly as much as is the case among the latter. And this is explained by the fact that, while, to be sure, they are most like the Gilyak in their way of life, their customs and practices, on the other hand they are surrounded by
G1 closely related Tungusic tribes with whom they have many
G1 935 character traits in common and whose dialects are readily intelligible to them. Thanks to this considerably lessened national consciousness, the individual man, to be sure, finds among them, in case of need, no such support by his more prosperous countrymen as among the Gilyak, but, on the other hand, a decidedly milder and more humane spirit than among the latter prevails over the whole.

G1 42 224 Evidence that the Olcha, and likewise the Goldi, Samagir, etc., do not limit their communism to such narrow tribal boundaries as the Gilyak is given by the hunting customs already discussed above (1). On the Gorin, for instance, the Olcha,

1. See p. 910.

Goldi, and Samagir have their hunting tents, but these stand open, with their household and hunting equipment, to all hunters, regardless of what nationality they are, with the tacit presupposition that no pilfering of the hunting booty or implements

/769 cont./

764 532 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (tútut) or a cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter for a woman. The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird; hence the designation tútut-ngir and tútut-ngit or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The
764 representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word pittyssj, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which hang berries,

** According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a deceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to
[562] be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and -- according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tútut or pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 184 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to the bank and close to it a pittyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. Its roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pittyssj, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 184 556 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an extremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan, had erected in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, red, and white,

/770 cont./

764 184 556 represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and ducks (Plate LXIX /p. 1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tcham-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former wa completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimrkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

764 Kimrkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that went with it. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

[114] ** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another, cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p. 1233/.

Kimrkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

63 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
69 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
77 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

81 XII Economic and Social Conditions.

71 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

56 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
95 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

5 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
8 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
6 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
1 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

557

557 MANIPULATIVE MOBILITY--extent to which desirable statuses and the prestige they bring can be achieved by opportunistic manipulation of social relationships (e.g., cultivation of persons in authority, political machinations, exploitation of friends and relatives, backslapping, marriages of convenience); prominence and relative effectiveness of manipulative techniques as compared with acquisition of skills and wealth; desirable statuses achievable thereby (e.g., political proferment); etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations	87	Traits of leadership	187
Political behavior	68		

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

558

558 DOWNWARD MOBILITY--possibility and incidence of serious loss of prestige; extent to which such loss involves actual descent to less desirable statuses or merely a less favorable estimate of role enactment in the same statuses; major factors in downward mobility (e.g., loss of wealth, misalliance, cowardice, impiety, crime); special examples (e.g., losing face, losing caste); etc. See also:

Breaches of etiquette and ethics	57	Crime and sin	474
Social control	628	Poverty	738

/647 cont./

567 purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
435 cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less handy and are lazier and therefore less useful in the house than the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no rights; they are nothing more than domestic animals in human shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of course, all the heavy work in the house, such as felling and splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, so hard among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an
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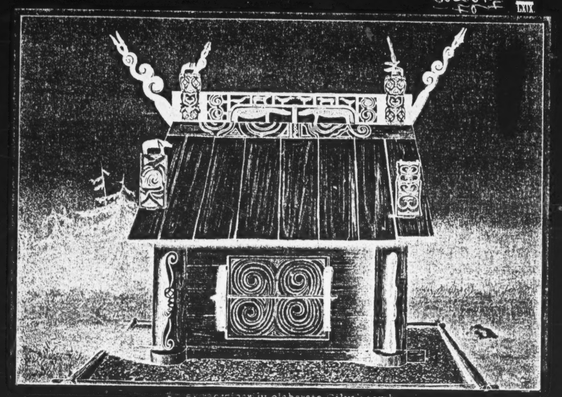
556 possession of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very useful for the household, for in their position they cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners and thus, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house, as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

9: Hawes--265 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 533, 558, 562, 593

"All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old, old song lyrics it is otherwise, for they are very numerou are composed by the maidens of the tribe, who te again to the Gilyak world. It may not be known w considered a want of modesty. Sometimes one ma woman who made songs in her youth; [1] but it is no ménage. The Gilyak's notions of modesty are ver age of childhood brothers and sisters are not allo former attempted it, the latter would turn away i



An extraordinarily elaborate Gilyak tomb.

5: Schrenk--1289 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
269 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[863] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
● [556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[420] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
493 and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[562] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[171] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

179 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
179 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
50 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which
[824] the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
[354] built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[352] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
601 the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[198] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[895] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
614 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
561 (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
175 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
439 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
614 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and
184 bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal
187 articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvaling clan, for instance, were for a long time
● [556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

195 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
195 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
648 and gasyanda—village elders.
622 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
195 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
198 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch
[567] was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
77 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in "bear thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

7: Kreinovich--4 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
501 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
475 zayezdka.
422
466 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
516 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
466 Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
555 Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans:
Otag from clan Hutevi , Potag from clan Neo. afl y t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from clan Tf nu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance,
1 tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
555 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
476 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big. - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila.

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi -o and t ai ceremonies to be described in detail below.

Gilyak

s, the epics of their race, but with the
s, and always being added to. These
ll them to their girl friends, and they
ho the authoress is, for that would be
y be heard to say, 'There goes an old
t 'good form.' Woman's mission is the
y strict. After they have passed the
wed to speak to one another. If the
injured modesty."

9: Hawes--268 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 558, 591

"A young man on marrying may make his home with his father; but if he be still in the single state and desire a hut of his own, he must marry, for it is more than infra dig. for him to do domestic work. For a Gilyak to take in his hand the woman's fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho) is considered a disgrace."

561

561 AGE STRATIFICATION--recognized age levels and their differentiation (e.g., age terms); generalized information on rites of passage from level to level; organized age-grades (e.g., composition, admission, advancement, symbols of membership, activities); relations between age levels and age groups; division of labor by age; etc. See also:

Status and activities of children 88
Status and activities of adolescents, adults, and the aged 88
Sodalities 576

1: Shternberg--172 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*614 /112 cont./
clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
[562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry,
593 which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
[606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

● 561 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the
855 representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
[86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

9: Hawes--271-272 T-3 (19

116, 301, 422, 435, 556

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use
are large simple rings of silver, of o
with an agate or two. These, with the
shoes are regarded as family heirloo
surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family,
paper-money or a heap of silver piec
sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-bl
Moreover, they are just as useful in
to dealing in the concrete, knows exa
and when he comes in his travels to a
measure the value of his ruble notes.

, and mostly of Japanese and Chinese make. They
ne and a half or more inches in [272] diameter,
rare silk brocade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and
ms. They are bought one after the other with the
and represent the capital of the hut. A bundle of
es have little attraction for the native, whereas a
ue silk is a 'thing of beauty and a joy for ever.'
the business of exchange; and the native, long used
ctly their value, whereas money is unfamiliar;
Russian store, he has no standard by which to
"

"Four garments—short-skirted fro
Only the best may be selected, and in
cade, I have mentioned, will be used.
reason of the four garments is this.
each of the gods or lords in turn, To
rivers); Pal ni vookh, the lord of the
the judge of good and evil; and as her
after the fire, so Tur ni vookh is her
each one, and the road is long and di
suffices for a journey, and she must
course, if the family of the deceased
delicacy; but woe to the light-minded
four garments on their dead. She and
in the next world will be poverty-stri
condition, and her kindred will suffer
whose majesty has been insulted."

cks—are placed upon the corpse of the woman.
case of a 'wealthy' Gilyak the rare Chinese bro-
Over all the corpse is robed in a shuba. The
The spirit of the dead woman must appear before
ni vookh, the [243] lord of the water (sea and
forest; Tur ni vookh, the lord of fire; and Kiskh,
duty on earth was to keep the hearth, i. e. look
most intimate deity. Since she must appear before
fficult, four dresses are necessary, as one only
not appear before the god in torn garments. Of
is poor, the god will overlook that little want of
members of a rich family, if they omit to place
her kindred will indeed have a bad time; her life
cken even as she has shown herself in miserable
many misfortunes from the hands of those gods

3 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
9 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves. Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

557

557 MANIPULATIVE MOBILITY--extent to which desirable statuses and the prestige they bring can be achieved by opportunistic manipulation of social relationships (e.g., cultivation of persons in authority, political machinations; exploitation of friends and relatives, backslapping, marriages of convenience); prominence and relative effectiveness of manipulative techniques as compared with acquisition of skills and wealth; desirable statuses achievable thereby (e.g., political preferment); etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations . . . . . 57 Traits of leadership 157
Political behavior 66

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other clo
relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a
matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, s
may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman
does not take part in the more important councils. On t
other hand, she may occupy an independent and respecte
position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She
have her own money and inherit, although usually less th
her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all a
more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, bu
even wins respect thereby.

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Breaches of etiquette and ethics 57
Social control 626
Crime and sin 674
Poverty 736

/647 cont./

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77 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
97 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

02 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
05 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

21 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

05 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
61 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

3 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
1 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
21 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

562

562 SEX STATUS--rights, privileges, powers, duties, and disabilities of each sex (e.g., legal, domestic, economic, political, ceremonial); special exceptions for each sex; general statements bearing upon the status inferiority or superiority of women; special elaborations (e.g., chivalry, notions of the uncleanness of women); explanations of sex differences; etc. See also:

Marriage 58
Status and activities of children 85
Division of labor by sex 462
Franchise 641
Cloistering of women 837
Transvestitism 838
Menstrual isolation 841

796 574
796 231
796 [562]
796 526

cont./

a, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish, e mos'," whose method of preparation I have already de- bed in the second chapter.

This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder he master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he resses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. n feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to r master, and may your master greatly love you." Other nsmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even all children participate in this kindly affair. After the short ak all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception he women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing he bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and ar- ge themselves in fighting formation. The master of the r or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a tle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with vs and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festi- follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. thin a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the ple stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the tle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, ., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh er exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the t to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary com- itive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important e in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the racter of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced nost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed ind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the nsmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the sts and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
[562] into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/79 cont./

775 not know exactly where this place is); the soul need only
772 descend into this opening and it reaches its goal. There everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, s rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to life and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth, fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even amo the Gilyak the poor men find their consolation not in this be of all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, sic ness and death await man. From there the soul must migrat into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul de generates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat, and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite [562] series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

764 /80/ Before entering mlyvo, the soul waits to be
775 equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and richer. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garments and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three, or six pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets ar taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objec set off with the deceased on his journey.

764 While these preparations for a long journey are goin on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night; people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the bear festival, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When the smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates th

*614 /112 cont./

clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in [562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 593 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry, which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between [606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

● 561 855 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any [86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

/113 cont./

● 561 855 86 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc., but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover, to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe, and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys, hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct himself in society.

561 596 855 All these qualities, however, would have no significance if the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult members. The sons are completely free to separate from their father, obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion.

596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather, father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free associa- [422] tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a [434] participant in such an economic union, every member can have his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arms, enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there is extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour, rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

614 627 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of [198] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were [595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 ● 561 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 439 614 184 182 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time [556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before [595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. [567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 567 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 648 649 622 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gasyanda—village elders.

175 178 433 [567] After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

771 776 Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ŋir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ŋir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
262 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
225 ui-ŋir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
561 young hunters must not taste this mos.

225 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
501 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
476 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
322 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
466

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
782 of the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
476 he has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
476 in this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
502 "If the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
501 to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋətivd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-pid, the fourth - mayerq-pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth - lele mayerq-pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋətivd, is oc-
476 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
554 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
561 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak pilaŋ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals. At the same time Gilak ət tended the rudder which the pilaŋ had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
476 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
554 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
561

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
225 are five oarsmen, one pilaŋ and one other man, then the pilaŋ
476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
561 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
885 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pləskuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pləskuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pilaŋ is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pilaŋ tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pilaŋ Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and ət, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

225 [82] As mentioned above the pilaŋ performs mu-ziχəd
789 and tʼaj.

774 Mu-ziχəd is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
751 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform ziχəd on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

/100 cont. /

of other obstacles in the path of the attackers. In hostile territory all hunting is dangerous (in many clans it is even prohibited, while some also forbid the use of water from the rivers and springs); the supplies brought from home do not last long, while an open, sudden attack -- bearing in mind arrowheads and the impotency of the women's sentry duty -- is not always possible. With long patience and severe deprivations they must await the favorable moment or elite in desperation resolve to take any risk.

Most frequently the defenders prefer to await the attack in their own settlement. Then, abandoning the female population, which enjoys inviolability, the men gather in a separate yurt, from which, at the guards' first signal of the approach of the foe, they scatter through secret passages and gather together beyond the yurts, ready to meet the foe. In accordance with interclan customs, the battle continues through one night or at most twenty-four hours, until, finally, fatalistic sorrow, after which the enemy departs, and the survivors count the number of fallen men on each side. If the defenders have lost a greater number than the opposite side, a new attack begins. The attackers must in any case consider themselves satisfied. But the affair does not always end with a few victims. Instances are known where a whole clan perished, and only women remained alive.

There have been cases, on the other hand, where, to avoid the destruction of a small clan incapable of a strong rebuff, the self-sacrifice of one man has expiated the general guilt. I know of one case where, at the very moment that news came of the approach of the foe, a youth responsible for the conflict prayed his clansmen who were gathered about him in the yurt to save themselves by flight, offering to save the clan from destruction by his own death. And when the clansmen, with downcast eyes, began to leave the yurt, he, quaffing a cup of seal fat at one draught for courage, flung himself headlong, brandishes his spear, To meet the maidens /121/ throng of avengers.

/101 cont. /

628 Now let us proceed to the institution of ransom, "itkuhnd," which has in part taken the place of revenge and in part coexists with "revenge," serving as its indispensable corrective.

The reasons that gave rise to the institution of ransom side by side with the imperative of blood retaliation, which was finally squeezed out completely by the former, remain completely unexplained in science to this day.

Among the Gilyak, we believe, it is easy to find at least the principal reason for this great transformation in social relations. It rests on that special form of exogamy about which we spoke in detail in its place.

/102/ Each clan is bound to a number of clans, at least four, by bonds of the most intimate character. It takes a wives from the akhmal'k clan or clans, and from these clans came its mothers; it gives in marriage its own women, daughters and sisters, to the ymgi clan or clans. These clans, in the natural order of things, are near to it; mothers, daughters, sisters bind it to them interpersonally.

The clan of the slayer can easily turn out to be the one that takes its women from it, in which are his sisters and daughters, or one which provides it with women. Hence the first great modification; the inviolability of women in conflicts of vengeance.

But the role of the women does not end here. If the slayer is from the akhmal'k clan, i.e., the clan which gives the mothers and wives of the avengers, it is not difficult to imagine that these women cannot be indifferent spectators of a war against their own brothers and fathers. If the slayer is from the ymgi clan, the wives of the latter likewise will not lightly reconcile themselves to the destruction of their husbands and sons at the hands of their own fathers and brothers. In both cases the intervention of the women is inevitable, and a few precedents of their pacifying influence suffice to turn the precedents into a lawful custom, at first coexisting with blood revenge and later squeezing it out.

Indirectly the influence of women in this respect must have found expression in still another way, purely mechanical, so to speak. Their inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degree the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty, the

/102 cont. /

614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habitual
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety,
looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an overwhelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the attackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting, of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
614 participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
562 be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt,
etc., so that, like the Biblical Jewellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak
find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins
filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry.
Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death
by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily
conquers.

Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Ejal' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with
polen in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water
in their skins and their provisions by gave out, and the avengers had to
depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus
small causes often lead to important consequences.

Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
614 relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
114 ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace
brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that
primitive man is not sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing."
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/114 cont. /

clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the
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level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
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marks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they
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difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak make child
of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He
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/149 cont. /

III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of
Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kin-
ship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual
intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we can-
not speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extra-
marital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is
a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other
natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Pro-
hibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound
by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there
is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the
part of public opinion or on the part of the elders. Outside of
the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have
only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party
concerned. Young men and girls have complete freedom in
the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggressive at an
alien usurper and soundly teach the stranger not to sneak into
a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very
rarely. Adultery is much more serious affair if a married woman is
involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a
married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the
custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of
penal repression has begun to restrain some more impulsive
slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her
thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her:
in the first place, because, at we shall see further on, a woman
is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the
second place, because she is an article of value, having been
her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker.
In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

/183 cont. /

83 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
121 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
86 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on
account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
83 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
121 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1)
the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden cate-
gories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
83 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
579 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of
583 several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-
in-law," where there are so many an-ke; maidens at their
disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose
this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an
unmarried ymgi (son-in-law /syat'/) is a most desirable guest
in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymgi" (son-in-
law)" (see p. 109). Women and even maidens pay little to
the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
83 (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of
121 the clan) and for this reason they do not affect any ap-
pearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
83 that the Gilyak it devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be
121 the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to
their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And,
on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example,
reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tum, and especially
sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is
observed with a very great rigeousness completely unknown
to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions
on sexual intercourse often have in their favor not only
physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable
basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
very distant agnate male and female cousins. During

/271 cont. /

584 The bride is customarily represented by the father and
121 mother, but the final decision the attendance of repre-
584 sentatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those
of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations,
but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the
question, aside from the consent of the father and mother,
the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes
of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of matriarchy.
583 In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief.
584 Among the Gilyak it is more about a father, whom he sub-
583 forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, re-
plies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the
584 counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also,
583 that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women
generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is
584 so smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father.
"Pah, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur
the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the
negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who
sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with
her dowry and awaits the decision concerning her fate.
Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been
decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she
does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and
if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she
ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase; "Since you wish this,
is it for me to contradict" But it may happen that the maiden,
upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom,
immediately runs out and does not return until the departure
of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in
naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

/171/ 1. It is interesting to note that among
the Negda, whose customs, as a result
of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a
rule similar to those of the Gilyak, con-
siderable differences were noticed by me.

X1.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-pame, in the form of an isolated stone pillar,
is between Khes' and Chil'mil. Formerly one could hear how the
782 master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Those times (a year)
they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request:
"Pâhys'kyr ururungid! -- do good for us with your risk!"

During a ptiâ-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the
house.

When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
(i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for
they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that
is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

The female Chariaht. Proverbs: 1) The female character is
like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you
will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire
started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the
female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally
everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even
actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick seem as
then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made
to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to
attack with a knife. In their yeuth they did not suffer from
meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Prongs.

/323 cont./

756 When shamani fight, the one who hat more souls wins. The
757 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
758 of the pallet of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
759 (578) of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tul). On these
islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone
tul-kekhin. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the
abode of pal-kekhin. The shaman kekhin feats only Pal milk and
Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII,
"Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhin there are variously colored eared seals, iron
trout, and tigers.

762 They bring an shaman Chomkir resurrected a woman (the settlement of
763 (529) Bykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell
sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans
are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!"
The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night;
if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live."
That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth,
and "nothing."

A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
764 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
765 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
766 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
767 (530) away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
768 (532) ataxia.

The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
own words, was midwifed (mad) after the birth of her first daughter,
769 (158) consists in her taking off her dress, breast, and belt and so forth
with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her
tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings
and girdled herself with shavings.. she yawned. Moderate blows...
The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/354 cont./

614 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common
615 (617) sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to
everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the
clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take
part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the ex-
penditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clans-
men. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles.
Clansmen assemble from all parts of the island, and as great numbers
of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be en-
tertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their
numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the
festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character
or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the
Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
(621) clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful at-
tack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by
the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured
the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear
was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal
was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in
winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries had led a full
ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the
eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.
(622) All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
to the "master" of the taiga, the master of the bear - "Pal'-nivukh."
It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position
of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be
eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact
revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
(642) hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on
this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan,
are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
(252) steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak S
connected with the bear. When a clan is divided and part of it
emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar)
breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among
the departing clansmen. With this steel the settlers will
light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be
handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the ex-
pression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the
clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving
their native land to found new colonies used to take with them
the sacred fire of the home altar.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
of the seal. On this occasion, too, the sacrifice of the refresh-
ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
(642) ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the
clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in
long rough lines, are placed all the choicest viands which, carefully
prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice.
Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a
handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing
the customary formula of prayer: "Kur nionga-khlar" ("God,
please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the re-
freshments begin, in which the women take part.

6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
another khal'. The means in clan vengeance.

The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has
weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has
not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional,
calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansmen of the murdered
man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his
other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the
Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'ro yeeynedeh). I.e.,
kill the murderer, or at least some person of the same sex of his
khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even new-
born children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers
of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/356 cont./

every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only women
are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that
from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful,
burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer lives
under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any
corner, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man
feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any
case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time,
in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan
of the murderer, from a neutral khal' becomes his wife, takes her back
neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered
man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and
in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years
pass until, by way of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger
consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for
614 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from
615 its members a special khlay-nivukh ("khlay-nivukh" -- literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, and
616 the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries be-
(642) tween the parties. Each clan provides in khlay-nivukh with a silk
lasso, a cup of the same material, a tobacco pouch, a spear, and
sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official
uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation
of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-
(642) nivukh at their head, appears near the quarters of the murderer. Then,
somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the
new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From
here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village of
the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-
nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary. The
latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his
own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The
role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as possible.
The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea
for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-nivukh

/374 cont./

583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It
is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned
with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms
Ziber's (Sieber?) view of the dowry in primitive societies as a
present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any cere-
monies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the
bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but
583 nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is con-
583 cluded. The husband can, if disappointed in his wife, take her back
to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father,
dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or
/376/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by
the son-in-law, can take his daughter back, returning the bride price.
In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the
Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with
its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one
583 middle-aged Gilyak, a widow and disappointed in his third wife,
sold her (with her consent) to another Gilyak for a small
compensation.

But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife,
(642) and despite the fact that the bridegroom, a young man, and
584 required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women
is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that
she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her.
The clansmen of her husband appear near the quarry of fish, which, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the
new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From
months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose
every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and
on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding
of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers saranu,
berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak dur-
ing the whole year. Finally, she has the whole burden and care of
feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while
ooo her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

/373 cont./ YeT

/374 cont./

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
nate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
583 nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
584 eats at the same table with her husband and children, she partici-
pates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife
and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
(765) to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourn-
ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
ties with her former family and clan. She, along with her
(574) husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance
and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her
back.

515 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of
polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned complete equality
(589) brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
among the Gilyak. /375/ frequently without special reasons, such
as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the de-
sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradu-
ally acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to
the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
Arkyym, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
(597) sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the
Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/633 cont./

583 It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom
584 of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a
primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an in-
(642) sulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the
woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply
a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the
men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and indus-
try, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household
of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premarital
marriages, as we have seen, through the influence of material
obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes
monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a
guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a
well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily
and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against
rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought
with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive
people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than
that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even
as a gift. Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to
(642) a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem
and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the
greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the
prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people con-
cerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak,
beyond our above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among
them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following ob-
servations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher
the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising
young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by
a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of
women is by no means rare. According to their own statements,
it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the
parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to
carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
834 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
and in their women and girls. Some women, in the modesty of
them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure,
such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

(18)

2. N. Buse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped.
1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Ex-
pedition of 1853-54/, St. Peterb., 1872,
pp. 55, 56, 70.

537 shocking scenes. Violation of chastity, particularly among
837 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
837 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
844 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out
corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
(642) secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
537 of this, and in clear contrast to what has been said, the relations
(583) of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
(583) course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
he is young. It is considered a disgrace for a married woman
her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband
if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/652 cont./

567 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the
171 Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

428 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After
● 562 what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and,
[601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be-
[768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken
[583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers
587 dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/654 cont./

614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
● 562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

/721 cont./

wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aamngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates which were then immediately taken back again to their places. This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the feast; indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the following day.

This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already appeared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

576 /721 cont./

*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as

574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the

262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and

[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-

[855] pated in the meal; indeed, even the women and children re-

[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once

[859] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,

[533] for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-

[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

/722 cont./

796 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for

574 departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only

262 bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received

576 in their möps as provisions for the trip.

*796 Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the d

53 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the after

562 however, for the first and only time the women actively partic

171 pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a da to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, hold in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappe and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures a contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it w drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudge and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectato

796 jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of

562 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, bec

157 in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work

[203] activities. And it could by no means have been the result of h spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festiv a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reaso

2. See p. 719 above.

796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fac

756 much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, nam that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be t in the eyes of he Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the fes

ring her own health and that of the child. The force of tradition was g that even in 1932 some of the women stubbornly refused to have bies in hospitals, despite the good care and the free clothing and which were given to the infants. It was only after wide medical- nal work that women began to turn to maternity hospitals. The new nding of the role and importance of medical institutions has also y Nivkhi women to go to work in them as attendants and later as educated at the medical school in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

y the Nivkhi woman manages her own life and does not enter into marriage. Polygamy, the levirate and remnants of the old group ge have become things of the past.

177
648
567

116, 372, 462, 562

"We have already seen how sacred the hearth is to the Gilyak, and in the rites adopted at the lying-in-state of a deceased woman, her intimate relation and duty towards Tur ni vookh, the god of fire. [LSS: See category 116, pp. 242ff.] Even as the fire is her rightful domain, so is the cauldron her special care, and [271] hers alone; not even her daughters may interfere in this her private and sacred sphere. She alone has the right of putting on the cauldron; this is her right as hostess. Whatever the putting of the feet into the cauldrons may symbolize, the fact that the bride does it to both the maternal and the new one evidently witnesses for the first time to her equality with her mother, her rightful position as a hausfrau and head of her own domestic establishment. Henceforth her status is also guaranteed among her husband's kindred."

13: Seeland--29 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity,
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually settles with the husband for the payment of kalym. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

13: Seeland--30 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

Gilyak-1- 2

S: A small Russian steamer
a convict) were making the
ation of the poor is fishing,
no lagocephalus) and shad
n the fact that the prices fixed
mon, [62] say eighteen pounds,
f the natives and poor
hich will not grow in
attributed the leprosy among
ccommodation for these
led, but now there is a prop-
olaevsk. So plentiful are the
banks; but on the journey
ed to be to build a wattle-
surface of the water. At the
owded as they hurried round
vith its living freight, when
nge, seine-nets were being
ive village of Pronge is really
t the mouth of the Amur, but

9: Hawes--61-63 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 563

the temporary Russian fishing settlement is situated on the right or southern bank of the river just before one reaches the headland. Our little vessel threaded its way very gingerly between the sandbanks and shoals, past the batteries, and then by miles of forest-clad slopes, the home of the bear and reindeer, to the little settlement where the great river broadens out until it is eight miles wide from head to head.

A few log-huts, and a native shelter or two of pine-branches, and a wooden jetty in embryo, told of our arrival at the curing-station. Until then, I had thought our crew were a rough lot, but they were quiet and respectable compared with the ex-convicts on shore. Several boarded our vessel, and three of them burst into my cabin, but satisfied [63] themselves with staring long at me as though I were a strange new animal, and departed.

On shore we found them busily cutting up and cleaning the salmon before plunging them into the pickling vats. Most of this salted salmon goes to supply Eastern Siberia, the emigrant population, and the convicts, and some is exported to Japan in casks."

9: Hawes--76 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"At De Castries, a beautiful natural harbour opens out to the v
lets, Observatory Island and Basalt Island, reposing in the smoo
was discovered and named by La Pérouse in 1787. There is a sm
consisting of the dwellings of a telegraph chief, his assistants, a
the cable to Sakhalin crosses from this point. (1)

1. This cable, which was broken in June, 1901, has now been
and a fresh one laid between Capes Lazarev and Pogobi. The
be maintained at De Castries, because it has communication
with Vladivostok, and is the only safe haven for ships passing
the Straits of Tartary."

15: Pilsudski--1 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

Gilyak

iew with a couple of is-
th water. This haven
nall Russian post here,
nd a few soldiers, for

abandoned,
post is to
by telegraph
through

563

563 ETHNIC STRATIFICATION--alien and immigrant subgroups; racial and national minorities; cultural differences between and characteristics of ethnic and minority groups; social and political status of ethnic subgroups; race prejudice and discrimination; assimilation and irredentism; extent of intermarriage; race crossing and amalgamation; racial hybrids and their status; etc. See also:

Racial affinities 144
Ethic composition of the population 162
Immigration 167
Acculturation 177
Degree of subcultural differentiation 184
Ethnocentrism 186
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Naturalization 641
Reservations 687
Religious persecutions 798
Race theories 829

1: Shternberg--209 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/139 cont./ Every Gilyak, man and woman,
*601 uses one and the same term for "mother" (ymk and synonyms),
[184] not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

[199] 1. The sole exception that I found during
[563] the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of persons of the akhmalk class (concerning this, see below).

[197] The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in
[184] use for wife in both dialects is an'kh, an'g:ej. Within the clan
[614] the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younger "brothers" (as'kh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevestka, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant
[171] number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

1: Shternberg--298 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 G

/202 cont./

*174 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished
177 wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furni
[221] them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted b
[437] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory
[439] neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went in
Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for p
of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to t
[563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus
or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into ma
relations with them or carried off their women. And
these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could
be without influence.

*174 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere
177 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples
556 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there
stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then th
were only objects of consumption. No one accumula
them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or
[439] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Tra
the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation.
appeared new valuables which it was impossible to co
but which they began to value, which were profitable
accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate pos
of valuables, and others who did not have them and w
to possess them. In rich men there was born a conscio
of their wealth and their importance, and together wi
the ambition to become related to their equals. Amo
[583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the m
of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuat
The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the w
was given without a bride price, became unprofitable,
with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to cir
[581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the
tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individ
marriage. The custom of brothers' living together wit

9: Hawes--84-85 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 563

"The town of Alexandrovsk, or rather Post Alexandrovskiy, as it is called, for it has no municipal authority, and comprises a population of only 6000, lies mainly in a hollow at the foot of the mountains, worn by the two streams, the Great and the Little Alexandrovka rivers, which here break the line of sea-cliff for about half a mile. Marshy land stretches between the town and the sea. Two principal streets cross at right angles in the centre of the town, one containing the church, the chief officials' houses and the post-office and leading to the bazar or market, and the other, beginning on the hill slopes, continues past the prison down to the jetty.

Though the former street is wide and planted in part with young trees, the log buildings give it a dingy and sombre look. These two streets boast plank 'street walks,' which the foot passenger does well to avoid at night, owing to the occasional absence of a plank. Outside of these two streets the rest are tracks, wide and grassy, as in all Russian villages, with ditches on either side. The laying out of the place resembles that of a poor far-west American township. Each hut, with its small windows, [85] looking as if it feared either robbers or the cold hand of Jack Frost, had a tiny yard fenced in with a shed forming two sides of the square. In late autumn this little court would be scantily roofed with pine-branches to catch the snow and form a warm covering.

The 6000 inhabitants of Alexandrovsk consist of convicts and ex-convicts, their wives and children, and officials and their families. Besides these there are probably not a dozen free-born individuals, whose business here is that of merchants' agents, etc.

Olcha

/722 cont./

It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/ who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the festive meals as a matter of principle.

The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives, friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear meat and fat lasts. In Tebach, Judin told his guests, Ditmar and Brevern, that it would last for many days since three bears had been killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13) the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to Nikolayevsk.

As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previous year (1855) to witness this second part of the bear festival, concluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essentially from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Ditmar's report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five versts below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however, opposite the étagère decorated with the bear's head and skin and with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha gjamssassá), a second rack quite similar to the first one but somewhat smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its shelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passageway between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

/769 cont./

764 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove
532 cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter fo
The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the sma
the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as
bird; hence the designation tutut-ngir and tutut-ngit
and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these stic
representation is the same for both birds, for it only
764 shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches.
pittyssj, on the other hand, designates another item i
It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which

** According to the appended, very cursor
sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on
which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknow
the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed
ceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are
•[562] be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the s
this takes into account the difference in physical stre
according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the d
psychic energy of the two sexes. The tutut or pyk is
have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, w
probable on the basis of the explanation given by Jud
ing these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the
184 of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to
close to it a pittyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the
is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists o
roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dove
roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pit
fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I fou
184 tremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan,
in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his
556 On the outside it was provided with carvings and arab
various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, r

177 648 873 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the [463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 648 474 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

[641] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races. The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

[182] The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old 177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The 648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of ● 562 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

116, 165, 562, 595, 855

"The Gilyaks treat their children
wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding pr
fish-winner, is naturally of more a
course, very high. In the villages o
gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 13
88 deaths among the older persons),
chief reason, however, of the decli
A wife has to be bought, and she is
unremunerative investment, but few
expenditure."

remarkably well, and though a girl is potential
ice,' the boy as an early bread-winner, or rather
ccount. The death-rate among young children is, of
n the west coast, north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg
0, out of which there were 34 deaths (in addition to
i.e. an average of more than 26 per cent. The
ne in polygamy is more probably growing poverty.
a moderately expensive article. Not that she is an
Gilyaks are in a position to make the capital

533, 558, 562, 593

All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old,
cs it is otherwise, for they are very
composed by the maidens of the trib
n to the Gilyak world. It may not be
sidered a want of modesty. Sometim
nan who made songs in her youth; ' b
age. The Gilyak's notions of modest
of childhood brothers and sisters ar
ner attempted it, the latter would tu

old songs, the epics of their race, but with t
numerous, and always being added to. These
e, who tell them to their girl friends, and the
known who the authoress is, for that would b
es one may be heard to say, 'There goes an ol
ut it is not 'good form.' Woman's mission is t
y are very strict. After they have passed the
e not allowed to speak to one another. If the
rn away in injured modesty."

452 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
552 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i. e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
452 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the taj where the pilan attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilan distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilan's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the taj, is included in

"Crying and loud taking fill the hut. The mo
and all vie with each other in showing their ab
eschewed, pipes are broken in pieces, and the

If the deceased be a man, similar ceremoni
maintainer of the hearth, he [244] has to give
only; and therefore his body requires only thr
days. As with the woman, over the other garn
have not yet gained that supernatural capacity
raiment is necessary on their long journeys.

At the end of the lying-in-state, i.e. on the
for the man, the corpse is taken out of the hut
team of dogs. The shuba is taken off, for alth
ties, the journeys have been made, and it is n
gained by purification."

urners loose their hair from the pigtails,
andonment of pleasure. Luxuries are
e tobacco is allowed to fall out.
es are gone through, but as he is not the
an account of his doings to three gods
ee garments, and lies in the hut but three
nents is worn a shuba; for their spirits
which defies the elements, and warm

fifth day for the woman and on the fourth
and laid on a narta, a sledge drawn by a
ough the soul has not yet its divine facul-
o longer needed. These are now to be

2: Schrenck--1036 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/636 cont./

2. (cont.)
Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp. d'après des docum. chinois, Part I, pp. 25, 275; Part II, p. 238. Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersb., 1840, p. 198.

a much distorted form, among the Goldi (3). Even a difference

3. A more detailed explanation of this will be given in the following.

Even a difference of nationality is by no means as decisive for the conclusion of the marriage of the Gilyak as one would expect from the radical difference of their language from those of all their neighbors. On the mainland there are frequent marriages between the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, and probably it is to this circumstance above all that the similarity in the customs and usages of the two peoples, or, in other words, the Gilyakization of the Olcha stressed several times already, is to be attributed. To a lesser degree the same thing also takes place with the Negda. Occasionally an Amur Gilyak will bring home from a trading trip to the Japanese a wife from the Ainu people (4).

4. The mother of the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach, for instance, was an Ainu woman, as was mentioned above (p. 224 /untranslated/).

Conversely, however, it hardly ever happens that Amur-Gilyak women marry Ainu men, because the latter are not in the habit of leaving their island and, if this should happen as an exception, would not be in a position to pay the high bride price of the Gilyak. Where, however, as on Sakhalin, the two peoples live directly beside each other and the bride price is also lower, frequent marriages take place between them, as Mamia Rinsô reported (5),

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, 195.

and the assimilation between the two tribes is considerable.

2: Schrenck--1054 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX

/648 cont./

this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has, will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryss-umgu (female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of his marital situation.

As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother and likewise, as kryghryss, becomes the property of her owner, who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up, sells it as kryghryss. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not unhappily permits a marriage between his male and female kryghryss; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children they might have will be his kryghryss and, as such, can be turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

: Hawes--116-117 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
16, 177, 563, 631

"The Russian occupation [LSS: of Sakhalin] is practically confined to the district enlosed in a radius of thirty miles from Alexandrovsk on the west coast, and another maller one around Korsakovsk in the south.

The island is divided into three administrative districts—the Alexandrovsk, Timovsk, nd Korsakovsk okrugi. Each of these is presided over by a chief of the district, or kruzhni nachalnik, over whom is the military Governor of the island. The latter has reat authority, but in his turn is subject to the Governor-general of the Pri-Amursky blast.

The biggest prison centre is at Alexandrovsk. The next is at Korsakovsk, and the imovsk dostroct has two, one at Derbensk and the other at Rikovsk, thirty-five and orty-four miles, respectively, by road inland from Alexandrovsk. [117]

Immediately around these centres clearings have been made, and beyond are a few illages dotted about in the forest, with a population varying from 200 to none at all."

9: Hawes--viii T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 563

"Of the faulty state of the penal administration, and the unfortunate condition of the 'exile-settlers' described in these pages, it is devoutly to be hoped that in any future investigations no trace may be found. At the same time a word of warning is due, lest the reader should found a generalization for Siberia upon this particular settlement. Sakhalin is the colony to which all Russia's worst criminals are despatched, and the very name of the island is banned in St. Petersburg. Moreover, it is a far cry to the capital—the sign-post in front of the post-office at Alexandrovsk says 10,172 versts (6752 miles)—and the threads of control cannot be pulled tight. Since the publication of Mr. George Kennan's two volumes, (1) great improvements have been made in the con-

1. 'Siberia and the Exile System.'

ditions of prisoners, throughout Siberia, not excepting Sakhalin; but that island still lags, as ever, many years behind the average penal settlement on the mainland."

9: Hawes--121-123 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1- 3
116, 563

"Turning inland at the Gilyak village, we passed through the Russian Arkovo, the first, for there are three hamlets of that name, where we had experienced the hospitality of the convict-farmer three days since. Our journey now took us beyond, by a road winding through a beautiful valley. If the little gardens, with their cabbages and potatoes, had astonished me before with their look of contentment, so did now the reverse side of the picture, [122] the miserably poor cereal crops standing in the little strips of clearings which fringed the road—crops that could not have yielded more than a two or threefold return on the sowings. Referring to the official records for the year 1898, I find that wheat and oats, which were the chief cereals sown in this village, yielded 3.7 and 4.4-fold harvests, against a 15-fold average in England. Potatoes showed better results with 6.7-fold crop. In the village of Slavo, which we reached the following day, the record was terrible, the wheat yield for the same year being eleven grains for every ten sown! And, as if to make more obvious the settlers' inability or culpable failure to grow enough corn to satisfy their needs, we overtook several telyegi (primitive springless carts), drawn by oxen and Siberian ponies, laden with sacks of American flour from Portland, Oregon. A political exile, writing in the official Sakhalin Kalendar of 1896, lays most of the blame for the unsatisfactory state of the outlying settlements at the officials' doors. He claims that the system, under which the 'exile-settlers' (1) are sent to found new

1. One whose sentence has expired, but who must remain on the island for six

9: Hawes--57-58 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"The town of Nikolaevsk, in which I now four
was founded on August 6, 1850, by Captain Nev
headquarters, for it was not until 1858 that the
of the Amur, to Russia. I have already referre
1872, the naval base was transferred to Vladiv
of the province was removed to Khabarovsk.

The town, which is perched on the rugged sl
sists mainly of one broad street or road with o
parallel green tracks. The main street contain
tures, including the church, the Russo-Chines
There are a few shops and residences of offici
away into the scrub and forest, out of which th
the foot is the collection of wooden wharves, w
scene. An Amur steamboat is in, three or four
etc., for the winter are lying in mid-stream,
in England, are being tugged ashore, while a s
higher up stream waiting for their annual load

Yet Nikolaevsk wears a triste look. The two
bidding-looking stockades, frown upon you, an

ıd myself stranded for an unknown period,
elskoy, acting without instructions from
Treaty of Aigun gave this, the left bank
ed to the severe blow it received when, in
ostok, and again when the administration

ope of the northern bank of the Amur, con-
ne offshoot down to the pristan, and a few
s half [58] a dozen well-built wooden struc-
e Bank, and some merchants' stores.
als, the rest are log-houses straggling
e site of Nikolaevsk has been carved. At
hich in the autumn present quite a busy
steamers bringing provisions, tea, flour,
huge lighters, which I am told were made
mall fleet of schooners rides at anchor
of fish for Japan.
prison buildings, with their dingy, for-
d the deserted old rambling wooden houses

9: Hawes--57-58 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

of the admiral and military officials tell of its
place, I could not resist the feeling of oppress
were allowed their liberty—a very modified fo
ance. What a contrast to merry, happy Japan,
Japanese pride in their police and military! C
besides officials there were scarcely fifty Rus

fallen fortunes. As I wandered about the
ion in the air. It was, as if the inhabitants
rm of it—by the officials, only on suffer-
and the gay village scenes there, and the
Of course, it should be remembered that
ssians who were not ex-convicts."

9: Hawes--61-63 T-3
116, 563

"At the mouth of the Amur, the c
traveling the Amur River] (the chie
first attempt at salmon-canning in
and in the month of August, at spaw
swarm. Some idea of their abundan
by the municipality at Nikolaevsk fo
was six kopyeks (1 1/2d.). Salted, it
Russians. To lack of variety, the a
Nikolaevsk, and the unhealthy cond
the Russians on the Amur. A few y
lepers, and many suffered from wa
erly constructed leper-house two
fish that I have seen Russians spea
from Khabarovsk down the Amur, t
weir projecting into the stream, an
mid-stream end was fixed a 'set' n
the corner. A boatman sat waiting
he hauled it up, and emptied the ca
used, a good average haul of the ne
in the Straits of Tartary, just roun

owners of the vessel [LSS: A small Russian steamer
f partner was the son of a convict) were making the
Siberia. The chief occupation of the poor is fishing,
vning-time, salmon (Salmo lagocephalus) and shad
ce may be gathered from the fact that the prices fixed
or a moderate-sized salmon, [62] say eighteen pounds,
forms the staple food of the natives and poor
bsence of vegetables, which will not grow in
itions of living, must be attributed the leprosy among
ears back there was no accommodation for these
nt of food, or lay untended, but now there is a prop-
or three miles from Nikolaevsk. So plentiful are the
ring the salmon from the banks; but on the journey
he usual method appeared to be to build a wattle-
d just visible above the surface of the water. At the
et, into which the fish crowded as they hurried round
until the net was heavy with its living freight, when
tch into his boat. At Pronge, seine-nets were being
t yielding 3000. The native village of Pronge is really
d the southern foreland at the mouth of the Amur, but

1: Sternberg--413 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/285 cont./

17 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is
14 also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that
03 one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese
[97] came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a
[63] hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymi-fing.

17 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from
03 the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli --
73 from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

2: Schrenck--254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX
Feudal Japan A
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. /122 cont./
175 Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited
G by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,
131
175
[361]
[563]

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

it, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live
A intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed popula-
G tion of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was
131 explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at
178 that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples con-
563 cerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though
175 mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true,
A then the entire change in the boundary situation between the
[648] Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

/122 cont./

began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

/318 cont./

6. (cont.)
das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographical Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf. Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241) gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

These statements referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious. They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peoples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously demarcated by the Russians (1). At that time, moreover, people

1. For more details concerning this, see pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above, p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,

116, 563

"At De Castries, a beautiful natural har
lets, Observatory Island and Basalt Island
was discovered and named by La Pérouse
consisting of the dwellings of a telegraph c
the cable to Sakhalin crosses from this poi

1. This cable, which was broken in Jun
and a fresh one laid between Capes La
be maintained at De Castries, because
with Vladivostok, and is the only safe
the Straits of Tartary."

bour opens out to the view with a couple of is-
, reposing in the smooth water. This haven
in 1787. There is a small Russian post here,
chief, his assistants, and a few soldiers, for
int. (1)

ne, 1901, has now been abandoned,
zarev and Pogobi. The post is to
it has communication by telegraph
haven for ships passing through

"The town of Alexandrovsk, or rather Pos
no municipal authority, and comprises a pop
at the foot of the mountains, worn by the two
Alexandrovka rivers, which here break the l
land stretches between the town and the sea.
in the centre of the town, one containing the
post-office and leading to the bazar or mark
continues past the prison down to the jetty.

Though the former street is wide and plant
give it a dingy and sombre look. These two
the foot passenger does well to avoid at nigh
plank. Outside of these two streets the rest
Russian villages, with ditches on either side
of a poor far-west American township. Eac
as if it feared either robbers or the cold han
with a shed forming two sides of the square.
scantily roofed with pine-branches to catch t

The 6000 inhabitants of Alexandrovsk cons
and children, and officials and their families
dozen free-born individuals, whose business

t Alexandrovskiy, as it is called, for it has
ulation of only 6000, lies mainly in a hollow
streams, the Great and the Little
ine of sea-cliff for about half a mile. Marsh
Two principal streets cross at right angles
church, the chief officials' houses and the
et, and the other, beginning on the hill slope

ted in part with young trees, the log building
streets boast plank 'street walks,' which
t, owing to the occasional absence of a
are tracks, wide and grassy, as in all
. The laying out of the place resembles that
h hut, with its small windows, [85] looking
d of Jack Frost, had a tiny yard fenced in
In late autumn this little court would be
he snow and form a warm covering.
ist of convicts and ex-convicts, their wives
s. Besides these there are probably not a
here is that of merchants' agents, etc.

9: Hawes--121-123 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

Sakhalin than his unwonted energy. In speaking
tributed the small crops usually obtained to the

1. A peasant is an ex-convict who has comp
settlership,' and now has the return of certa
including those of the right to move from pla

carelessness in sowing the seed, 'scattering he
insufficiently.' "

of agriculture on the island, he at-
laziness of the 'peasants' (1) and their

leted his six years of 'exile-
ain elementary civil rights,
ace to place.

re,' as he said, 'in excess, and there

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"The law provides that any female crimin
than two years, may be sent from Russia to
are placed altogether in the kamera at the s
have often seen them-those of them that had
for cleaning and sewing purposes, I say nom
known; the others, chosen by 'exile-settlers
are released from confinement within barra
are still obliged to do their hard-labour tas

There is no marriage ceremony. The cho
nachalnik of the okrug, their names are wri
dwell together. A policy such as this, which
the marriage tie, and directly encourages a
light of an attempt on the part of the Govern
vious scheme had been tried, and failed. In
had been sent to the island, but they all ultin
life.

By settling the exiles down with partners
hoped to avoid the letting loose [142] of large
mainland. . . . . .Brodyagi-passp
wholesale across the border into Siberia, an

al under forty, whose sentence is not less
Sakhalin. On arrival at Alexandrovsk they
outh-east corner of the prison buildings. I
been retained by the officials, nominally
inally, because the real purpose was openly
s,' who are allowed thus to take a helpmate,
cks, and live with their 'men' though they
k.

ice being made with the sanction of the
tten in a book, and henceforth the couple
violates our notions of the sacredness of
criminal breed, must be regarded in the
ment to settle and colonize Sakhalin. A pre-
1862, and again in 1869, a few free colonists
nately left for a less lonely and arduous

in life and families, the Government also
numbers of ex-convicts of Sakhalin on the
portless vagabonds—had been despatched
d the country was over-run with escaping

9: Hawes--121-123 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

more years without legal rights.

villages in the forests, is not given a fair tria
are shipped off to these parts, because they a
Furthermore, the 'exile-settlers' are often de
have chosen, thus making, what was at best a
Garnak, in the eighties, sent out to scientifica
come to the conclusion that colonization was i
administration.'

On the other hand, the ex-convicts do not m
love have they for the island which is their pr
industry and perseverance needed in a struggl
from those who have sought in their days of fr

Some weeks later I met a Caucasian Kazak,
nary run of Sakhalin criminals. Whatever his
tion, he was very energetic, and most succes
the interior, in the midst of forest which invo
boured many a destructive enemy of his cattle
cows, and sowed his 150 puds of corn. He clai
if we make some allowance for exaggeration,

l, and adds that it is the worst men who
re as sores in the eyes of the officials.
spatched to places that no sane man would
hard life, an impossible one. Colonel
lly explore the island, is said to have
n a very bad state owing to the 'faulty

ake the best of their circumstances. Small
ison-land, and, even if reconciled to it the
e with [123] nature are not forthcoming
eedom to live by avoiding honest work.
who was a striking exception to the ordi-
crime may have been, probably insurrec-
sful. Living at the village of Uskovo, in
lved no little labour in clearing, and har-
, he owned, he told us, no less than fifty
med to get a twelve-fold crop, which, even
was really no less extraordinary for

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3
116, 361, 563, 624

sergeant, but his duties are as varie
commissioner in India. Police, milit
these and more come within his care
thirty rubles (three guineas) a month
important of his functions at Ado Tim
when we arrived."

d as those of a prefect in France, or even a deputy-
tary, the census, agriculture, and 'roads,' all
s; and for this he is paid the magnificent sum of
. Tracking escaped convicts was not the least
n, and he was away down the river on this errand

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3
116, 361, 563, 624

"We were nearing Ado Tim, the last F
interior. The native village of that nar
settlement lay half a verst from the ri

We had no wish to arrest our progre
and we would rather camp in the open,
but the natives refused to take us furth
ashore, hoping that time would settle
On either side of the broad grass trac
miserably poor, out-of-repair log-hut
others with loose pieces of bark. Pigs
clad were indiscriminately scattered

1. The East Siberian name for S

a fire kindled beneath, and bunches of
betokened tobacco drying. Women war
in the scantiest of clothing, the latter
simply in a frock and an extra bodice.
autumn mornings and late afternoons

Each village has its overseer, who

Russian penal settlement of all in the northern
me was situated on the banks lower down, but the
ver.
ess here, the settlement had a very bad reputation,
or among the natives, from what we had heard;
ner except at a prohibitive price, and we went
our difference.....[138]
k of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy,
s, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards,
, a foal or two, and a few children, miserably
on the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

almo lagocephalus.

withering green leaves by the hutside in the sun
dered about barefooted, and they and the men were
in a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former
It was always a matter of wonder to me how in
hey could stand the cold so miserably clothed.
is a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 190

116, 563

members of this fraternity. On this subject,
says, '...on January 1, 1876, over 51,000 pe
government of Tobolsk as penal colonists, a
local administration. ... These figures, tog
authorities, bear witness to the inefficiency
of Tomsk and Yeniseisk, in 1883, there were
not merely 'exile-settlers') registered in dif
ing in the places assigned them; over 17,000
has improved with the advancing settlement
reader think for a moment that the brodyaga
day. Irkutsk which competes with Tomsk for
London, attracts large numbers of that profe
This is a misnomer for the Siberian member
to delicate fingering, and the murder of thei
the profession. It is said that two murders i
outskirts, is the weekly average of Irkutsk.
either, for just previous to my visit two had
[143] Security of life and property spell for t
and this was another reason why the importu
Hence it was that in 1888, Mr. Galkin Vrass

A. Leroy-Beaulieu, quoting official figures
rsons were entered on the registers of the
nd only 34,000 could be produced by the
ether with the carelessness of the local
of the system. ... In the 'governments'
, out of 20,000 exiles (all classes exiled,
ferent communes, only 2600 actually resid-
were fugitives.' That this state of things
of the country is true, though let not the
fraternity fails to number its thousands to-
the title of premier city of Siberia, like
ssion generally dubbed the 'light-fingered.'
s. Hard life in the taiga does not conduce
victim is a sine quâ non in the pursuit of
the nucleus of the city, and fourteen in the
And daylight or publicity are not shunned
taken place in the high street in the daytime
e Exchequer greater potential receipts,
nities of the Siberians should be listened to.
y, afterwards head of the general prison

9: Hawes--88-89 T-3 (1901) 19
116, 563, 361

"Arrived at the Gilyak village of Arkovo
for the salmon-fishing, ascending a river
spawning season. We therefore pushed on
piles, to the Russian settlement called Ark
A stranger from Europe, suddenly dropp
Sakhalin, the dreary isle of punishment, th
wore a look of contentment, with its cosy
potatoes and cabbages. Sunflowers I saw a
perfumed the air in early summer; while a
grand [89] purple mountains reminded me

, to my disappointment the natives had departed
higher up the coast to take advantage of the
inland, past the strange native huts built on
kovo the First.
ped down here would certainly ask, 'Is this
ne Hades of Russia?' Outwardly, this village
log cottages and gardens, in which flourished
also, and was told that wild roses (rosa rugosa)
away in the distance, forest-clad heights and
of some of the finer scenery of Japan."

9: Hawes--116-117 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 563, 631

"The Russian occupation [LSS: of Sakhalin] is p
closed in a radius of thirty miles from Alexandro
smaller one around Korsakovsk in the south.

The island is divided into three administrative
and Korsakovsk okrugi. Each of these is presided
okruzhni nachalnik, over whom is the military Go
great authority, but in his turn is subject to the G
oblast.

The biggest prison centre is at Alexandrovsk.
Timovsk dostroct has two, one at Derbensk and t
forty-four miles, respectively, by road inland fr

Immediately around these centres clearings ha
villages dotted about in the forest, with a populat

ractically confined to the district en-
vsk on the west coast, and another

districts—the Alexandrovsk, Timovsk,
l over by a chief of the district, or
vernor of the island. The latter has
Governor-general of the Pri-Amursky

The next is at Korsakovsk, and the
he other at Rikovsk, thirty-five and
om Alexandrovsk. [117]
ve been made, and beyond are a few
ion varying from 200 to none at all."

not stop here to tell of the place, for I was to exp
rom an expedition to the north-east coast; suffice
on of the island consists of convicts and officials.
engaged in hard labour—7080 (January 1, 1898)—
634 were women. The number of convicts and e
167, so that a moderate estimate would give 8000

perience much more of it on my
e it to say, that the Russian
Out of a total of the former
the murderers numbered 2836,
x-convicts at the same date
of these as murderers."

9: Hawes--309-310 T-3
116, 563

"[LSS: Traveling from Ado Tin
rather a poor attempt at a clearin
some rough meadow-land, almos
habitants, all men. The huts wer
letting in the cold through the cre
with a hole for chimney, offering
a table, some boxes for a bed, a
small paper-mended window. It w
and indeed it was from such place
grew potatoes, and in the larger
two or three ponies. Potatoes had
to be salted against the winter. S
this, and, having borrowed in the
Crown, sank, in company with th
villages that are large enough to
and the [310] money-lender. Then
goods, if he has some petty spite
the usual quantity of potatoes in e
The poor 'exile-settler' is also

n to Slavo] Once or twice we passed a clearing, or
ng, where stood a settlement of a few log-huts and
t in a virgin state. One of them contained only six in
e about twelve by eighteen feet in size, the log walls
vices; and the miserable roofs of loose pieces of ba
poor protection against the rain. Inside one would fi
nd a home-made stove; the whole faintly lighted by a
was a mystery how these poor people managed to live
es that the gangs of brodyagi were recruited. A few
settlements a 'wealthy' settler will own some cows o
d to be bartered for flour, tea, and rice; and for fish
ome, even by much scraping, were unable to compas
first place seed-potatoes or corn, etc., from the
e lazy or hopeless, deeper and deeper into debt. In t
have a store, the shopkeeper is generally the rich m
e is then nobody to prevent him refusing to supply
e to avenge, or compelling the 'peasant' to give twice
exchange for flour, rice, or salt.
o at the mercy of any official who may choose to

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

convicts were, on January 1, 1898, respectivel
round numbers in the proportion of 8 to 1. The
presence of 1308 women who followed their con
island. Only six men did this in the case of thei
to Sakhalin as criminals.

event of their doing so they have a choice, miserab
There is even a sadder aspect of this matter. It
the wives of convicts who have joined them, but mo
All around them are openly vicious practices [145]
The very 'game' of concubinage is in vogue in the n
traded with their daughters is to say little. I had gr
succeeded, in convincing a highly educated prisone
literature, that fathers did not stand in the streets
for sale. His experience on Sakhalin only confirme
retailed by Russian papers. It would be impossible
—for me to mention the many terrible things I hear
of Sakhalin, if any reform is to be brought about, t
not have dared to make myself, but which comes fr

y 19, 770, and 2397, or in
ratio is reduced by the
demned husbands to the
r wives being despatched

ble as that may be.
is the effect upon the free population,
ore especially the free-born children.
and scenes of unblushing prostitution.
nixed schools. To say that fathers
reat difficulty, I am not sure that I
r of rank, familiar with English
of London offering their daughters
d some garbled reports of London life
—and probably incredible to the reader
rd, but I feel it only due to the children
o quote a statement which I should
rom one of unquestioned authority.

9: Hawes--187-188 T-3 (
116, 361, 563

"From the delta of the Tim we made acr
cluster of huts on the inner side of the dun
our light craft rocked, and the morning air
villages of Nivo [188] (the first, for there a
adorned with pine branches, stood our pro
dogs, barking and splashing, stopped their
of strangers. A verst or two beyond Kama
and as we waded ashore we were accosted
presence of a Russian police officer.

It was a strange, out-of-the-way place t
stances accounted for his practical banishm

oss the bay in a north-easterly direction to
e. The wind was already making itself felt;
struck cold on our damp clothes. The
are two) and Kamavo, with their bear-cages
minently on the sandy level, and a crowd of
fishing to show resentment at the appearanc
avo our boat was beached, where stood a ten
by two or three Kazaks, who led us into the

o be stationed at, and only exceptional circu
nent to this far-away spot."

9: Hawes--155-156 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 361, 563

"Though we had left behind the last Russian s
shelters were passed in the course of the morni
spawning season by a few Russian 'exile-settler
salmon against the winter's needs. At a bend of
shelters, and five men dragging a seine-net, ab
one hundred or so of plunging and splashing kita
housed a solitary Russian and some barrels of
cuss our midday meal—a duck we had shot duri
well, and though the keen edge of our distrust w
to spending a night with them or to the prospect

Occasionally we came upon a Gilyak village,
at each one hailed any visible member of the co
men who would take us; but they all with one ac
bodied were away fishing, [156] or the only pers
canoe."

ettlement at Ado Tim, three or four rude
ing, which were occupied during the
s' for the catching and salting down of
the river we came upon one of these
out two hundred feet long, which containe
. At another of these rude huts, which
salt and dried grass, we stopped to dis-
ng the morning. Our men behaved very
vas wearing off, we did not look forward
of night watches.
consisting of half a dozen huts or so, and
mmunity, inquiring if there were not
ccord made excuses. Either the able-
son available was ill or had no safe

9: Hawes--168 [2] T-3 (1901) 19
116, 563

"Bruin is very human in many of his ways
peasant towards him is expressed in the p
Petz. On the mainland one not infrequently
seen them housed in a kennel in a yard, a
wayside, where the bystander might be se
ing a less amicable return. The Caucasian
put them in a big box in his yard."

, and the brotherly feeling of the Russian
et names they give him—Mishka and Master
y comes across the cubs kept as pets. I have
nd even tied up to the side of a shanty by the
en trying to give a friendly pat before receiv-
n farmer of Uskovo once caught three cubs and

Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 563

ministration, recommended that all brodyagi
nd, but to the island of Sakhalin, where, escap
rm at large in the taiga, while the sea and ice
s tantamount to a declaration that in future Si
lony, while the convicts must be more and mo
licy has culminated in the ukaz of 1900, which
nuary 1, 1902 (O.S.).
The attempt to settle free colonists on Sakhali
the second method of 'civil marriage'? On the
ould admit it to be a failure.
That the couples remain is true, but it is beca
actically forced exiles; the majority, regardi
more than is necessary to gain a bare existen
s crushed, energyless majority long to put an
e when, returning from Arkovo, where we had
g rich' as the owner of three cows, I remarke
ttler, such as he, who has been here fifteen
ing well, very well as Sakhalin standards are
'Why!' he replied, 'he only asked me just now

should be sent, not to the Siberian main-
ping from control, they could do little
would be effective prison walls. This
beria was to be first and foremost a
re confined to restricted areas. This
nominally abolished deportation from

in having failed, what has been the result
e whole, even the officials, I think,

ause they cannot get away, and are
ng the land as their prison-island, strive
nce. How those few bright exceptions to
end to their exile, was brought home to
supped with the farmer who was 'pass-
d to my companion, 'I suppose an exile-
years, has a wife and children, and is
is quite content to live here?'
'Did I think there was any hope of his

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

getting away back home to Russia?' ' With t
may not be so. [144]

There are other results that have to be tak
the Government pause. In the first place, the
as a mate, is, in the majority of cases, terr
of such a union is convict by heredity and de

On this subject, Mr. Zhook, quoting Mr.
of Russian Prisons from 1896, says, 'The so
who are given to the settlers to help them, a
households, consider themselves as having t
and they leave their partners if the latter try
Usually, however, this is not the case, as th
Mr. Zhook adds, 'Deprived of all civil rights
family; but it is impossible to deprive her o
co-habitation; and once she forsakes her 'ma
to settle down with another one. This, indee
women are subjected.' At the same time, it
in the minority, (1) the power to leave their

1. The numbers of men and women on the

he second generation, it is possible, this

en into account, and which ought to give
e moral effect on the woman who is chosen
ible; and in the second place, the offspring
noralized by environment.
P. A. Salomon, who was Director-in-Chief
-called concubines, i. e. the exiled women
nd for the mutual management of their
he right freely to dispose of themselves;
to prevent them admitting outside visitors.
e co-habitants share all their earnings.'
, she loses by law the right to have a
the right to feel disgust towards the forced
ster' there is no other way open to her but
l, is that 'hard labour' to which criminal
should be pointed out, that the women being
men' has a restraining effect, and in the

island who had been sent out as

: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 563

Vhat more awful charge against the officials
han in these words, 'There is not a girl over
irgin.' "

and the criminal population can be made
nine years of age on the island who is a

9: Hawes--187-188 T-3
116, 361, 563

"From the delta of the Tim we mad
cluster of huts on the inner side of th
our light craft rocked, and the morni
villages of Nivo [188] (the first, for t
adorned with pine branches, stood ou
dogs, barking and splashing, stopped
ance of strangers. A verst or two be
a tent, and as we waded ashore we w
into the presence of a Russian police

It was a strange, out-of-the-way p
cumstances accounted for his practic

le across the bay in a north-easterly direction t
e dune. The wind was already making itself felt
ng air struck cold on our damp clothes. The
here are two) and Kamavo, with their bear-cage
t prominently on the sandy level, and a crowd o
their fishing to show resentment at the appear-
yond Kamavo our boat was beached, where stoo
ere accosted by two or three Kazaks, who led u
officer.
lace to be stationed at, and only exceptional cir
al banishment to this far-away spot."

Hawes--309-310 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 563

rannize over him, and unfortunately for thos
selenie, or Chief of the exile department, wa

e in the Alexandrovsk okrug, the smotr
as a man of very bad repute."

: Hawes--341-342 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 563

"Compared with the criminal population the r
nsignificant. According to the census of Janua
nd eighty engaged in hard labour they numbere
hough not so terrible as that of their friends in
he Arctic Circle. The greatest hardship [342]
rom their homeland, and the banishment from

Gilyak

umber of political exiles on Sakhalin is
ry 1, 1898, out of a total of seven thousand
ed seventy-six. Their fate is bad enough,
such a place as Sredni Kolimsk, within
that awaits them on Sakhalin is the exile
anything like educated society."

9: Hawes--337-339 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"There is another class of prisoners besides the
the so-called 'free-commands,' or ticket-of-leave
—may be seen going to the prison to get their quota
to the post [LSS: At Alexandrovsk] I often passed gr
skirts and great top felt boots, long frieze khalati (
tell-tale patch of yellow cloth let in the back. These
'wives' of 'exile-settlers;' the others, retained by
the prison, were kept in the building, where they co
window to the right of the main entrance to the pris

The law provides that any criminal with a sentenc
eight months; any woman, not exceeding forty years
or over; and any political exile, at the discretion o
to Sakhalin. The ukaz of 1900, in reference to exile
put an immediate stop to their deportation; [338] bu
labour are not contemplated in the proclamation, th
political exiles continue to arrive on Sakhalin. The
register the desire of the penal authorities; to indic
reserving to themselves the right of dealing with sp
realizing their scheme in their own time.

Criminals on their arrival are classified accordi

soldier-gang and the overseer-gang,
men, many of whom—men and women
of work every morning. On my way
roups of these, the women in short
overcoats), with the diamond-shaped
e were convicts who had become the
the officials nominally for cleaning
ould be seen through the bars of the
on offices.
ce of not less than two years and
s of age, with a sentence of two years
f the Government, may be deported
s, has generally been thought to have
t exiles with a sentence of hard
erefore it is that criminal and
ukaz may be considered rather to
cate the line they wish to take, while
ecial cases in their own way, and

ng to their sentence. Those with a

9: Hawes--337-339 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

sentence of twelve years and upwards are put int
These are mostly murderers, and, if they have
chains are not struck off after the journey, but t
called the kandalnaya turma (chained prison).

The 'reformatory' prison contains those with a
those with less than four years are treated, afte
This latter division includes brodyagi from Russ
years, and the same class from Siberia, who ge

Promotion is from the 'testing' to the 'reform
command' division, the length of time spent in e
prisoner. Under the most favourable conditions
'testing' prison, whereas another may be confine
one may say, that a third of the term is spent in

Strictly speaking, 'free-command,' according
the 'reformatory' gaol, as well as those outside,
clearer.

The arrival of the free-born wife of a convict
prison, and he may [339] forthwith live as a 'fre
full term of hard labour to fulfil. On the part of
comes from marriage—or, rather, her choice b

o the worst gaol, the 'testing' prison.
proved themselves recalcitrant, their
hey are confined to that portion of it

a term of four to twelve years, while
r a short sojourn, as 'free-commands.'
ia, who are sentenced to one and a half
t four years' hard labour.
atory' gaol, and from there to the 'free-
ach depending upon the behaviour of the
a man may pass only four years in the
ed for eight, or even more. As a whole,
each section.
to Russian terminology, includes all in
, but I have adopted this distinction as

will gain even a murderer release from
e-command;' but, of course, having his
the female criminal a similar alleviation
y an exile. This will free her from the

9: Hawes--337-339 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

prison walls, and she may live, as we have seen
hard labour duty is done.

On the other hand, many incur additional sente
violence. A prisoner who escapes and is recaptu
the plet, but may get an addition of anything fron
sentence. In the year 1900 the prisoners on Sakha
numbered 510, of whom 70 were women; but ther
seem, had more than a life sentence. These wer
yet to undergo a term of between 40 and 50 years
one was a woman, had sentences between 30 and
30 years to their credit.

The expiration of a sentence does not bring wit
Sakhalin, for the ex-convict regains his rights or
he must remain on the island as an 'exile-settler
which so few are—to get away, he may go as a '
another six years. Then only is he at liberty to r

, with her 'man' on condition that her

ences by escape, theft, and deeds of
red, not only receives a flogging with
n a quarter to the whole of his original
alin sentenced to hard labour for life
e were those who, Irish as it may
e already well advanced in life, and had
s. There were 13 such, while 51, of whom
40 years, and 240 had between 20 and

th it the long-hoped-for farewell to
nly by degrees. For six years more
; ' and then, if he is in a position—
peasant' to the mainland ~~of~~ Siberia for
eturn to Russia."

9: Hawes--401 T-3 (
116, 133, 563

"The morning after my departure
It is a well-sheltered harbour, with
thirty feet off Observatory Island, a
officers set up their instruments on
position. To the south of this is a sn
east is Basalt Island. Near the south
Kamp a fine lighthouse, then about t
navigation. On the north-western sh
Alexandrovsk post, consisting of a t
assistants, and a tiny church and ba
there. To the north and south stretc
Oroktis. Around the bay the hills ris
clothed with trees, save where the t
lighted by the Russians. It is a lonel
by ice from all navigation, it is only
river Amur, which is itself served b
in one respect was it at that time be
cecting it with Vladivostok was intac
and Steam Shipping Company had jus

aw the Tsitsikar standing in for De Castries Bay.
a depth at entrance of fifty feet, diminishing to
bold islet so named by La Pérouse, because his
it, after a long interval, to determine their exact
nall islet called Oyster Island, and to the north-
nern head stands up on the promontory of Kloster
o be deserted by the pilots with the cessation of
ore of the bay, at the mouth of the river Somon, is
elegraph-office, with the houses of the Chief and his
rracks for the small company of soldiers stationed
h forests, uninhabited save by a few roaming
e to a height of 1100 and even to 1540 feet, thickly
ell-tale brown slopes witnessed to fires carelessly
y spot at any time, and especially in winter. Cut off
accessible to the post by dog-sledges from the
y relays of horse-sledges from distant parts. Only
ter off than Alexandrovsk; the telegraph-wire con-
t. In this secluded spot the Chinese Eastern Railway
t stationed an agent."

9: Hawes--335-336 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"In picturing Alexandrovsk, the reader must
and factories. The chief feature, around which
If there are three or four merchants' stores, a
prisoners; if there are well-to-do-looking woo
cials, they exist because of the prisoners, and
small ethnological and natural history collectio
political exiles. The Siberian traveller cannot
to these banished ones. On the mainland at Mir
much has been due to Mr. Kuznetsov, and wha
these two excellent collections. To one of this
perial Academy of Sciences is now no longer e
museum at Alexandrovsk; . . . . . .[3

In addition to the buildings mentioned, there
overlooking the market-place, or bazar, wher
huddled together, are the Muhammadan mosqu
the bridge the road to the jetty is bordered by
and close to the pristan, facing the sea, are qu
lazaret, where the maimed and the halt, who c
rations. Outside of these, the chief buildings,
huts where the ex-convicts, and in some cases

not think of it as a town with busy shops
the whole place centres, is the prison.
nd an iron foundry, these are for the
den houses, the residences of the offi-
last, if there is a museum containing a
on, that is a sign of the presence of
be long ignorant of the debt science owes
usinsk and at Chita every one knows how
t worthy memorials he has raised in
class, who, thanks to the Russian Im-
xiled from Europe, is practically due the
36]. . . . . .
is the church in the main street, and
e an ill-assorted collection of huts is
e and the little Lutheran church. Beyond
long store-houses, guarded by patrols,
uarantine and bonded sheds, and the
can still work, do a little to earn their
is the great body of small cottages or
married convicts, live."

623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry- which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

● 563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called broydagi (i.e., loafers) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

● 563 hopes, merely from an ungovernable yen for liberty and
177 diversion, although they know they will be only too easily recognized and will only earn a more severe punishment.

563 The hardships and dangers which these unfortunate ones
609 must sometimes endure, especially in winter, are hair-
177 raising and some of the stories which they tell as though they were nothing unusual, sound like epics. A large number of them perish. One of the dangers which they must guard against in the Amur country and the Transbaykal is persecution at the hands of the natives, in which activity particularly those kinsmen of the Huns, the wild Buryats on Lake Baykal, distinguish themselves. To them, a brodyaga is as good as wild game, they aim at him wherever they meet him, and take whatever they find on the dead man. They do this with all assurance for they know that the deed will not be investigated. In recent times this bestial custom has also crept in among the Goldi and the Gilyak. The brodyagi themselves gave the impetus to these animosities. Most of them are perfectly docile, peaceable human beings who are glad if [229] they are left alone, and are therefore little feared by the Russians themselves; they are given a night's lodging, a hunk of bread, and no one thinks of notifying an official. Now among these "unfortunate ones" (1)

> 1. This is what they are called by the Siberians, some of whom are themselves descendants of exiles and have had experiences of their own which corroborate the words of Staël "tout savoir c'est tout pardonner".

there are sometimes real villains who cannot conceal their wolf-like nature. Furthermore, among deportees there are not infrequently to be found people who are simply pathological, suffering from homicidal mania, who belong anywhere but in a penal colony. Such ugly customers make trouble when they escape. There have been cases where entire Gilyak families were murdered even by those who were hospitably received by the natives. As a result, it is easy to imagine that the Gilyak also began playing a different tune. After such precedents, greed and rapacity may now and then also have arisen in the soul of the savage, even though such a refugee would not have been carrying much. Thus the brodyagi now avoid the native villages, and if they are forced to pass near-by, they go in bands and take

● 563 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
609 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
177 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concealing themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

181 **XIII Economic and Social Conditions.**

671 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

556 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
595 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

735 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
438 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
556 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
261 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
● 563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.

464 Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
426 na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

13: Seeland--57 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

164 The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
563 Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have
342 spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe
362

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particularly to external ones rising up from the extensive marshes and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit, (for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive) and especially to the functional construction of the houses. Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate; it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems to be only a limited factor in this question.

164 Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbearable colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.

In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.

Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect, for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
164 a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
293 unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

10: Gehest--2 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

101 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Venukov's
142 observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
563 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
226 had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

796 elder who also det
622 to be killed by the
574 village as such but
the captured anima
796 on this point the ar
777 house to house sev
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796 by their stay. Dur
food, but at the en
voluntary fast by b
to house and fed th
fish, berries and a
796 While making th
563 irritated by being
hunt staged on ther
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the Chinese or Ma
796 Gilyak territory. I
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front legs they tie
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chains, in turn, th
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others backward.
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pletely still by alte
whether the bear i
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796 Outside the villa
417 willow sticks, whi
fenced in on both s
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796 the village, is tie
541 to itself for a whil
231 themselves with th
437 celebrations. In th
a track especially
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not even exist. Ra
since the race ser
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ernines how many and which bears are
consent of their owners, for it is not the
individuals in it who are the owners of
ls. Once an agreement has been reached
imals intended for slaughter are led from
eral weeks before the fixed date and must
ch, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
ng this time the animals get only a little
d of it they are indemnified for their in-
eing taken throughout the night from house
e choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
thick gruel prepared from millet.
e rounds through the village, the bears are
pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
n with lances. The bears are ones that have
g in the woods or bought full-grown from
nchu who are also quite numerous in the
During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
of tying the animals in such a way that
get at their tormentors. Close behind the
a strap around their body to which are
ough which are run iron chains. To these
ey fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
h, in such a way that some go forward and
A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
y are able to force the bear to stand com-
ernately tightening the belts depending on
s turned frontwards or backwards when it
leaders.
ge there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
ch has an opening for an avenue that is also
ies with similar willow sticks. Inside
bear, after it has finished its tour through
between two tree trunks. There it is left
e, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
e dog race almost always held at these
e village visited by Jakobsen they also had
constructed for this purpose, which, how-
long. After the dogs had been led to the
ers and placed next to each other, they
ntervals of a few seconds, but they all
sh about the same time. There is, by the
nning prizes at this race, since such do
ther, it might be called a purchasing race
ves to [illegible] the good qualities of the dogs
nd thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

156 The shamans possess great power over their superstitious subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill. The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself. The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely told that the spirit had taken it.

156 In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous.
164 The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe. This chief was so generally loved and respected that the people refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and was stabbed by his own son.

156 In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that should they abuse their power they will be long and severely punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good shaman who has performed wonderful cures receives after death a magnificent tomb to his memory.

797 The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can
563 succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life. Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony, and there was every indication of good feeling between natives and settlers.

order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin, only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are married off. If after the death of the parents only one daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry, the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by going against the wishes of his wife.

In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general one can draw the following conclusions from what has been said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives; b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, provided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit and have their own property, but in general they are not left as much; however, they have the right to be supported; e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they become joint owners of the estate along with their children.

The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged classes or families. There are families, now and then, who are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also have family names (which are handed down by the males); many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not, are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one, and by this name they are known even among their fellow-tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikias", etc., are usually intelligent lads and understand Russian.

In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever been any among these people. Only personal qualities, either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment. Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit, both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567

567 SLAVERY--presence or absence of a servile class of chattel slaves; number of slaves and proportion in the population; activities of slaves; methods of control; treatment; stigmata; rights and privileges of slaves (e.g., to hold property, to marry, to contract debts); rights, privileges, and powers of masters (e.g., to kill, to sell, to hire out); enslavement (e.g., of war captives, for debt, for crime); slave trade; permanency of servile status (e.g., hereditary, for life); redemption (e.g., manumission, adoption, purchase of freedom, escape, asylum); intermarriage between slaves and freemen; status of children of mixed marriages; etc.; See also:

Enlvement of criminals	681	Prisoners of war	727
Slave revolt	733		

/280 cont./

583 It is a remnant of matemality when the mother's brother played
583 a privileged role; the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin
197 marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

583 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

583 For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond:, signi-
556 fying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the
556 gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer
●567 to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (aina) whom they had purchased with a Japanese sabre for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, is put in it to serve her.

583 The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride
422 price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsoever.

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
614 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /kyat/, kishal
606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
609 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the bread is necessary for each new bear
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
797 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'nr humyjá! Wingan drur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pying-tvysk and pre-
pare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.
Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.
[792] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
[184] on a wooden frame near the lenring where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

●567 The son of a slave remains free to the nèck (i.e., his head
[196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone
[614]

/299 cont./

●567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
[683] when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
[614] replies quietly: "Pilavon k:khal purarś hokhagirn ot' krygrys" (1).

1. Krygrys -- an Aimu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
[195] slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a k:khal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys
[692] is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings/

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys.
[682] A free one is kistylygy n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
[614] is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila kour -- big mountain bear, mer edr -- tiger), fight with him; it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
[162] krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Tashira.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase
[580] of Amiu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/300 cont./

●567 part of their dowry. In buying wives, the price corresponded to
[582] the additional slaves. In 1896 a former slave, about whom we have the following information, lived there. A Nanti brought from Kizi-a Kugi (Aimu) maiden, and an illegitimate child was born. Khuzin's father bought the son of this Kugi (krygrys) in
[435] Kizi. He was 25 years old; he was paid for with nine pieces of silk material (21 meters) at 75 rubles a piece.

This worker served him for five years. Eighteen years ago he ran away to Kizi-a, and then to Ayan (near Nizhneimbovskiy). The name of this krygrys was Kutr. His former master from Khez' summoned him to conduct shaman ceremonies, and he used this opportunity to run away. Now he is an old man and blind. One absolutely must take him back, though blind, feed him, and bury him with their own hands, and then his soul will follow him to the Pilavo (his father, dying, requested this of him).

Chinese girls were bought in a similar fashion. It was necessary to take along 100 sables, 100 foxes, 100 otters, 100 squirrels, 100 polecats, between 10 and 100 black-brown foxes, 100 seals, and 100 bears. The travelers to Sansin were met by a merchant who would take away all their merchandise and, without counting it, would transport it to his warehouse. The visitors would be feted for two days and /301/ questioned in Goldi or through an interpreter. The newcomers would tell their hosts about their wish to get married, then they would record how much each had brought, and they would be taken to the governor. He would provide carriages and food, and they would be transported to the major city (Peking). They would be introduced and accommodated in the palace, assigned servants, fed and looked after like "gentlemen," and taken around the city with an interpreter. Finally whole rows of women with covers over their faces would be lined up in front of them; behind each woman would stand a castrated slave. The old Gilyak would recommend: "A young male slave -- an old woman -- a risk." They would choose right there; they would each be led to a room. A slave would sweep and spread out the bedding, and that very night he would learn his fate. They were painted. He sticks his tongue in the mouth; there are no teeth.

/301 cont./

●567 They would journey back to Sansin with their wives and
slaves; there each was given a one -- or many-masted boat, which was loaded with provisions for ten years, with garments, silks, and so forth, for the entire family. Upon their return the purchased wives would already be pregnant. If a daughter was born, they gave her a slave for her dowry. Those who came to Sansin only to pay their yassak /tribute paid in fur/ (one sable) received two combs, a piece of drel', ten bottles of khanshin, and so forth. Aimu women were bought in this way: they went hunting, brought sables and so forth, and also Chinese goods, and bought wives on the way.

A woman who married into the Jusk'in clan received as a dowry from her father a female slave -- akh, who was provided with a Japanese sword for cleaning her mistress' soles. Then a Gilyak bought her in exchange for his own daughter. Poor fathers (generally) sold their daughters into slavery.

VI.

The Family and the Clan

595 Marriage norms and totemic clans. Clanmen-brothers may sup-
port one wife, but only one of them is regarded as the master, even though both together bought the wife; the second one enjoys marital rights only in the absence of the first.

If they have lived together for one year after another, a husband consults his elder wife as to whom else he should take. And she herself may travel to select a helper from her own khal or from an alien one, and the wives call each other sisters. A man sleeps separately, and each wife separately, or the man in the middle. The elder wife takes care of all the children. The younger cannot give orders to her, and she commands. It sometimes happens that they are jealous and fight. The following go to do the betrothing: 1) father and mother, 2) elder brother, 3) father's brother, 4) husband of father's sister.

/341 cont./

VII.

Miscellanea

148 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Sibel'ka's
199 story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu,
Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and
others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then
took two or three sables per package. /345/ He collected debts
by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding
in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind
of cider to women (see above, p. 180, "Women, Childbirth, and
Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son
went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga
recognized the cast-up body and informed the merchant. But
when the arrived the body was gone; he saw only the tracks of
a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear
dwelt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of
the death. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov
himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight;
no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk
was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill.
But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug,
the water level increasing. This was the fear of those people
whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside
of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without
water.

567 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not
to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygyn (1896). In Kukiyash (?) a krygyn was exchanged
for a woman. In Vayalakh -- a krygyn, Khyrumlu, a limping
woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about,
"she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for
no one wanted to have krygyn children. There were krygyn also
in Tymgik, Tevalih, Kutt. The nix (see p. 222,IV) of Sibel'ka
had krygyn.

/346 cont./

595 pretence of several women around one man in the same room
and in a common household it, in the long run, scarcely con-
575 ceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by
575 vanity to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of
556 polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the
work for their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be
able to favor one or another of them. This means is to keep
slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex,
for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house.
575 These, however, are by no means to be thought of as lone Gilyak
357 men or women who attach themselves to a family and, in ex-
change for free food and lodging, assume the obligation to per-
form the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water, felling
and splitting firewood, etc. There are such domestic persons,
who are hired, so to speak, among the Gilyak, but the situation
567 that they are in is entered into by them voluntarily, it can be
dissolved at will, and it in no way deprives them of the esteem
of their countrymen, nor does it injure their social position with
equal rights among them.

The situation is entirely different, however, with regard
to the slaves. The Gilyak have a special term for them:
kryghysin, or, with a statement of the sex, kryghysyn-umgu --
female slave, and kr.-umgu -- slave of the male sex. It is to be
567 stressed, first of all, that they are never and under no circum-
stances Gilyak, but are always individuals bought from the neigh-
boring tribes, Ainu or Goldi. The Ainu (Kughi) supply the most
slaves, and especially female slaves, to the Gilyak, the Goldi
supply them in smaller numbers, and, to be sure, the "Jani" as
well as the "Tscholdoh," that is, the lower as well as the upper
Goldi. The Gilyak were unable to name for me any other tribes
furnishing them with slaves. Thus, significantly enough, the
567 shameful sale of girls and boys of their own tribe into slavery is
practiced only by the two peoples of the Amur region who are the
immediate neighbors of the two civilized peoples of East Asia,
the Japanese and Chinese, and who are the most dominated and
oppressed by them. It is certainly no mere accident that the

567 /646 cont./

(190) purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
(648) cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less
(181) handy and are lazier and therefore less useful to the Gilyak than
(439) the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in
spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give
cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation
to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no
rights: they are nothing more than domestic animals in human
shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit
and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of
course, all the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water,
splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever
else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to
obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the
house, the housework is done almost exclusively by him, while
the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to
handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they
please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make
the lot of the slaves, especially the female slaves, so hard
among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as
well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which
is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain
excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with
those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he
may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an
intention to marry her. The use of a female slave as a concubine
595 is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak. If anyone did so,
575 558 he would not only lose completely all the respect that the
556 possession of a slave /649/ as a sign of great wealth gave him,
but would risk up a general storm of indignation among his coun-
567 trymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral
austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female
slaves very useful for the household, for in their presence they
cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners
and that, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house,
as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

567 /648 cont./

114 It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Mamia
191 Rinso, either misunderstood the conditions just described, and
567 especially the position of the slaves among the Gilyak, or else
595 intentionally put them in a different light and thereby gave
192 rise to completely false conceptions concerning their domestic
and marital situation. With reference to his stay among the
Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Cape Noteito on the west coast /648/ of
Sakhalin (1), he says that "there it is the custom of the country

1. Cape Noteito is not given on Mamia
Rinso's map as reproduced by Siebold
(op. cit., Pl. XXV), but on Mogami
Tok'nai's map it is shown somewhat
diagonally across from Taba Bay or the
entrance into Taba-Kidai Straits (see
above, p. 968).

that the women give orders to the men, treat them like servants,
and have them perform all the work. He himself, it is said further,
had to bend under the yoke of the mistress of the house, and he,
like the rest, had his daily work imposed on him by her, but since
the mistress of the house was particularly well disposed toward
him, her other men became jealous, and he, who was well
aware of this, was careful not to become involved in things
which he would have had to conceal, but rather occupied him-
self solely with domestic work under the eyes of the other men,
and, as a result of this conduct, he gained the confidence and
esteem of the former, who presented him with meat and fish" (2).

2. Mamia Rinso, "Te-tarikiko," in Siebold's
Nippon, VII, p. 169.

567 It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

/649 cont./

114 of this statement by Rinso, could express the conjecture that the
191 kojaschichi or kojachinchiri of the Kamchatkan women,
192 through Steller and Kraschenninikov (4), that is, men being used

567 4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note.
Kraschenninikov, op. cit., p. 40. See
also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak.
Rather than to entertain the idea that Rinso, as far as I know, spent
114 longer than a few days among the Gilyak, as the Japanese
595 traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this
575 deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's con-
114 jecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there
575 seems to be more reason in favor of his conclusion, drawn from
the same statement by Rinso, that polyandry exists among the
Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast
of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the
world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or
custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the
above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accu-
rate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does
polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the
Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the
"rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house"
in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinso,
whom reviewed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the
report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the
domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the mo-
ment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so
accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./

114 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler c
191 Rinso's report, and gave rise to the vague wording of the report,
114 can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among
192 Smerenkur (Gilyak)at Cape Noteito for an opportune mom
carry out his planned trip to Totats (on the opposite mainla
592 which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and
592 any provisions, Mamia Rinso found himself, in order to stay
alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood
the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a tim
higher, he entered into a definite agreement, as far as I know,
595 mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to
567 accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men
a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to
orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being tre
"like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyand
a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride
vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably
435 vented him from fully and openly confessing in his r
port the undignified and humiliating position and treatment
which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompte
to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the al
595 custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the
Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and sk
extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," wh
actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier tha
those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the co
dark, and sooty earth huts.

Even though Mamia Rinso avoids speaking of slaves i
ferring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he
well aware of the existence of such among them. For he sa

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trac
with the Santanar, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they
"even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, wido

565

565 CLASSES--presence or absence of stratified groups between which mobility is to at least some extent possible; number and ranking of social classes; composition and distribution; basis of differentiation (e.g., wealth, occupation, ascribed status, conquest); class consciousness; degree of class organization; integration of cliques with classes; class prerogatives and disabilities; insignia and stigmata of classes; relations between classes; extent of intermarriage; status and affiliation of children of interclass marriages; special social classes (e.g., royalty, nobles and commoners, bourgeois and proletariat); etc. See also:

Mobility 55
Political statuses 62, 63, 64, 66
Occupational specialization 463
Standards of living 511
Cliques 573
Revolutionary movements 669
Poverty 735

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of
*114 Shternberg convi
● 565 tion among the G
through the spect
class differentiati
nomic laws of ev
of their neighbor

*114 A signific
777 ligion of the Gily
614 about the master
are unwound in a
[776] who is a 'god.' b
persons, wealthy
cording to the ev
'masters' among
Gilyak, also live
the reflection of
views of Shternb
also deserves att
totemism, i.e.,
animal, that cre
thinking, but th
[262] One cannot expl
using the meat c
of killing some

*114 Shternbe
[777] advances his ow
[825] mals (e.g., the
protective relati

[756] In "Gilia
opinion that the

*114 "Obrazts
197 fol'klora" and M
constitute the se
Gilyak; include
Fourteenth Cong

the fact, however, that the material presented by
ncingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked
acles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of
ion the manifestation, not of the immanent eco-
ery society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak
s -- the Russians.
cant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
yak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
s, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki,"
ll their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
ut, just as in each clan there are outstanding
men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' ac-
eryday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there
the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the
in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses
the social structure in the religious views. The
erg on the relationship of totemism to clan society
ention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not
not belief in descent from one or another form of
ated the clan gods, which is the accepted way of
other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
ain the interdictions among the totemists against
f totems in their food by anything except a fear
kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."
g contests the opinion that fear created god and
understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly
onship to man.
ki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his
shaman is divinely selected.
materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
aterialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
cond group of Shternberg's works on the study of the
here also is the summary of a paper at the
ess of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

177 /270 cont./
178 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
556 possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
582 and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
584 differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[565] become related to only rich people. In the question of the
choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded
of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and,
consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even
in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in
matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
178 equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
556 a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
58 women who were famous for their special qualities, who
614 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents,
their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
marriage came to be practiced between members of alien
clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price,
which introduced into the institution of marriage the element
of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of
alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the pro-
cedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.
192 The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
584 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match-
maker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride --
"future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms
for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With
orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and
bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
pu -- husband, and the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh,
[174] which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely
inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure
of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of
orthodox marriage.

9: Hawes--262 [3] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 567, 595

"In olden times the Amur Gilyak bought slaves, w
both these practices of polygamy and slavery the de
harem as to have sufficient domestic help. In one
his old age a young and strong assistant."

who were mostly Ainu women, but in
esire was not so much to possess a
case it was to give the loved wife of

/650 cont./
and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4, often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services, are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Besides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/651 cont./

567 171 In this respect, the situation was, and, so it seems, is even now, worse among the Koreans. Following the accounts of Dutch prisone Witsen (1) reported that they keep many male and female slaves,

1. Noord en Oost Tartarye, Amsterdam, 1705, p. 59.

some masters several hundred, who all come from among their own people. According to Dallet (2), their number subsequently

2. Histoire de l'église de Corée précédée d'une introd. sur l'hist., les institut., la langue, les moeurs et cost. coréennes /History of the Church of Korea, preceded by an introduction on the history, the institutions, the language, Korean manners and customs/, Paris, 1874, Reviewed in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1875, p. 113.

gradually decreased, but the bad custom still exists, in that poor people sell themselves or their children as slaves, and children born to a slave, as well as abandoned children, fall to slave standing, and, finally, there are slaves belonging to the state. There can be no mistake here about the influence of immediately adjacent China, where, as is well known, the same thing goes on (3). Among the more northern Paleo-Asiatic

3. Cf., for instance, Neuhof, Die Gesantsch. der Ost-Indich. Geselsch. in den verein. Niederländen an dem Tartar. Cham /The Embassy of the East Indian Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tartarian Khan/, etc., Amsterdam, 1666, p. 293. Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 128. Iakinf", Kitai, St. Petersb., 1840, pp. 337, 338, and elsewhere.

/651 cont./
peoples slavery originated, as a rule, when prisoners of war, in other words, individuals from a foreign tribe, were made slaves and, in particular, women and girls were captured by the enemy to serve as wives and concubines. This was the case among the Italmen, Koryak (4), and Aleuts before they were

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 235.

subjugated by the Russians. The Aleuts in particular were distinguished by their cruelty to their slaves, in that on festive occasions they sometimes slaughtered a great number of them (5).

5. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. Otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, Pt. II, pp. 83-89.

Wrangel (6) even reported of the Chukchee, who retained their

6. Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i pr. /Journey in the Region of the Northern Coast of Siberia/, Pt. II, pp. 339, 340.

independence and individuality the longest, that among them, and, to be sure, the nomadic as well as the sedentary ones on the sea coast, there is a kind of serfdom or slavery, in that since ancient times the well-to-do have owned whole serf families who are not permitted to move away, have no property, and are wholly subject to the whims of their masters, who use them for the heaviest services and labor and in return feed and clothe them. Wrangel was unable to find out anything definite about the origin of these slaves, but he thinks it probable that they are the descendants of former prisoners of war, and therefore from foreign tribes. The fact, however, that they have existed since ancient times and in whole families /652/ allows one to conclude that the Chukchee, too, keep from mixing with them and do not enter into either marriage or concubinage with their female slaves.

/652 cont./
567 17 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

428 562 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and, [601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, because of her age, [768] there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken [583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 587 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

648 /664 cont./ The following remarks pertain
128 only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their peculiarities.

621 Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak
622 have no legal-administrative structure or organization for self-government: there are among them no individuals provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage no wars with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, etc., they need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or the like. Order is maintained by observing the ancient usages and the traditional customs, and in case of disputes and conflicts, self-help enters in, supported by the rules of blood
[567] revenge. Thus the Gilyak have no superiors or masters in their midst, but rather they are all legally equal, with, of course, the exception of the slaves, who, however, as has been said, are not Gilyak, but are foreigners in serfdom among them. For
[177] the concept of "master," which they first learned from the Manchu-Chinese, they therefore, for both the latter and the Russians, use the Chinese expression dshangin (3). Only once

3. Gerbillon (in Dukalde /Du Halde/, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 385) mentions the term "tschanghin" for a high official who enjoys the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such: it was in the isolated yurt of Miwwach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where the host introduced himself to me as the "dshangin of Miwwach," but evidently he merely wanted to indicate that he was the sole owner of the yurt.

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[108] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
561 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytŷk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time
[556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
648 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
614 and gasyanda—village elders.
622 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
175 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
178 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch
[567] was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tavrradz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

3 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
3 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.

3 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint owners of the estate along with their children.

The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one,
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.

In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ-
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans
do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other
people, but they draw an additional income from their craft.
It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a
shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his
"science". Some, however, become students of another
shaman for a considerable sum, still others become
impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on
them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said.
It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman,
whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one
shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in
self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addi-
tion of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to
make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's
advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove
adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with
great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without
any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow;
beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole
house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in or-
der to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only
enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Neverthe-
less, there are cases where people refused to pay a
shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude,
and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic
practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual
mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more
than intermediaries through whom the official gives his
orders to the community for these starosti speak Russian.

5

572 FRIENDSHIPS--concept
development; formal fri
reciprocal obligations o
Economic partnerships . . . .
Economic cooperation . . . .
Blood brotherhood and other art
relationships . . . . . .

72

ualization of friendship; informal friendships and their
endships (e.g., best friends, guest friendship);
f friends; etc. See also:

. . . . . 472 Relationships with nonrelatives 609
. 476
ficial kin
. 608

Sakhalin

/338 cont./ 752 789 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is surrounded with sticks. [572] [614] [628] [766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will be a god. 766 [775] [776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd. 752 782

574

574 VISITING AND HOSPITALITY--extent and occasions of visiting; social relationships characterized by reciprocal visiting; reception and entertainment of visitors; informal and formal hospitality; offering of food and drink; feasts and parties; etc. See also:

Drinking . . . . . 27 Travel 484
Recreation . . . . . 52 Banquet speeches 544
Eating . . . . . 264 Wedding feasts 585
Gift giving . . . . . 431 Mortuary feasts 765

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond, [262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the [574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and [796] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February, [538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the [261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance [164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

●574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native ●574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without 517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange [484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in 157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 171 174

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely [614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the [595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself 171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All 782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each 796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but 614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This 628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The ●[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/61 cont./

796 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku,
778 the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the
796 arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
•574 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together
614 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry.
[606] Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

796 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called
231 Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/62 cont./

796 231 semifreedom. Around noon it is untied and, held by thongs on both sides, is taken for a walk. This walk, however, gives the bear little pleasure, for from every side they tease it in every way and try to drive it beyond patience. The bear at first lets out some grumbling, but gradually becomes enraged, attempts to attack the people, and gets up on its hind legs, but it is held by dozens of hands, and all its rage is lost in fruitless thrashing. But now, seizing the moment, the master of the bear cautiously steals up, seizes it by the head, kisses it good-by, and, without waiting for a return kiss, speedily jumps away. Most often, however, the bear freely returns the good-by kiss to its protector, who considers himself quite lucky if the clumsy one limits itself to tearing off a good chunk of meat and does not get its teeth into, say, an eye or the throat arteries. A wound inflicted by a bear on such occasions, however, is considered an expression of good will on the part of the good-natured beast. The walk ends in leading the bear three times around the yurt of its master. Beforehand everything living, even suckling babies and animals, is removed from the yurt; only the clan elder stands in the passageway, and every time the bear comes around even with the entrance he teases it with a long pole with an uncut crown of coniferous needles at the end and speaks gentle words. /63/ At the end of this procedure the bear is led to the plot of ground and tied between the two trees which have been ritually decorated. The pole with which the bear was teased is fixed to the hearth, so that its spreading crown of coniferous needles rises high above the smoke opening. After that there is an intermission. The 796 bear is again left to itself, while the people assemble in a 594 dense throng in the yurt of the master of the bear, where lavish entertainment begins. They literally sit on one another's heads; nonetheless the gaiety is extraordinary; the loud talk, the laughter, and the jokes never cease. Only the narkh'i are serious: they bend their bows, sharpen their arrows, and prepare themselves for the crucial moment. Meanwhile all kinds of cold viands are carried in huge troughs on dog sleds to the sacred plot of ground; there are frozen fish of all kinds, rice,

796 Buda, and beans; and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish
574 "the mos', " whose method of preparation I have already d
scribed in the second chapter.

796 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan el
231 or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big sp
on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while ask
to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally
addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Goo
I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quick
your master, and may your master greatly love you." Ot
clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend;
796 small children participate in this kindly affair. After the
[562] break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the except
of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killi
of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- an
range themselves in fighting formation. The master of th
bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an
his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also w
kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i
bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the
val follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy thr
Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied
people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and pl
kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle
ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name o
i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the nar
elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a
796 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been place
526 next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary
petitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more im
role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt
character of a great competition; now, however, it is re
almost to a simple formality. The target is a board place
behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them
clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the
guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows w

ordinarily not in great stra
de on a commission basis.
among themselves they are
debtor dies or becomes inc
atives endeavor to pay off hi
tever of going into bondage
The law of inheritance is ver
perty goes to the children i
he children are under age,
se relative is their guardian
y if it has not been entirely
h children, the property re
the mother is called "the e
ow is childless she keeps a
he fortune, the rest belongs
sed. If she wishes to enter
some other close relative o
d, her second spouse, but i
y keep the estate of their fa
wish to re-marry, she mus
usually pays off in work as
se wife died earlier leaves
usually divided upon the dau
e, the relatives of the bride

its. The Gilyak almost never

very punctual about paying.
capable of working, his
is debts. They know nothing
or slavery because of debt.
y simple. The father's
f they no longer have a mother.
their uncle or some other
and later returns their prop-
used up. If a widow is left
mains intact in the family,
lder" in possession. If the
small part, about an eighth
s to the relatives of the de-
a new marriage, the brother
f the husband becomes, as we
f she already has children,
ther. If she is poor and does
st be helped, and this help
best she can. If a father
a son or daughter, the estate
ghter's marriage. In this
e look over the bridegroom.

/83 conv./

On this day, however, no one is allowed to take the prepared boar meat. This happens the next day, which is called the day of treating the nerkh'i (nerkh-ain-ko). The nerkh'i are thoroughly commemorating along the plank beds, while the bad solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of boar meat. More glorious hons feed their guests with their own hams, stocking into their mouths /83/ a huge piece of fat the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish off what he has started. Only the nerkh'i are allowed to eat bear meat; and his clan are denied this right: they are allowed to eat only a piece of rice or bugle with the fat from the boar's carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended dog and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at times very frivolous songs. Special attention in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered a virtue. Only young women, who yesterday the nerkh'i got drunk two times, ' the master of a bear once boasted to me.

Finally the last day of the festival comes. the day of departure of the nerkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of vasdy prepared for their journey, and clansmen are placed into their sleds. At the last moment the nerkh'i lead several dogs into the part and let them around the plank bed of bone to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a dung, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nerkh'i are lavishly

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In the evening, the nobleman as the sacrifice to Gamsa's father-in-law, and the nobleman as the sacrifice to the Gilyak relative to the good in general. When a whole individual effort, during idleness, the Gilyak make a sacrifice. He will without fail continue his above clansmen even from star, so that they share the energy beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

The principle of common clan defense, the nobleman of the clan, is the foundation of the generation of benefits and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institutions of primitive tribes, that the Gilyak are not ordinary man travelers description, that it must be based on observing more than more superficial and even ordinary sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Gilyak at his own expense manifest the highest hospitality to even his enemy, exchanging with him gifts and entering into friendly and cordial relations — still, evidently, impelled by a more powerful force than simple sympathy, he sacrifices himself for others. And this must be taken the basis of the generation among the great primitive people, the Gilyak clansmen. The principle of obligation to extend hospitality not only to the tribesmen, but even to the actually hungry man, is also a very ancient, very deep, and very sacred law in the relations whether for displaying this feeling. See master Gamsa many times a day, I neither had spread at his hands the starter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the vittals in the possession of the host, not to mention the most tempting tasteful of rebaiche for his pipe.

If there is, in the tribe Gilyak, the best taken from with the guest in drinking a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly clubs and valuables. If, for example, the guest, the chief of the tribe would allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put it up to it and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the village, and only after the course of three, [illegible] the pipe returns to the owner. In the meanwhile, he is obliged to [illegible] the pipe. The hospitable

/86 conv./

very great sin, one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share eddies. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for our own, the best the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties. We see, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-ancestors. It is not by chance that in all the tale "beath" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master spirit of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not sin. Man is single thing that takes place in the house. Man, we have seen, are the ordinary mediators between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the hospitality of the house.

But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of [illegible] gods-clansmen, are not distinctly reciprocal "regalia" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If that does not find expression in a purely commercial form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of economic life so good and so easy, that there is no reason to be wisely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for commercial transactions and exchanges. Yet the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in sea bear, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

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Or, one or another family is temporarily impoverished. Of course, there is no question of any "poor relief" in this case: it is unnecessary, because the family will find hospitality and assistance in any house there, among the close, even of the most distant clansman, until the hard times change. And this is not offensive to anyone, for it is a rare thing for someone neither to enjoy hospitality or refuse it to someone else from time to time.

Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and expensive funeral. There are neither collections nor contributions organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each family provides for the funeral of its own relatives, and, if necessary, each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is a little richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrangements. Everyone takes to the preparation of vittals and purchases; they meet at his house to share in the preferential work. During the hard times, dozens of additional people can find a sensible from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not only the people, but also the relatives and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, this work could not take formal shape in such complexed organizations as the plantation and tribal. The gift of hospitality is very simple. Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social hospitality which led the clan to organize relations onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/117/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which exist between the gens' clan, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak take his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real forms.

First of all, there is the obligation of mutual assistance and hospitality. Each clan has its own [illegible] and [illegible] organization existing within the clan to the blood ness', the extension to them of fair treatment of the clan matter

/122 conv./

belong to them by right through the female line: "Tymgi, (non-in-law /yan'n/ must be fed" — such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

This rule, however, does not find expression at all in obligation of the ashmak's to support his son-in-law /yan'r/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of maternality when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan of her husband. Nevertheless, in-laws, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a quite important role in the mutual relations of the clans.

It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last summer before the hard times, the ashmak's, the son-in-law /yan'r/ there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled yan-ion kettle. Into it the ashmak's and his family place a big bible price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle hanging on the handle of the kettle. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle; the former represents with the father-in-law, the outer kettle — the son-in-law /yan'r/ /yan'r/. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the ashmak's, the same ceremony is repeated upon their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nach (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nach yvhyrgr (trampling of the nach). It is also called lymyr'n-ioni — trampling of the nach. The principal idea of the obligatory rite, in the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymyr'n-mang — an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-father, the guardian petion of the home, whose

/122 conv./

blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite, the ashmak's presents the bridegroom at a festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of the bear pre-ashmak's and his yvgi each one beside himself as an and a kettle, which are also called nach and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

The gens' clan bonds are expressed in periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some peculiarities. Generally, the ashmak's visits his son-in-law, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to her yvgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage. The son-in-law, in turn, generously entertains the ashmak's, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for the ashmak's and his family, between the ashmak's and his family there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled yan-ion kettle. Into it the ashmak's and his family place a big bible price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle hanging on the handle of the kettle. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle; the former represents with the father-in-law, the outer kettle — the son-in-law /yan'r/ /yan'r/. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the ashmak's, the same ceremony is repeated upon their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nach (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nach yvhyrgr (trampling of the nach). It is also called lymyr'n-ioni — trampling of the nach. The principal idea of the obligatory rite, in the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymyr'n-mang — an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-father, the guardian petion of the home, whose

/127 conv./

Bu yvan yin yvan ok

in the same village in marriage with each other. In ignorance, when a clan involved in war proves weak, the nerkh'i assist it to the end. The nerkh'i are bound to protect their kinsfolk with the same settlement as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tribunal may the nerkh'i not participate. Still more, sometimes, perhaps, are the mutual relations in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are nerkh'i to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our opinion that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

Such are the relations between the ashmak's and yvgi clans, relations which bear the features of the mutual aid of the clans and extend in sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is the whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which are so characteristic of primitive man and tie and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people and humanity. The same Gilyak ashmak's is partner dog, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the bear, the ashmak's, representing the clan; and at the last moment the yvgi performs the ceremony of the "sampling of the thimble" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man, they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "ceremonies" hospitality, invitations to hunt, and festivals.

They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live among the Tungus, the Dzhai, and the Ainu. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan. Nevertheless, /127/ clansmen are commingled with their yvgi or ashmak's /127/. But these ties prove of

/128 conv./

This rule is so strictly observed that the very text who has been slight in receiving and making presents to his yvgi is not even invited by the latter to festivals, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own ashmak's. Thus there is formed an attitude of the yvgi, which is an entirely series of clash in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

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/127 cont./

reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the Gilyak refuse to render his hospitality to the Russian who has wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representative of which answer for one another.

for clan clamence — just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /133/ their own Russian-minded, but isolated acts of clan not do so at all change their personal relations with members of other clans. Of course, among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national prejudice, or, they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with the Russian, sometimes giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even among those who otherwise live in more remote regions. That the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to regard the Russian as the Ochook alone as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to harm, is nothing in the person prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expedition of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russian nothing other than tigr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless conduct and deeds, for example the "the fortize of fortize" of valuable for pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian peasants, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with the humanity and tact of a civilized man.

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We can now resume it.

By their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward an /134/ though only potential, the "father-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "father-in-law" sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily again their time in the mountains, hunting, fishing, and fishing in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies, and where the hunting bounty, "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns home, they always give him, in addition to /137/ the usual gifts, also his share of the catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "son-in-law" is the most honored guest among the persons who have been invited, and it is considered the duty of killing the bear is performed by the "son-in-law." At such a time, the "father-in-law" are obliged to consult with other's and in case of ceremony.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a poetic primitiveness, ascribe to the relations of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

From the kinship terminology we know that the clan of the "father-in-law" is considered by the Gilyak as the clan from which a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which ever his kinsmen have taken wives in the past. Thus, each man can have several clans to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

/140 cont./

kinship relationship. Among the Gilyak there are very few cases when opposite sex relations are allowed to other persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since the bride-price is frequently distract profits from work at home. Reproaches were also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations of a special nature, about which we will speak later. (1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the responsibility of the father of the child. For ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no secret and do not pass without a trace. There is a Gilyak saying of puberty and devote all their labors. All their thoughts, to the attention of the parents, in reference to the matter of marriage, shall see, flash is possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the bride-price, have no time to think of anything material tribe. Here, so reports Shternberg, /141/ the Gilyak, the young man, the young man's kinsmen, the young man's clan, the young man's tribe, the young man's tribe, the young man's tribe

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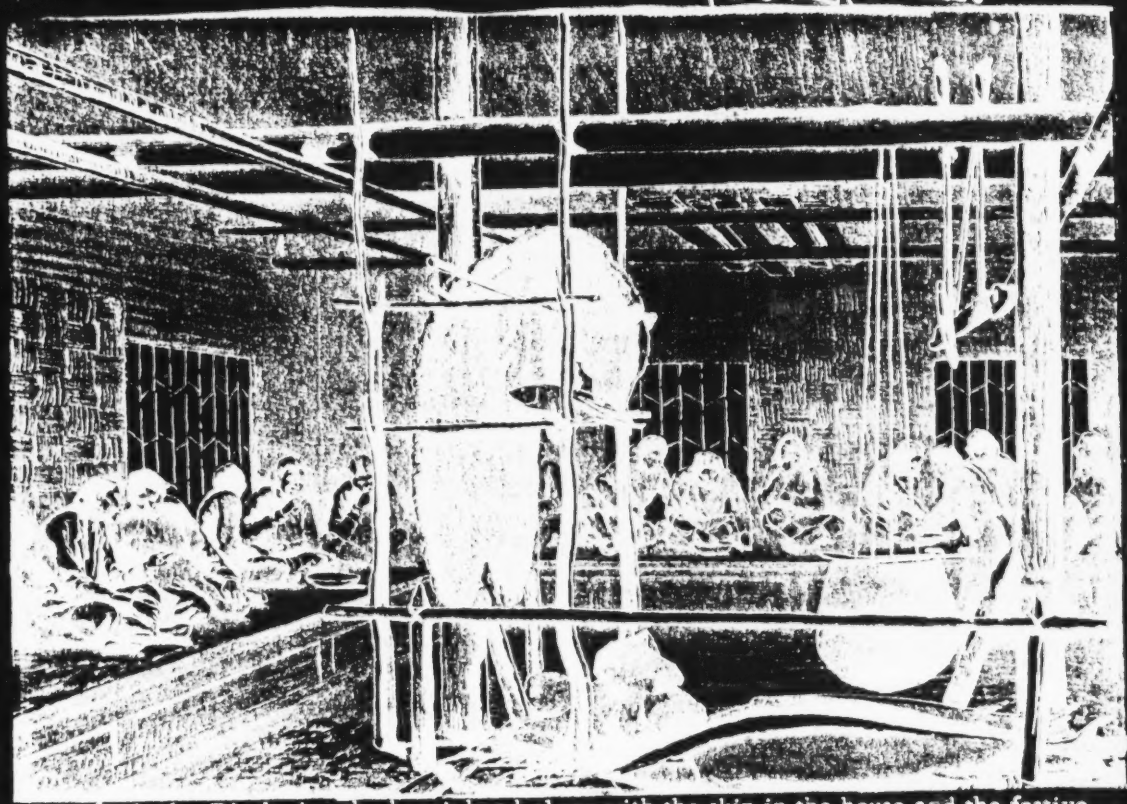

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

225 has hung something in front of the seal. Th
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at h
787 relations with another man while her husba
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise en
784 course. When they witness some such thin
our Gilyaks will, after returning home, be
and later on find out from neighbors in the
really happened. Now, suppose you cook s
and pick your teeth with a little stick, then
sea will show how you picked your teeth wi

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, wh
jump from floe to floe close to shore and k
poons, those at home must not break any o
or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break
say, the father, brother or son, may drow
at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong
will not get his seal. Then he returns hom
to find out what deprived him and his frie

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove
825 of kes, 'god'; a point on which I did not wa
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, kn
on at home?" he told me. "Surely kes mu
about it. That is why we say that kes exist

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with
784 told me that the mrolv-nivev 'ancient Gil
574 following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a s
must not touch the handle of a kettle or tea
master of the house (in the past as well as
could pour out tea or any other liquid food
even by mistake, the guest touched the han
teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of m
and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegibl
remember, Pletunka spoke of a hea

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks o
552 hunt different types of seals. They also ca
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following var
seals: Pila-la r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i.e.
given year.

2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal'
old sivuch or one born in the previous yea

/426 cont./

262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both quali-
252 tatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the
825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma
262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113]

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running
574 through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak
264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches,
262 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4)[1] with
412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

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1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

/427 cont./

264
171
113

1. (cont.)
unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiedy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

*262 484 594 when a Gilyak undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his countrymen, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

/469 cont./

1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8) and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is attached to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one uses the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

(See category 116, p. 1014 - Analysis)

/639 cont./

462 Since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible excursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does not take place until toward evening, for then is the time when the men return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the twisting thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are sometimes done provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing battlebeds and sleigh-boxes, and so forth out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
423 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated construction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter, putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation of a tenant for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be erected for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 929) with its 11 wall pieces (f-g) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

/668 cont./

685 cigar minting. I had even greater confidence in the latter.
123 Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop
[122] erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chimney over my house, which were covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Sakhalin for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak Mradamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

[574] Hospitality, too, is based on the national principle. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me. They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned about their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened me with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior to my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the Gilyak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which they could see that I meant well, I was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there was also a very great difference between the attitude of the Russian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: as soon as the cry "nibach! nibach!" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwan) was used to scrape and beat the snow from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/670 cont./

[574] took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village
574 to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when
bad weather taken him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for him, no matter how late it may be and how, moreover, he has to stay there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

In my case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler in danger. During the several days of bad weather which
[114] I spent in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which civilers generally the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the consultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us.
[159] After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the
[123] certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/671 cont./

others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-
[82] poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved
[184] dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at
[187] the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a
574 house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with
a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather
[129] from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this
[159] is also the case in the Russian settlements. Instead him, too,
574 With me they likewise constantly came and went without a
salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrâstwuĭ" and "poschtschâĭ"
[159] learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu
[123] and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Sanssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the
574 word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon.
I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to
me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the
[123] certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/697 cont./ From now on
[122] it belongs, so speak, to the whole village, for all its members have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor, ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The bear festival, then, is a very important sense is a communal festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear is the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course, within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host, he must make the more or less opulent one by adding to the culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mosaj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or cowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only in the form of ice or snow. The long pipe (Gilyak: nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.1259/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mosaj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling in

/699 cont./

[796] After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the
[123] village of Tschomi by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Iokin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, primarily to purchase for the festival the necessary tobacco and brandy.
[114] I was with my friend and later colleague at the Academy, Czekanowiczwicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allei, we entered Wasi about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place. One of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little tree which stood in front of its entrance wall on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it
[797] bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon, which we saw rise before Iokin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wasi. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always
[574] associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

/708 cont. /

(2000) house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
(856) principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been men-
(B34) tioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall
of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the centre area
and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore
call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quanti-
*796 ties of fresh fir branches (from the fir Picea jezoensis, Gilyak twin)
(824) are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this
last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festi-
val, which may be one of the attestations of homage which are given
to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them.
Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of
burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
*796 leading of the bears finally commenced. After they had made their
(23) last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place
of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak,
and arranged side by side in front of their hearth, the stakes standing
in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again
the same so that the small bear was closest to the building in the
back of the kadhra, the ilagu, the large one in the middle, and
the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody
*796 went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had
set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round
wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the
central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood.
The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench
*B04 along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such
an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule,
it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/709 cont. /

*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
*S74 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because
it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On the floor,
(123) as Judin told us, there are even more of such to be observed than
elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to
make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw
some sketches of it from there, he asked us why we gave politeness
to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other
place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
*B16 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them
in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones im-
mediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the
bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path
on which the women moved from one end of the bench to the
other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the
left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl
had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc.
The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that
of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple
of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
(619) this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in
other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him,
while the maternal /710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the
friends and acquaintances, participate in the meal, judging
*796 by the quantity of food and bowls that traveled back and forth, it
(B4) was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Neverthe-
less, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another
house in order to eat more. Thus we visited one house
throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host
probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly
younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around
and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause
after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.
*796 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women
S41 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

/720 cont. /

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate ball.

*796 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead
(177) swelling (illewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in
(177) superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine,
(B4) and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished
(B4) them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, accord-
*796 ing to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among
(B4) the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the
*796 (B4) toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been
(B42) shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete
(B4) innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give them-
selves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden
bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and
arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants
in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench
*796 (B42) of honor. First, a sti, which probably was one of the sacred
(B4) utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the ilagu
the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon
to the guests. While they were eating it simple circular

/721 cont. /

*796 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-
(574) ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,
(574)

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the
serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each
*796 side of the ilagu a man was busy lifting one plate after another
(574) from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat
on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large
hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped
the aforementioned groats into a trough and served it on the plates
which were then immediately taken back again to their places.
This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server
got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a
piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each
side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed
a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them
to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two
sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the
ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured
back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the
feast. Indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone
then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house
where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical
(142) meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a
meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had
yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the follow-
ing day.

This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the
previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the
presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already ap-
peared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of
(187) honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely
(533) enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed
so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

/722 cont. /

*796 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the
(574) departing guests, to be taken along by them during by -- only
(574) bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this
in their mops as provisions for the trip.

Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog
*796 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon,
(53) however, for the first and only time the women actively partici-
(53) pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance
(171) to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild
rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding
in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers,
and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and
contortions of the body, in relation to the lower part. It
vividly reminded Dittmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka
women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was
drumming instead of singing. Dittmar was also reminded of the
and niche, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators
(B4) jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of
*796 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because
(B4) the Gilyak are very serious and sedate than the men
and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and
(B02) activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high
spirits induced by liquor, for this it, or was at the time of my visit
among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals,
a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2. See p. 719 above.

*796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is
(B4) much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely,
that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a
bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that
in the eyes of the Gilyak the shamans are of the shaman would
disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over
the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause
bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

/722 cont. /

It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/
who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might
easily mistake it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the
festive meals as a matter of principle.

The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting
*796 goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives,
(114) friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear
meat and fat lasts; in Tebach, Judin told his guests, Dittmar and
I were told, it would last for many days since three bears had been
killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13)
the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in
exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to
Nikolaievsk.

As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previ-
ous year (1886) to witness this second part of the bear festival, con-
*796 (114) ducted in a similar way with the usual ceremonies, in the village
of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essenti-
ally from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Dittmar's
report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the
adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a
brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with
reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five
*796 (114) versts below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in
the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it
decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the
Gilyak for an international bear festival. There, however,
(B78) opposite the ilagdre decorated with the bear's head and skin and
with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha
jarmanati), a second rack quite similar to the first one but some-
what smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its
thelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered
bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passage-
way between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off
by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the
whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

/734 cont. /

I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of
*796 the animal was already being eaten, that is, toward the end of the
(114) second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on
the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the
muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the
owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portion
still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them
or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one
trying to snatch a piece of meat here or there with his knife. One
of the members of the household was collecting contributions from
the diner: in a little trough in order to give them to the women
and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were
carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur
Gilyak, when this time comes during the feast, formalities usually
cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled
around informally in the passageway. In the village of Mamchu-Chinese
products, cereals and legumes, such as is customarily served to
guests in the Amur villages in lavish amounts, seemed not to have
preceded the feast, as is the case in Tebach and Tyk, and the bear and
bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of
these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur
Gilyak and Olcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable
that in Dui, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated
amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration
took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the
latter, at which lacking other food, dog were eaten, as has al-
ready been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

*796 of cynophagy among the Gilyak.
(114) It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen
of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all
kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accom-
pany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up,
one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially
in the region with early yurts exclusively, that is, along the

9: Hawes--258-259 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 574, 577, 888

"The Gilyak expects and finds a welcome almost everywhere, since he has relations, members of his khal, at every other village. Hospitality is not a virtue, but an obligation, and few there are who take unfair advantage of it. The guest of to-day may be the host of to-morrow. Those who are too aged to hunt are supported by the exertions of the younger generation, and even they can slice and [259] clean fish in the season. There was one notable exception to these old people, who did travel, and who having no relations nearer than the mainland went about begging. Of him the Gilyaks were very much ashamed, and I feel almost guilty of a breach of confidence in making public this skeleton in their cupboard. His proper name was Poeikan, but he can no longer be called by that, for he has disgraced it, and so he goes by the title Pillanütsich, or the 'Grand Old Beggar.' "

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 elder who also deternines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their involuntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand completely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it wants to attack its leaders.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, however, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the track by their owners and placed next to each other, they were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

ll, 501, 574

s just in time [252] to take a snapshot of a fami
ternoon call, in other words, to borrow some s
See Visual File category 501] On the gunwale o
rs to be an outrigger, but is really a Y-piece f
cham-gash, which is the name the Gilyaks giv
pulated from a canoe."

ly leaving in their canoe to make
eal-oil and take a cup of (brick) tea.
of the canoe will be noticed what
for resting the seal harpoon in.
e the harpoon, is used on the ice or

Amoor line is closed up, the telegraph circuit around the globe will be complete.

The telegraph is operated on the Morse system with instruments of Prussian manufacture. Compared to our American instruments the Prussian ones are quite clumsy, though they did not appear so in the hands of the operators. The signal key was at least four times as large as ours, and could endure any amount of rough handling. The other machinery was on a corresponding scale.

A merchant who knew Mr. Borasdine invited us to his house, where he brought a lunch of bread, cheese, butter, and milk for our entertainment. Salted cucumbers were added, and the repast ended with tea. In the principal room there was a Connecticut clock in one corner. and the windows were filled with flowers, among which were the morning glory, aster, and verbena. Several engravings adorned the walls, most of them printed at Berlin. We purchased a loaf of sugar, and were shown a bear-skin seven feet long without ears and tail. The original and first legitimate owner of the skin was killed within a mile of town.

In addition to his commerce and farming, this merchant was superintendent of a school where several Gilyak boys were educated. It was then vacation, and the boys were engaged in catching their winter supply of fish. At the merchant's invitation we visited the school buildings.

The study room was much like a backwoods schoolroom in America, having rude benches and desks, but with everything clean and well made. The copy-books exhibited fair specimens of penmanship. On a desk lay a well worn reading book containing a dozen of Æsop's fables translated into Russian and profusely illustrated. It corresponded to an American 'Second Reader.'

There was a dormitory containing eight beds, and there was a wash-room, a dining-room, and a kitchen, the latter separate from the main building. Close at hand was a forge where the boys learned to work in iron, and a carpenter shop with a full set of tools and a turning lathe. The superinten-

576

576 ETIQUETTE--greetings and salutations; obeisances; compliments; concept of courtesy; general patterns of etiquette in eating, drinking, smoking, visiting, and travel; deference to status superiors; noblesse oblige; breaches of etiquette and the resulting social sanctions; etc. See also:

Drinking etiquette	27	Intentional impoliteness	578
Patterned behavior toward kinsmen	60	Informal social control	626
Sexual etiquette	83	Court etiquette	644
Table manners	264	Diplomacy	648
Postures	516	Propitiation	782
Polite conversation	521	Religious ritual	788
Sportsmanship	526	Training of children in etiquette	867
Chivalry	562	Treatment of the aged	888

/35 cont./

83 577 825 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 [829] The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

•[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 601 835 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

174 601 835 614

/65 cont./

796 504 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while th host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of

•[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fa the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish

[262] [614] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bea meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 264 576 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vom it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 533 273 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspende log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts

[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guest drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterd the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed

[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/105 cont./

*614 628 537 [436] what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the [171] [789] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 628 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/189 cont./

602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual, 602 who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the ad- 195 dress is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For 193 example: "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian, 602 Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural num- 193 ber, which is commonly used in addressing old people and [576] [554] honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in addressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

/189 cont./

G 602 576 171 The prohibitions on speech have had another curious result. The Gilyak have no salutation for greeting or saying farewell. It may seem strange that the Gilyak, returning to his home after a long absence or leaving his family for the long months of hunting and of danger, utters no salutation. Yet the Gilyak are very ceremonious and /190/ always greet and escort their departing guests with solemn forms of address and expressions of good wishes. The neighbors of the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi, as well as the Ainu, have salutations for meeting and parting. Their absence among the Gilyak arises precisely from the fact that in the home and settlement of every Gilyak there is a mass of persons with whom speech is a sin, and therefore the customary greetings could easily lead to frequent involuntary violations of the psychic taboos. Prohibitions on conversation, as is well-known, are practiced among many peoples. We shall recall, for the sake of an example, one of the American peoples, the Arapaho, among whom conversations between brothers are forbidden. The prohibitions among the Yukagir are of special interest to us. Of the prohibitions which they have in common with the Gilyak, we find among the Yukagir prohibitions between "brothers" and "sisters," between the husband's father and mother and their daughter-in-law, between older brothers and the wives of younger brothers; and, as among the Gilyak, in cases of necessity, they address each other either in the third person, or in the impersonal form, or in the plural (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

G 602 171 8 602 582 174 335 The Buryat present examples of an interesting analogy with the Gilyak prohibitions. Among them at the present time marriage is exclusively individual, and "brothers" have no sexual rights whatever to each other's wives. Nevertheless, prohibitions with regard to the so-called khadym clearly reveal an earlier stage of group marriage. As a result of this

/273 cont./

584 675 Even without invitations, however, there are always witnesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of [686] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to court, and this results in a large fine.

584 576 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot conceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement. [203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/273 cont./

584 576 him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the host needs; after that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

[114] [171]

1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the father's deprecatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers toward the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men decide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side unashamedly enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

583 584 184

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable ones of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

/274 cont./

584 583 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request, therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the business would quickly end, for the old woman was very needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning, namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations, I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur. The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men, old acquaintances.

584 583 539 [203] [576] After the customary exchange of news, after drinking some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have come through need, it was necessary to come to thee. It is a matter, a big matter, when the need came, do thou come

/281 cont./

583 584 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry. Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 614 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging [686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 686 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price [576] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/671 cont./

82 782 789 others were to follow (3). This method was at least more purposeful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

576 [574] [127] I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too.

576 177 648 [123] With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrástwui" and "proschtschâi" learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Ssanssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

576 574 But what surprised me even more is the fact that the word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/672 cont./ with regard to me,
however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I, too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not thinking now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer, perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, several buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

/688 cont./
the traveler and puts a low table and a basin with glowing embers (jachalacco) beside it; indeed, he may even light his pipe at the embers and offer it to the guest in the hope that the latter will do likewise -- clearly customs borrowed from the Manchu and Chinese. In the meantime, the women have taken the baggage of the traveler from the sled and have brought it into the house.

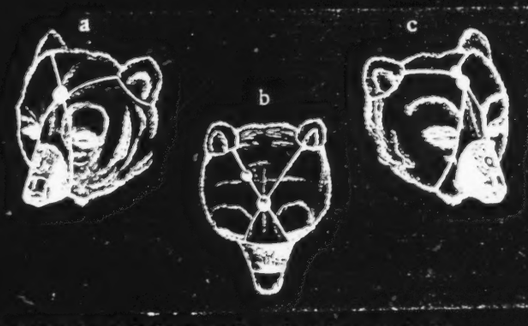
In the houses of the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir one is very pleasantly impressed by the lighter atmosphere so much freer of superstitious restraints. Despite many contacts with them, I never heard any Olcha or Goldi expression for the Gilyak uïtsch, and none expressed in reiterated shouts from all sides of the yurt as a sign of general displeasure, such as happened to me so often among the Gilyak (1). They are much too modest and reserved

1. On the basis of the many uïtsch in the Gilyak yurts I likewise made the observance of three uïtsch mandatory for the Gilyak who frequented my house in the Nikolayev post. Namely, they could not: 1) sit on my bed, 2) spit in the middle of the floor, and 3) smoke their own tobacco, but only mine -- an uïtsch that they accepted gladly.

they are much too modest and reserved
for that. Finally, I must note a sign of more humane feeling or at least more civil formality among the Olcha and Goldi: the expression of gratitude, which appears so utterly alien to the Gilyak, I think I heard repeatedly among the former in the expression fodomonero.

In my time, the situation among the Goldi in politico-administrative respects was different than among the Gilyak and Olcha. Even after the abandonment of the trading center of Deren, the Goldi, like the Samagir and the Orochi, remained tributary to the Manchu-Chinese government, a situation which did not come to an end until 1858, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun between Russia and China and the subsequent

/720 cont./



Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehea swelling likewise on the head of the bear venera by them in superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divin and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, accord ing to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up amon the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have bee shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give the selves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of woo bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the benc of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it, simple circular

/721 cont./

796 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-
574 ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,
262
415
576

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each
796 side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another
574 from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat
576 on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates which were then immediately taken back again to their places. This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured
562 back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the feast, indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a
262 meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the following day.

796 This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the
574 previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the
262 presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already ap-
576 peared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

● 576 /721 cont./
* 796 on it raw and cooked bear-me
574 well as a small heap of fine w
262 first bear meat that was eaten
[562] gradually everybody present i
[855] pated in the meal, indeed, e
[415] ceived their share of it, in th
the diners with bowls of a spe
and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1

[104] 2. The s in this
like the French z
because of its sim

and collected contributions to
children. The quantity of be
therefore very great. What w
that the guests had, they wra
fir branches and took home -
to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation

The gnawed bones, o
the kettle from which the co
the meal came to a close, a
hand stationed himself at the
each one, drove out everyon
bear meat and fat -- an act
[859] punishment for the misdeed
outside, however, those who
[533] for here they were greeted w
which the boys pelted them,
[184] ously on the suspended beam
aftermath also took place in
third bear lived. Here, too,
individual heaps of food -- s

eat and several strips of bear fat, as
wood-shavings (zach). This was the
. The portions were very ample, and
n the house or newly arrived partici-
even the women and children re-
at a few young people walked among
cial shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5,
-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

word is to be pronounced soft,
. The bowl is called ans-tymyk
nilarity to a hand (tymyk).

be divided among the women and
ear meat and fat consumed that day was
as left over of the portions /722/
pped up in the fine wood-shavings and
- a package that the Gilyak are said

which I myself did not hear.

n the other hand, were put back into
oked meat had been distributed. As
old man with a fir branch in his
door of the house and, gently striking
passing through it who had eaten
which was supposed to be a sort of
ommitted against the bear. Once
came out were less gently treated,
th a cross fire of snowballs with
while the women drummed vigor-
. An identical meal with a similar
the house where the owner of the
just as before, quantities of small
urgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

/722 cont./
796 574 262 576 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this in their mops as provisions for the trip.

796 53 562 171 Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon, however, for the first and only time the women actively participated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of 796 562 157 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and [293] activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2. See p. 719 above.

796 756 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of he Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

/35 cont./

833 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he
777 transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous
425 act are killed, being considered werewolves.

The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves
602 for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with
829 regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

194 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange
601 facts come from? How can we explain these complex and con-
835 fusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law
194 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
601 clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
614 of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which.

/249 cont./

831 It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the
839 sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must
• 579 differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors. The former, when at home in their own settlements, are more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other hand, the married women are surrounded with so many temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity, the more so since far from all marry for love or persons of their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with extramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything abnormal, since for the most part they take place between group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm of primacy, as concerns excesses among married people, must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak, "you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women you will not find a single one."

Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among
836 the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extrava-
831 gances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman,
538 Pigunajka, who before her marriage was having affairs with 14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

/254 cont./

832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
826 from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both
609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhra -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but
832 also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree,"
826 luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek),
533 gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
832 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
291 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered
533 with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability
832 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ivukh'a, i.e., re-
• 577 spected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer. Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the
[869] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
• 577 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
143 hermaphrodites (miskunj in the eastern dialect, miskij --
826 in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of
[588] hermaphrodites are a common event.

/367 cont./

000 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
777 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[054] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
• 579 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
773 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

/367 cont./

577 783 673 688 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/ that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to [682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other [821] [829] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 775 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight [764] [764] with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/562 cont./

224 prey in their region and at the same time the animal that most pleases their palates and that, because of the festivities connected with eating it, also plays an especially important role in their social life. Striving, above all, to capture the animal alive, they eagerly search in the fallen snow for where a bear might have its winter quarters. When this has been discovered, a number of courageous and strong men band together, in order, equipped with the required paraphernalia of rope, chains, pikes, etc., to surprise the sleeper in its lair, disturb its rest, fetter it, [579] and lead it into captivity. Needless to say, this cannot be done without a fight, and however skilled the usually experienced bear-catchers may be, more or less serious wounds not infrequently result, which, however, are borne more easily than others by the Gilyak, because they are regarded as especially honorable and lend the one concerned an aura of manly fortitude. 224 Nevertheless, the frequency of the bears kept in captivity among 231 the Gilyak indicates that the outcome of the battle is usually or often successful; there is scarcely a village of any size in which on a trip through the region, one would not see one or several such animals. If the place where the bear was lifted from its lair and fettered is not far from the village to which its captors belong, it is simply taken to it in its fetters by ropes and put in the prison kept ready for it. For greater distances, however, the sleds on which the hunters came also serve to take their booty home. The fettered bear is put on one or, if the route permits, even on two sleds put side by side and tied together, and is brought to its new domicile in a triumphal procession amid the loud cheers of the sled drivers and the barking of the many, passionately excited dogs. The nature of the bear's prison and the treatment of the captured animal will be discussed later in speaking of the bear festivals of the Gilyak, but at the moment 224 it is primarily only a question of its capture. The battle with a bear disturbed from its rest does not always end in its being fettered. It often defends itself so tenaciously and vigorously and is so dangerous for its adversaries that they find it necessary to put an end to it with their pikes and lances. In fact, the latter happens

/636 cont./

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier [556] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

591 592 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 592 the central room used by all the members of the household, with 342 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

577 171 As little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, 577 Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

/637 cont./

577 no doubt that the greater moral austerity of the Gilyak is tied up with character traits in which they excel beyond these tribes, namely, their greater energy, self-control, and moderation, which, as has been pointed out (1), they also show in their

1. See above, p. 719.

577 drinking of liquor. On the other hand, however, in comparison 177 with the other Amur peoples, the Gilyak were always in a more 648 favorable situation with regard to morality inasmuch as their dwelling sites were the farthest from the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, and the latter do not have any settlements in Gilyak territory. How demoralizing an effect they have upon the natives is evident from the fact that the Japanese and Chinese always come, the former to Sakhalin and the latter into the Ussuri and lower Amur region, without their wives and, supplied with liquor and other tempting commodities, try to acquire concubines among the women and daughters of the Ainu, or the Orochi, Goldi, and Olcha. It was therefore to the advantage of the Gilyak, not merely with regard to trade, but also in connection with morality, that they refused the Chinese traders entry into their territory, just as it was also evidence of their /638/ farsighted shrewdness and energy (1).

1. See above, pp. 145 and 948.

With the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians in the fifties, conditions changed, much to the disadvantage of the Gilyak, for this occupation began precisely in their territory and they were the first and the most drawn into close contact with the new civilized peoples approaching them from the north, a contact which, with regard to morality, could only be detrimental to them, as it always is to a primitive people in such instances, and as subsequent reports from there abundantly prove. But I shall return to the conditions and situations which I myself witnessed.

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the 577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposu such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

577 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly am 836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but a 848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has 849 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tri to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child an [562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the c is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

839 Although contracted by purchase, and in part becau 593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriag [587] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfacto course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husba jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against givin her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing 586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbin the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the hu if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on he own accord. In this case she may by no means count on friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

r that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin, the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are ried off. If after the death of the parents only one ghter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry, man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by g against the wishes of his wife.

the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general can draw the following conclusions from what has been : a) the children take precedence over other relatives; e brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro- d the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their and; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the est relatives is very common; d) women may inherit have their own property, but in general they are not as much; however, they have the right to be supported; idows can demand their own share, but usually they be- e joint owners of the estate along with their children.

e Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged ses or families. There are families, now and then, who held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or use their ancestor was founder of the village, but they no real privileges of any kind. Such families also family names (which are handed down by the males); Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which ded the name of their village, to distinguish them from ders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not, given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one, by this name they are known even among their fellow- smen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually ligent lads and understand Russian.

like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever any among these people. Only personal qualities, r bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ- certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a in esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment. rd aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is sionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit, he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds s cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

577

577 ETHICS--abstract ethical ideals (e.g., truth, righteousness, justice); ideals of individual virtue (e.g., honesty, loyalty, industry, courage, temperance, tolerance, filial piety); notions of right and wrong; conception of conscience and character; incidence and causes of, and attitudes toward breaches of ethics (e.g., lying, cowardice, flouting of kinship obligations); conflicts between ideal values and practical considerations; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Punishment of social offenses	689
Law	67	Military virtues	703
Ethos	161	Professional ethics	693, 759
Industry and sloth	461	Philosophical systems of ethics	812
Esthetic ideals	517	Ethnopsychological concepts of character	828
Organized vice	546	Chastity	831
Informal social control	626	Sexual modesty	834
Civic virtues	641	Inculcation of ethics	867
Crime and sin	673		

"We halted at Vanka's native village, Kherivo, whe
him. There was apparently no outward sign of affe
undemonstrative, and as I have already said, does

re his mother came down to greet
ction between them, but the race is
not salute."

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[848] Playing a role he
[847] volved with a ma
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husband and she l

k youths were often perplexed about why I so
about these relations between wives and the
husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to
in amazement: "Could it be that among you,
ans, it is no so? You mean one could not live
one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative
uld dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well,
d law!" And they would look with disbelief at

ture, of course, is the same everywhere; even
ttacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of
ories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind
e of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brothe
is rival move to another house or to another village
e sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a gen-
d attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of
ficult to find a man or a married woman not vio-
ocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially
and only considerations of an external nature force
skance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters.
ere is the fear that the daughter will become in-
an who is unsuitable with regard to his property
des, that the child born to her will be outside the
o will have to be killed.
these considerations, however, there is no moral
ist the violation of chastity. And yet it is the
e to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness
al morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we
edience to certain rules generally accepted in a
e Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual
ith regard to persons who are outside of the group
ip, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing.
us Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have
a clansman of her husband if he is not of the
u, even though the seducer is younger than her
likes him.

Hawes--258-259 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 574, 577, 888

"The Gilyak expects and finds a welcome almost ev
embers of his khal, at every other village. Hospital
n, and few there are who take unfair advantage of i
st of to-morrow. Those who are too aged to hunt ar
e younger generation, and even they can slice and [2
s one notable exception to these old people, who dic
ions nearer than the mainland went about begging.
ch ashamed, and I feel almost guilty of a breach of
eleton in their cupboard. His proper name was Poei
that, for he has disgraced it, and so he goes by the
d Beggar.' "

erywhere, since he has relations,
lity is not a virtue, but an obliga-
t. The guest of to-day may be the
e supported by the exertions of
259] clean fish in the season. There
l travel, and who having no re-
Of him the Gilyaks were very
confidence in making public this
kan, but he can no longer be called
title Pillanütsich, or the 'Grand

9: Hawes--300-301 1-3 (1901)
116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense
nearest approach to it was a prescripti
place snares along certain creeks. Th
freely recognized; but they would have
and backwaters by the Tungus and Oro
they would have simply gone elsewhere
and tracks for snaring had been made
sanctioned by time are seldom transgr
prowess of the pioneers, yielded little
according to the number of snares whi
a dispute arose, and was settled by re
duels. In the latter case the disputants
straight blade; but as they were alway
batants were parted when either becam
a fatal ending."

e of the word the Gilyaks have no conception. The
ive right, sanctioned by immemorial custom, to
e right of all to roam over the land in hunting was
resented the placing of snares in chosen creeks
chons, although, rather than provoke hostilities,
e. As among themselves, the division of the creeks
in olden [301] times; and the customary boundaries
essed. The abundance of game, coupled with the
cause for quarrel, and spots were simply annexed
ch the owner of the hut possessed. Here and there
ference to the klenu, the elders in council, or by
fought with a weapon like a hedge-bill, with a
s surrounded by a goodly concourse, the com-
he exhausted, and the duel was not allowed to have

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
609 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
177 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had be-
fore that behaved properly. The causes for that may be
found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated
individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain
extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. How-
ever, this fact has in recent times been badly misused
and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have
pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to
put themselves in the place of strangers as well as
fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one
must remember that, where strangers are concerned,
moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of
pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever
make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that
tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed,
vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
177 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
682 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
627 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le
Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by
way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was
robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But
this case was and has remained an exception. The
village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants;
at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or
eight men took part in the crime, of which none is
living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are
caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives
of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge;
now, however, they usually file complaints with the
Russian administration. [226]

548 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
837 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
684 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself
be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself
is not too much offended, provided only that there
are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity
have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not
taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself
completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

578

578 INGROUP ANTAGONISMS--prevalence and importance of antagonisms within the society; sources (e.g., economic deprivation, sexual rivalry, political repression, ethnic and religious cleavages, rigor of socialization or social control); expression in individual behavior (e.g., snobbishness, intentional impoliteness, ridicule, insults, vituperation); prevalence, causes and forms of quarrels; participants (e.g., husband and wife, business competitors, rival claimants to property); manifestations (e.g., verbal exchanges, fist fights, duels); reaction of onlookers; repression and control of aggression; etc.

See also:

Social stratification 56
Family antagonisms 59
Ethnocentrism 186
Economic competition 477
Wit and practical jokes 522
Rivalry in sports 526
Lying 577
Avoidance relationships 602
Moiety rivalries 618
Social control and gossip 630
Informal justice 627, 628
Torts and crimes 673
Slander 683
Litigation 691
Sorcery 764
Cursing 789
Religious persecution 798
Quarreling and fighting by children 857
Control of aggression in children 865

/178 cont./

* 835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a
woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak
youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often
and so persistently about these relations; they considered
them so commonplace that they should not, according to their
way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked
me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you?
Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not
permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
* 835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
● 578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival
or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns
/179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been
a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions
that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power
over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirta-
[182] tions of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between
brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger
brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for
the purchase of wives.

* 835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another ad-
vantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers,
the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent
from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own
wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak,
with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are
too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured
ooo against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

* 835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
● 578 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by
such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there
only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak
companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was in-
vulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
* 835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an ob-
servance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when
an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds
of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her
sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and com-
pletely disregards her obligations to her individual husband.
In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to
move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
* 835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequenc
Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a
great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy.
I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I
happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski,
but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A
certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to
me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual
success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too
openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[594] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all.
Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in
debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/180 cont./

*835 male virtues. Nevertheless, his older tuvn in no way reacted to
●578 even this breach of etiquette. Only at the instigation of his associates did he resolve to challenge him to a duel, but Lokhmatka absolutely rejected this flattering proposal. Then his rival hit him with a cudgel, but Lokhmatka did not react even to that, and since, according to Gilyak custom, it is prohibited to beat a man who does not defend himself, his rival had to let the matter rest, while Lokhmatka continued his public relationship with the man's wife just as before.

*835 Never once among the Gilyak did I chance to observe how
578 an individual husband reacted upon finding his wife in flagrante
171 delicto with one of his brothers. But one may get an idea from a scene which I observed among the Orochi where the same rule operates with respect to the wives of brothers. Once I happened to be spending the night in the tent of the richest and most respected Orochi, Ivan Kuznets. In the tent, besides Ivan and his wife, there chanced to be spending the night a very distant kinsman of Ivan's, the youth Timoshka, who was a very poor and thriftless lad, but a great lover of women, preferring to go visiting and lovemaking to any economic cares. In the evening our host left to look for elks, and Timoshka, without any ceremony, got under the covers of his young hostess. They did not expect the old man until morning. But meanwhile an unfavorable wind had interfered with the hunting, and Ivan returned earlier than might have been expected. Entering the balagan, Ivan lit a splinter and caught sight of Timoshka, taking his place in the conjugal bed. From
[152] the proud and hot-tempered Ivan one might have expected -- especially against poor Timoshka -- the most furious outburst of jealousy, the more so because his wife was considered a prize beauty, and he was already at an age when jealousy shows itself particularly strongly. Nevertheless, Ivan limited himself to swearing a strong Russian curse-word, after which Timoshka, smiling embarrassedly, moved over to his own place, while Ivan, groaning, lay down beside his frivolous wife.

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
● [578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
674 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/302 cont./

● 578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[431] a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

/303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
578 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
614 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back,
627 but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

595 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
835 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz'? ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az' tongz' shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

9: Hawes--238 1-3 (1961) 1963

116, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] Th
foams at the mouth, and sings the orders of th

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick ma

The first syllable in each line is articulated
slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is mad

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or
he may ruin the whole family by his interpret
to bring all their dogs and everything that the
times human offerings were demanded."

he eyes of the cham are like flames; h
e evil spirit—

n well.'
l quickly, and the last vowels in the lin

e to end in a—aa.

has any spite against him or his relati
ation of the spirit's demands, forcing t
y value most. It is even said that in ol

116, 177, 578, 692, 756

"His [LSS: The cham or medicine man]
losing ground, as the Gilyaks come more i
said to a Russian, 'A cham tells very man
'Then why do you call him in?'
'He is needed. If he got angry it would b
It is true that it may result badly for the
divine anger to fall upon his head; but whe
accused of crime, the cham may remembe
the last word, he can make the punishmen

moral influence among his tribe is certain
into contact with the Russians. One of them
y lies.'

e bad for us,' was the answer.
Gilyak, not because the cham can cause t
n the Gilyak has a misunderstanding, or is
er his [240] omission or insult, and as he h
t very severe."

As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among themselves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that, having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
794 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
796 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
841 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
754 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

rule, offerings were made in the open air, always on deserting our camp-fire for the consumption of the deity. Not only were they the god's due, but the ful of the rite brought good luck, and the omission ill-luck. All misfortunes are ed to the anger of the god. If the Gilyak is unconscious of guilt, then it must en some of his kindred who provoked the god to righteous anger; perhaps it wa , who had failed to guard the honour due to the hearth by allowing somebody to n it, or to leave the hut with his pipe lighted from the sacred fire."

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents;
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consen
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by t
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, be
cause they know that, according to the Greek religion,
marriage must be permanent, and they would consequen
in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's prote
However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help
much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who
have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are
forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where
they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is
more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and broug
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burnin
This custom which is known to exist among other primiti
peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the p
ent, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter
ing the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-
child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which
vives such a test must be strong. The mother also prov
this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. D
ing her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted t
come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No o
could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most pr
bly it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of th
woman, but it is related to another superstition of which
shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some
hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity"
underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the wom
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths

/191 cont./

601 174 158 178 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.

But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates, for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

602 211

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 601 582 174

Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/252 cont./

831 533 The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself. There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

831 584 593 762

831 58 593 762

(849)

831 58 158 (682)

/253 cont./

831 58 159 instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo. The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

58 182

835 762 831 533 The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solution. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago. A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

835 762 831 533 533 538

/261 cont./

584 585 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female. It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

(601)

58 182 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move, the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister, said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

585 (582)

(675)

585 583 (178) (184)

/262 cont./

583 585 178 184 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a very insignificant one.

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

195 196 58 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, khgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root ay), with the corresponding addition of nigyvyn -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (je -- him + avind).

(197) (184) 1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/263 cont./

195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
• 58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'avind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: n'ig:yvyn' n'enyn' pyr:k pavrà -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice àjvund -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
[174] etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
[591] follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system
[171] of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term g:end -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

196 /263 cont./
195 /paterniteta/, with the wife moving into the house of her
• 58 husband. At the present time the original meaning has disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree
[171] that often for the expression "to get married" there is added
[174] to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would
[591] mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being
196 supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of
58 marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menakh vavin kuil itynd, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ajvund is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, menyn ruvn an'g:ej n'enyn' ajvutà -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several
178 remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony
606 of this is found in the contemporary formula of common
591 marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymg:ii
174 arinkh jag:n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although,
607 according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

[171] Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

/266 cont./

177 To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the
• 58 matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who,
[173] judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the mass of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of
[171] marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible
[601] to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

/267/ XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

582 We have already had occasion to introduce in another
538 place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the an'g:ej the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

58 Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the
[538] maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/267 cont./

• 58 we find one and the same picture of concluding marriage
538 without any formalities. It is merely necessary for a man, even though he may come from far away, even though he is only by hearsay considered a candidate for being a son-in-law, to state the reason for his coming, and he immediately receives the consent of the parents, and after that all the rights of a spouse, and on the very next day he may take his wife home with him. And that is not all; not only do they not demand any compensation from him, but usually the father-in-law even provides the departing ones with generous
[593] gifts. As a matter of form, it is true, they ask for the consent of the daughter, but maidens usually obey the will of their parents and the demand of the law. The sole rite which
585 inevitably is practiced is a kind of Roman confarreatio, but
538 in the most primitive form: the groom and his bride must eat and smoke together. Here is an example of the procedure of concluding a marriage from one of the poems taken down by me. An old woman, the mother of two daughters, asks a young man who has arrived: "Son, why have you come here? Did you come to seek a wife? Your wives are over there in that pile yurt, your wives are there, go!" Our Gilyak ascended to the place, went in, and two young women were there. He sat down between them; having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, she took, she smoked; he then gave to the older sister, she took she smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All three ate together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they arose early, ate, our Gilyak /268/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go!" Having spent the day, on the next day they went back in a boat (1).

1. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, pp. 118-119.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs, etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry- which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called broydagi (i.e., loafers) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

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579 BRAWLS, RIOTS, AND BANDITRY--prevalence and causes of brawls, types (e.g., drinking brawls, gang fights); running amok; incidence and types of riots (e.g., bread riots, race riots, political riots); methods of control; manifestations of mob psychology; incidence of organized violence (e.g., banditry piracy), etc. See also:

Political corruption 66
Strikes 468
Organized vice 548
Police 625
Social control 636
Lynching 637
Feuds 628
Revolutions 669
Punishment of disorderly conduct 689
Martial law 722
Warfare 726
Petty delinquency 738
Children's gangs 857

/418 cont./

000 however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
301 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
17 Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
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[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[199] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

301 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this
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MARRIAGE--general statements dealing with several specific aspects of marriage. Marriage is a socially sanctioned relationship between a man and a woman involving economic cooperation and residential and sexual cohabitation. The culturally patterned norms of this relationship regularly specify who may and may not enter into it, how it may be established and terminated, and what each partner may and may not do within it. As a relationship, marriage is to be distinguished sharply from the family, the social group within which it is typically embedded.

/129 cont./

114 595 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamio Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

• 58 [595] To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak marriage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife [591] is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

/130 cont./

• 58 [591] agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and 59 [85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, [551] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former [553] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives [684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. [614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 121 125 [59] In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a type of individual family which is generally accepted as being patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With [114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

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*835 Such are the relations between the categories of group pu and an'g:ej. Within his own clan, the Gilyak has at his disposal the dozens of wives of his "brothers." In the clan of his akhmalk (and there may be many of these) dozens of daughters of the "brothers" of his mother are at his disposal, and finally, outside of these clans the sisters of the wives of his most distant tuvn, and the wives of the sons of his "mother's" sisters, belong to him. And since, in addition, due to the contemporary conditions of life, his own clansmen and the members of the clans of his akhmalk are scattered throughout the most remote settlements, there is hardly a place where a visiting Gilyak could not find his lawful an'g:ej. One may say the same thing about the Gilyak that is said, mutatis mutandis, about "kumi" and "kroki," who throughout the whole extent of their territory find everywhere a lawful wife for themselves.

*835 595 • 58 Thus, every Gilyak usually is joined in a dual marriage: 1) in the customary individual marriage with one or more women either from the class of his an'g:ej (in this case mainly with the daughters of his mother's brother) or with women of alien groups; this form of marriage among brothers sometimes takes on the form of purely communal polyandry; 2) in a group marriage with all the women of the class an'g:ej, where sexual intercourse with some of them is accompanied by joint cohabitation, a common economy with their individual husbands, and takes place more or less regularly (most often within a common economy of brothers); or else this right of sexual intercourse is potential and is exercised only insofar as is possible and not regularly.

*835 191 Thus, we have to do here with the typical group marriage, examples of which are known to all among the most diverse peoples of the earth. An extremely curious, typical analogue in the life of other peoples is the marriage system of the Australian Dieri tribe (1), among whom both aspects of sexual

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology

/191 cont./

*174 60 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tuvn, although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's broth and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-la the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the unmarried ones, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him have come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be *174 explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and • 58 logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious 60 [783] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. On the other hand, under the [108] influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was distinguished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certain places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now we must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norms of marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown that these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminology. In other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminology is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage system. This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all change [108]

instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not hold more than thirge. It consists of a flat and hallowed-out small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artifully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forgig is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no practical value because no one thinks of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried, and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides, there are too few women. The beginning of a /126/ marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not consist of money, but of certain necessary items: weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the bridegroom last a rather long time, a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

It is curious, although not altogether unique customs are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband", sometimes, however, she remains a few more

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening of sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the parents of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 23 years old and complained that her husband was 14 years old(yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders who had their they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during pubertly, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23-25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. /127/

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
562 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinct humanity. party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually strikes with his quiver and takes her away. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

/31 cont./

595 period in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
595 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
595 the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
635 to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
587 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
589 rarely two or three wives, who come into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
851 succeed him after his death. Nobody but the man is a father; he
851 is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
851 of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
684 itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
684 of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

583 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
583 in their yurts and hunt with them for a long time, and one does
583 not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Nevertheless, a certain amount of mutual assistance and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
725 encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gel). Likewise, a whole group of men call a whole group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (yik), and these call the former their children.

/149 cont./

III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

83 Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kin-
121 ship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extramarital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain physiological need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion. Outside of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Young men of a given clan, having rights to the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien usurper and roundly teach the stranger not to sneak into a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very rarely, for adultery or some serious affair if a married woman is involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a
684 married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the
684 custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of
684 penal retaliation prevents the husband from killing the
684 slaying), which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
684 ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her
684 thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her;
561 in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman
684 is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, having cost her husband money, and further more she is a necessary worker.
684 In any case, the matter is not settled without repremand, bloody

/156 cont./

835 and designating the wife of the younger kuvn by the prohibitory term john; and, correspondingly, sexual relations between a man and the wife of his younger brother are not permitted. Notwithstanding the dominance of this term at the present time, originally both the terminology and the norms of intercourse were apparently identical with respect to all the wives of brothers without distinction. Evidence of this is not only the fact that in certain places, as we have seen, this arrangement still prevails, but also certain features of the terminology which have been retained even in those places where the new order is dominant. Thus, for example, children everywhere without distinction call the wives of all the brothers of their father ymk, i.e., by the same term that they apply to their own mother, and (in many places) all the brothers of the father yik (father), from which we must conclude that formerly the sexual rights of men extended to the wives of all brothers without distinction.

The norms of lawful sexual intercourse. From the kinship nomenclature we conclude that whole groups of men call whole groups of women their wives, and vice versa, i.e., the latter call them their husbands. This strange nomenclature fully corresponds to actuality; in the language of our own European institutions, such groups of men and women are joined in marriage.

But before entering into a detailed examination of these relationships, strange from a contemporary point of view, it is necessary, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to analyze precisely the meaning of the term "marriage."

In the institution of marriage there are three main features: 1) sexual intercourse, 2) begetting offspring, and 3) common /157/ domestic activity. It is completely clear that the intrinsically indispensable element in marriage is only the first, namely, sexual intercourse; the other two features, although they, too, play an important role in the marital union, may be completely absent. There are marriages which, on account of natural or artificial causes, are

/157 cont./

12 58 childless. Furthermore, there are marriages which do not pursue domestic aims. By itself alone, however, sexual intercourse between certain individuals of different sex, even though it may be regular, still does not constitute a sign of marriage. In order that sexual intercourse be transformed into a marriage, it is necessary that this be sanctioned in one form or another by a given social environment, that it not provoke a social or religious reaction, in a word, that it be lawful.

12 58 The lawfulness of sexual intercourse, then, constitutes the criterion of marriage. On this point, the concept of marriage is similar among the most diverse peoples in the most diverse stages of development. If there are variations, it is only in the degree to which sexual intercourse is realized, in marriage. It is just these variations, often so contradictory to the notions of contemporary society, which most of all obscure the idea of marriage when one chances to encounter the forms of sexual intercourse among primitive peoples.

A true understanding of the institution of marriage among primitive peoples is obscured most of all by our habitual notion that marriage invariably presupposes joint cohabitation of husbands and, consequently, the manifest and regular realization of conjugal rights.

Among many peoples, however, alid not only primitive peoples, but even highly cultured ones, this is not manifest at all. Among the Spartans, for example, the women lived apart from the men, and meetings between husband and wife took place under compulsory secrecy.

12 58 This is the case, even as a general rule, among many contemporary primitive peoples, among whom are found the so-called "unions of men." These latter, including also the married ones, spend all their time in a common house where women are not allowed, while the wives and children live in special little houses. On the Fiji Islands, married couples can spend the night together only in secret. We find similar phenomena even among peoples where male unions are unknown.

/157 cont./

12 58 For example, among the Ainu, when women get married, they often remain in their father's house, and the husband, 12 58 instead of taking his wife home, sometimes at a great distance from the settlement of his father-in-law. /158/ visits his wife only at a certain time of the year. Among the Kirgiz, until the final payment of the bride price, the husband, sometimes for years, visits his wife only at night, and then in secret from her parents. We do not find regularity even among polygamists of the Mussulman type. The Turk may have in his harem women with whom he does not have sexual intercourse for years. Nevertheless, they nevertheless are considered wives, joined with him in marriage. The condition of joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse is still less possible among primitive peoples, according to the socially established order, a whole group of men considers a whole group of women their wives, and, conversely, a man exercises his right only as far as possible.

Within the Sudan Dieri tribe every "kunu" (a term corresponding to the Gilyak nu -- husband) finds his "koaka" (wife) throughout the whole extent of his territory, in whatever settlement he visits. A kunu may live out his whole life without seeing one or another of his innumerable koaka, but she is nevertheless his wife, for, if he visits her settlement, he can exercise his right without subjecting himself to social censure, condemnation, the gossip, or a reaction on the part of the individual husband of his koaka, as would a non-kunu who did this (1). The potentiality of lawful sexual intercourse

1. Pinon and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, 1880, pp. 340 f.

takes various forms among different peoples, but the legal essence of the relations remains the same. In one place, persons bound by such a form of marriage are invested not only with rights, but also with obligations, in other words,

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In another party has no right to refuse sexual relations with a person who is entitled to them. For example, among the Chukchee a woman may not refuse a man joined with her husband in the collaborative marriage, or a brother.

Among others, full scope is given to individual sympathies, as, for example, among the aforementioned Iunit and Iteln; among the Tungus people, among the Gilyak, where the agreement of both parties is demanded for sexual intercourse, but once this agreement obtains, intercourse becomes lawful. In essence, what we have here is the same phenomenon as in pure polyandry. A husband may have a wife, or a brother, even completely avoid a certain wife, but the marriage is present nevertheless. It is the same also in group marriage: in spite of the separation of the Iunit, the marriage of the group spouses and the clear potentiality of conjugal rights, lawful rights of sexual intercourse within the group, and consequently also marriage, is present.

/149/ Of course, joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse are the most normal for marriage. We observe the tendency towards this, although in varying degrees, among the most diverse peoples. Cohabitation, however, must not be confused with the tendency toward individual possession. The instinct for sexual possession and the sexual sympathies indeed pushes even primitive man toward establishing more or less durable conjugal bonds. But pairing-up presupposes neither obligatory sexual possession nor, what is more, obligatory joint cohabitation. We have already offered the example of the Aino, whose wife often remains living in her parents' home, sometimes several days' journey from her husband. Among the Aino, however, marriage is purely individual. All the more, it is the rule that all the aforementioned conditions among those peoples where group forms of marriage exist, or where the tendency for sexual relations is extended are many, and for this very reason joint cohabitation and, consequently, the regular coupling of the right of sexual intercourse between all the persons involved in the group marriage rarely take place.

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Individual wife always lives in one house with her husband, works with him, raises children with him, and is obliged to follow him from one village to another. At the same time she has the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has arrived at a certain equilibrium, because, from so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection, the individual inclinations of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason, along with irregular marital relations, individual unions appear, also sanctioned by custom. As arrangement of marriage, there is a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage, and those who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by a common economy and common upbringing. At the same time, however, to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly, often demands conditions of secrecy, and usually presupposes the consent of both parties, and the fact of intercourse, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized, lawful and, in a certain sense, obligatory, and allowed social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations from one another, and, more specifically, to distinguish them in contrast to coincides also with the juridical views of those people among whom these institutions exist. /151/ First of all, the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellative, is indicative of the fact that the kinship terminology imposes on the participants in a group marriage the same obligations, as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus, for example, when an individual husband dies, one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow, even though he may no longer be capable of sexual

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intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually are also considered the children of all the members of the group. Yet, as we have seen above, this is not the same case in the Tlingit, where the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has arrived at a certain equilibrium, because, from so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection, the individual inclinations of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason, along with irregular marital relations, individual unions appear, also sanctioned by custom. As arrangement of marriage, there is a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage, and those who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by a common economy and common upbringing. At the same time, however, to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly, often demands conditions of secrecy, and usually presupposes the consent of both parties, and the fact of intercourse, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized, lawful and, in a certain sense, obligatory, and allowed social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations from one another, and, more specifically, to distinguish them in contrast to the juridical views of those people among whom these institutions exist. /151/ First of all, the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellative, is indicative of the fact that the kinship terminology imposes on the participants in a group marriage the same obligations, as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus, for example, when an individual husband dies, one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow, even though he may no longer be capable of sexual

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on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individual member of the group, his or her brother (his sister), are joined in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his mother's brother, in other words, the daughter of every man belonging to the same of his sister. Thus, the kinship ties from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and, finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the classificatory family, that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to understand this vital need in the early stages of human society, every thether obtained for her son the daughters of her brothers, in other words, all the women of a clan obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of her brothers, and not the sisters of her brothers, or the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, or the daughters of the mother's brother, in other words, in accordance this principle had in its practical application.

/154/ Thus, the daughters of the brothers belonged from birth to the son of the father, it was most natural that the future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their wives-to-be. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriage, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Terminologically, the relations between the children born from both children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

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relationship of pu and ai(ai-e) toward each other (1).

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the argument of Letourneau of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Slating of Courtship," Anthropological Review, 1897).

2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the sexual desire for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the women. It is a fact of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal distribution, in the sense of the sharing of women, already discussed, a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable transitoriness and distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination. -

The individual wives of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. It also requires a distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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Thus there was created that type of individual group marriage which we see among the Gilyak, and among all primitive peoples, and which is the basic type of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This type of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /155/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest case is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, between men and women, simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But a la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost impossible. Sooner or later the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother separate into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants is greater than the number of women of the same age in another group of descendants.

2. Let us take another instance: one brother and one sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal sharing, as it is described among many peoples and appears to typically in all the descriptions of the Tibetans, become inevitable. This is the situation among the Gilyak among epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the conjugal rights with the sister of the other: "in Tiber, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (Sg. Afong the

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group tights to the wives of his elder brothers, who in their time enjoyed his wives. In the majority of cases, therefore, the wives of the younger brothers are the wives of the wives of the elder brothers.

3. That is, we have taken the simplest combination -- one brother and one sister. Where there are several brothers and several sisters, the consequences will be similar, but will assume a more complex form. If there were always the same number of sisters and brothers, and if each brother had sisters born in succession, and if each sister made offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Usually, the sons of the eldest brother of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes is not possible. Let us take some examples. Let us take several examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. The sons, of course, will be the husbands of the daughters of the brothers. Thus, the sons of the sister will be the husbands of the daughters of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, where, where the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but also of the female fair cousin as well.

Finally, women did not always have brothers, and the latter did not always have daughters, and then, naturally, it was necessary /157/ for resort to the adoption of first and second cousins. In a word, into a marriage group of the offspring of a brother and sister are inevitably drawn, on the one hand, all the cousins, brought up to the most distant degrees, and, on the other -- the collateral sisters, and thus there is multiplied the number of marriageable women and brothers, on the one hand, and own and collateral sisters on the other -- the typical paralus family in its purest form.

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Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession; the brothers, of course, have the right to share the wives given to another. As for the children, either they are not distinguished at all accepting to father, or, as in the case of Gilyak, they consider the children born to the marriage of the eldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

3. The same situation is a non-fatant: the first brother has reached marriageable age before the second. The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his and sister born in succession, and, if each brother made offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Usually, the sons of the eldest brother of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes is not possible. Let us take some examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. The sons, of course, will be the husbands of the daughters of the brothers. Thus, the sons of the sister will be the husbands of the daughters of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, where, where the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but also of the female fair cousin as well.

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As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by marriage, just like the Aino, furnished them with chiefs. Some influence was also exerted by Japanese in the marriage relations of the women of the neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into Aino territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes of trade and frequently brought Aino women back to their homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus people also roamed among the Gilyak and entered into marriage relations with them or carried off their women. And all this these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has been exerted by Japanese colonization. Nevertheless, the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there was no such stimulus for accumulation. The Gilyak, unlike them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or successful man was to have many wives with them. Trade with the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. The appeared new valuables which it was impossible to conceal from the wives, and the husband had to accumulate and accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possessors of valuables, and men who did not have the means to purchase them. In rich men there was born a consciousness of their wealth and their importance, and together with it the ambition to become related to their equals. Formerly poor people there arose the temptation to make the marriage of their daughters a source of the accumulation of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the daughter was given without a bride price, became superfluous, and the marriage of the daughter of the rich man was sold to the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the conversion of the marriage transformed the structure of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' family together with

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alth, although it only amounted to the
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here appeared on the scene a tendency toward
The rich man desired to associate with and
to only rich people. In the question of the
there appeared new dictates. One demanded
he be from a family of equal wealth and,
f an equally high social rank. And now, even
ylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in
lings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
ousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
e famous for their special qualities, who
for their beauty, their domestic talents,
sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
to be practiced between members of alien
er simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
on the scene the new institution of bride price,
d into the institution of marriage the element
; besides this, marriage between persons of
anded preliminary negotiations and the pro-
thal. We now turn to these institutions.
rothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
is terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
ement about the bride"; hence, the match-
han who makes an agreement", bride --
room -- "future husband." For us, the terms
ide are particularly interesting. With
e there is no special term for groom and
ing to the right of birth the groom is called
nd the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh,
wadays to designate the bride, is entirely
n orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
arriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
s, the term itself shows that the procedure
e after the weakening of the regime of
arriage.

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595 ●58 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

614 173 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

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1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 839 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

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85 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-
38 groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered, arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

38 Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a
84 town with many people, and, when he went into the center
85 yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest, from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57, 58, respectively are not indicated in the text./

582 Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly
581 seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmalk'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."

84 Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially
78 undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/268 cont./

582 origin from a common mother). The favored and most frequent form of such an orthodox marriage is a marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of a sister /sic/.

584 Such marriages are concluded in childhood. Negotiations
585 take place /269/ between the mothers soon after the birth of the children, but after the agreement a public ceremony is organized, in which, besides the fathers, the grandfathers of the children who are being married take part. The father of the groom brings a male dog, and the mother spins two threads out of the fur of this dog and a nettle; with one she binds the hand of the little girl, while with the other the father of the groom ties the son's little hand (1). All this is

[171] 1. It is curious that among the Haida the ceremony of concluding the marriage of infants, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a dog, bears the technical designation, "nakladyvanie perevyazki" (Engl. "putting the string on"). Evidently this ceremony, as among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out by means of a binding up with string or thread, just as is done in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

● [581] The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present
584 is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right and obligation. When a marriage from the akhmalk clan is
582 arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have only recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that some kinsman took his wife from that clan), negotiations are usually begun with words like this: "You are my akhmalk, let

/369 cont./

797 baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized
[171] Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their
[171] attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make
[178] sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

● 581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.

581 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of
684 a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring
684 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

597 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
849 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

839 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
● [581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

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582 REGULATION OF MARRIAGE--minimum and average age at marriage for each sex; postponement of marriage (e.g., for economic reasons, to enable an elder sibling to marry first); marriage laws and regulations; physical and mental bars to marriage; endogamous and exogamous restrictions; primary marriage preference and practice (e.g., with a cross-cousin, hypergamy); explanations and rationalizations of marriage restrictions; tests of marriageability (e.g., of skill, prowess, fertility); etc. See also:

Marriages between members of different social strata 56
Kin group exogamy 61
Preferred secondary marriages 587
Polygamous marriages 595
Local exogamy and endogamy 621
Sex and marital offenses 684
Incest taboos and privileged sex relationships 835
Premarital sexuality 836
Puberty ordeals 881
Definition of majority 884

/xxviii cont./

*114 582 595 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

*114 602 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming [174] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 614 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

*114 614 556 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention

/31 cont./

601 171 174 [595] [835] periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 581 [583] At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of [851] [611] [551] [684] [614] [582] his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

593 601 [592] [352] One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently [765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/36 cont./

because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons, naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kinship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.

First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature according to which I, a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law mother (ymk), while my father calls them his wives, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ar
sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kins
this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I
daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej), bu
navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but
Such was the type of the primitive structure of the f
reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature
however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indic
which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within
clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up
day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life o
not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detai
pressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to ta
predominantly from one particular clan, namely, fr
one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra --
take your wives there from whence you came, i.e.,
of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their

[192]

1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ul
is interesting; it is composed of pi (one
own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mot
and ukh (from). The word pandf is fro
pandynd -- "to be born."

[835]

wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wive
clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinte
prohibition on this group of women: brides not from
mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with w
intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder b
whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the young
prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from
clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom
course is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of
the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a
(preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any ca
"brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriag

/37 cont./

582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is

582 584 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual,

582 614 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how-

[125] [601] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 178 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/38 cont./

It is not difficult to understand even the raison d'être of this institution which at first glance is strange and confusing.

Such a binding regulation of marriage conformed as much as possible to both the basic principles of the clan and the individual feelings of the separate heads of families. The clan, at its base, rests on the principle of blood unity. In an agnatic clan this unity will most ideally be attained if all the wives of the agnates are taken from one clan close in blood and, of course, from the clan of their ancestress. This not only satisfies the formal principle of the unity of blood, but confirms the unity of the cult of the ancestors in both lines, so important in the eyes of primitive man.

If we now turn our attention to the psychology of the individual members of the clan, it /39/ fully coincides with the clan, where the sons, in accordance with the general rule, remain within the clan and take their wives from outside, it is natural that every mother prefers to have as a wife for her son a woman very close to her by blood and furthermore to assemble within her family women from that clan from which she herself comes. She cannot, however, marry her son to the daughter of her sister, for her sister is either a wife of her husband or of his brothers, and consequently the daughter of the latter is either an own sister or an agnate of her son; all that remains is to marry him to a daughter of her brother, as has become established in reality. For the entire aggregate of the women of a clan it is of tremendous interest that they are all of a common origin and feel behind them the solid protection of the whole clan from which they come.

Such a marriage (of a son to the daughter of his mother's brother is equally in the interests of the father, who thus marries his son to a kinswoman (praplemyanitsa) of his mother. Since the sister of the husband also desires, in turn, to marry her sons to the daughters of her brother, a mother cannot marry her daughters to the sons of her brother, and, thus, an exchange marriage, i.e., an exchange of women, between two such families was impossible, just like a marriage within a family.

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So far we have considered, as it were, the statics of the question; now let us turn to its dynamics. Let us see how from some very simple beginning, with inevitable necessity, as a mighty tree develops from a single seed, the controversial, confusing fabric of the Gilyak marriage and clan grew up.

The essence of the entire complex system of regulation of Gilyak marriage and the clan, and furthermore the key to understanding it, is a unique fact, namely, the principle established in its day that men must marry the daughters of their mother's brother, in other words, the daughters in each family belong from birth to the sons of their father's sister. We have already said something about the motives that could have given rise to this principle. In any case, its universal incumbency was guaranteed, no doubt, as the categorical imperative of the primitive religion.

This simple rule leads logically to the following:

1) Once every mother has the right to take for her sons the daughters of her brother, her daughters by the same right absolutely must enter the family of her husband's sister, in other words, /40/ every woman belongs to her first cousins, the sons of her father's sister. Therefore, a woman cannot marry the sons of her mother's brother, and a man cannot marry the daughters of a sister of his father: they cannot exchange the women of the family of a brother and of a sister. It is clear that this prohibition does not have anything to do with a fear of marriages within close degrees of kinship, because the daughter of the sister of my father is related to me in the same degree of kinship as the daughter of the brother of my mother, whereas marriage is prohibited with the first and obligatory with the second, a fact that is extremely important for the genesis of prohibitions within close degrees of kinship.

582 614 595

2) Once marriages between the daughters of a brother and the sons of a sister are obligatory, once the former necessarily belong to the latter, certain situations naturally arise in view of the normal quantitative inequality between persons of different sexes, in view of such possibilities, for example, as that a brother has one daughter while his sister has several sons, or, conversely, the brother has several

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582 595 614

daughters while his sister has only one or two sons, or that a long interval of time elapses between the birth of the first son the ones that follow, or that, which even further complicates the question, several sisters have but one brother or one sister several brothers: in the first case several brothers have a com mon wife; in the second, either one possesses several sisters, two brothers live in common marriage with a group of sisters; in the third case, the younger brother, who reaches puberty when the elder brother has managed to take all his cousins, must of necessity have marital rights to the wives of his elder brothers; finally, in the last two cases, either several first cousins will have as common wives the daughters of the broth of their mothers, or several brothers will have as common wiv several of their first cousins. We have given only the simples cases; in reality, the matter is, of course, much more compl cated. Thus, in one way or another, there absolutely inevita arises a group marriage of brothers (own and further) with a gr of sisters (own and further), and in any case the unconditional reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers of all degrees of kinship Of course, these group rights consequently embraced more an more people of more distant degrees of kinship, for a mother not always have brothers, or the latter daughters, and it was inevitably necessary to take wives from among the /41/ first, second, etc. cousins of the mother, and hence the union of people united by the common rights of a group marriage grew.

No vicissitudes of tribal life destroyed this group principl even up to the present time. When in the course of time, as result of depopulations, the dispersion of kindred families, wa and other such reasons, there arose the necessity of resorting t marriages from alien families, these customs, inconvenient i themselves, led to the situation that we see at the present tim that a man is the officially recognized husband of one or seve women and is required to share this right either with all his brothers (in some clans) or (in others) only with the younger ones, and, moreover, not only with his own, but with all the agnate brothers as well.

/41 cont./

582 614 3) Since in every family sons must marry daughters of a brother of their mother, and daughters -- sons of a sister of their father, it follows that from the time of the establishment of this custom all the descending posterity of each pair of ancestors in all lines eo ipso form a closed group, prohibited from one another maritally, an exogamous organism, a clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or remain in their own, either a maternal or paternal clan prevails.

At the present time, among the Gilyak a paternal, agnatic clan has been established.

4) Such a clan rests not only on the negative tie of exogamy, but also on valuable positive bonds, on the common rights of clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, the mutual rights of group marriage, and, finally, on the obligation to save their women for the clan that took the sisters of their ancestor.

If we take into consideration the fact that marriage regulations among primitive peoples, among whom the cult of the ancestors and, consequently, blood ties play such a tremendous role, become religious imperatives, it will become clear that the clearly indicated mutual rights and obligations cement the clan union.

In particular, the important cementing element of a clan is also the fact that all the women coming in (wives of clansmen) are taken from one clan and are either one another's sisters (own and agnate), or aunts and nieces. As for men, the clansmen, they represent in each generation a group of brothers (own and agnate) married to a group of sisters and cousins from the clan of their mothers, i.e., to their first cousins, /42/ in relation to whom they have reciprocal conjugal rights.

We have already spoken about the effects that these customs have on the kinship nomenclature.

614 615 5) The clan, therefore, is not a self-contained organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound up with the existence of at least two clans, blood kindred with it, one the blood clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, and another clan which took the sisters of its ancestor and to which it must give up its own women.

/41 cont./

615 614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or ymri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood"

[582] [614] 1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V).	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S).	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A).
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A.
2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

/44 cont./

614 615 578 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kinship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri, Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated, confused system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually, this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

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I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/45 cont./

174 582 601 But the details that I have attempted to clarify here and the history of the development of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think, of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 174 582 601 614 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for example, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpûras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler, [113] "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

/46/

171 582 [835] 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further th strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly declares which men and women of the tribe have the right to group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and d ficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonia questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive m have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the de cisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the indiv ual person and became the function of a competent institutio of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why am many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a s totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women comin [614] in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a sing totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutand every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife th out the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, whe ascending and descending generations belong to different cla and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of th fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in detai from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 614 582 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity ca clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepa Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepan (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not And

/46 cont./

615 614 582 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V) would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third generation, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 [601] 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable extent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as, for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, just like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibitions.

174 583 614 615 [171] 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particular, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Australians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

/83 cont./

*614 602 by virtue of that same proposition concerning the unity of the "father-in-law," all those women who enter the clan are agnate kinswomen to one another, either sisters or aunts and nieces, so that both elements -- male and female -- each separately and both together, are cemented together by the firm intimate bonds of kinship, which, of course, are profoundly reflected in all the social relations of the members of the clan among themselves.

*614 No influence has been exerted upon these relations by those circumstances that we mentioned, at the time, by reason of which it sometimes becomes necessary for individual members of the clan to take their wives outside the confines of one original akhmal'k clan; the general spirit and the general norms have remained the same.

But the cement which strengthens the union of kinsmen in the indestructible organization of the clan does not rest only on the formal consciousness of a common origin and kinship, and not only on the formal norms of marriage, for by themselves they are not so strong as to hold people from generation to generation in a closed hereditary union. The reasons go far deeper. First of all, there is the religious sanction, which plays such an important role in the eyes of primitive man, originally not the sanction of the clan union itself, but of those marriage norms which created the clan. The principle that [582] each man must take wives from the clan of the mother, that the wife must be a blood relative of the husband, is a religious principle, intimately bound up with the cult of the ancestors, in particular with the cult of the mother. [684] The seizure of a married woman is a religious offense against the clan of the abducted woman equal to the slaying of a clansman; the struggle for her return, or at least the demand for a ransom, is obligatory, as in matters of vengeance, to the third generation!

28 Now let us proceed to the institution of ransom, "tkhusin which has in part taken the place of revenge and in part coex with "revenge," serving as its indispensable corrective.

The reasons that gave rise to the institution of ransom si side with the imperative of blood retaliation, which was fina squeezed out completely by the former, remain completely u explained in science to this day.

Among the Gilyak, we believe, it is easy to find at leas principal reason for this great transformation in social relatio It rests on that special form of exogamy about which we spok detail in its place.

614 582 628 /102/ Each clan is bound to a number of clans, at least by bonds of the most intimate character. It takes its wives fr the akhmal'k clan or clans, and from these clans came its m it gives in marriage its own women, daughters and sisters, to ymgi clan or clans. These clans, in the natural order of thin are dear to it; mothers, daughters, sisters bind it to them in- separably.

614 628 562 The clan of the slayer can easily turn out to be the one t takes its women from it, in which are its sisters and daughter one which provides it with women. Hence the first great mo tion: the inviolability of women in conflicts of vengeance.

But the role of the women does not end here. If the slay is from the akhmal'k clan, i.e., the clan from which come mothers and wives of the avengers, it is not difficult to imag that these women cannot be indifferent spectators of a war ag their own brothers and fathers. If the slayer is from the ymgi the wives of the latter likewise will not lightly reconcile ther selves to the destruction of their husbands and sons at the han their own fathers and brothers. In both cases the intervention the women is inevitable, and a few precedents of their pacify influence suffice to turn the precedents into a lawful custom, first coexisting with blood revenge and later squeezing it out.

Indirectly the influence of women in this respect must ha found expression in still another way, purely mechanical, so Their inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degre the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty,

/121 cont./

In practice, as we know, these bonds extend far beyond the confines of the original four clans. First of all, in addition to these last, every clan with which at least one clansman has formed matrimonial ties is already an akhmal'k or ymgi to all his clan. On the other hand, we know that every akhmal'k and every ymgi retains its appellation not only with respect to those clans with which it is directly bound matrimonially, but also with respect to those who consider themselves the corresponding ymgi and akhmal'k of the former, so that in addition to the akhmal'k and ymgi of the first degree, each clan has still others of the second, third degreen, etc. All these clans call each other pandf, individual or common origin.

Thus we see that the basic principle, simple and clear, which lay at the basis of the family and clan, a principle according to which a man preferably marries the daughter of the brother of his mother, becomes the basis of blood ties and sympathy, not only within each separate clan, but of even more extensive unions, interclan and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, these bonds could not take formal shape in such completed organizations as the phratries and tribes, for example, of the North American Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social unity which led the clan from an egoistic isolation onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/122/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which arise between the pandf clans, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak takes his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real form.

First of all, there is the obligation of mutual sustenance and hospitality. This in essence is only an extension of that same obligation existing within the clan to the blood pandf; the extension to them of that benevolence of the clan deities

/150 cont./

for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction, even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion; then there is the possibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also, at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship. It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions. Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "an'gej," that is, /131/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the extensive class of kishal, i.e., the persons born into one common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are no classes that call each other "pu" and "an'gej"; neither marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

/163 cont./

are the an'gej of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow into his house; and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." Such is the force of the ancient categorical imperative of marriages between the categories of pu and an'gej. This imperative is also active nowadays.

Let us return for a moment to the kinship terminology. We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connection with the bases of marriage later on. For our purposes now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each other either older or younger "sisters" or "aunts" and "nieces"; 2) all the agnate kin of the wife are considered, according to generation, the "fathers-in-law" of all the clansmen of this /164/ man; 3) the man calls the sister of his "father-in-law" his "mother," and he calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife (an'gej). Judging from this, 1) the wives of all the members of each given clan must be taken from one clan, and, consequently, in each generation they are sisters (own and collateral); 2) the clan of these women, for each individual man, is the clan of his mother, and the wife of each individual man, must be the daughter of his mother's brother. This we see in actuality, notwithstanding all the deviations of modern times, the causes of which will be made clear later. The ideal of the clansmen is to have women from one clan, from one clan of common akhmal'k; if this turns out to be impossible and it is necessary to turn to still another clan, then once again it is preferably to that clan which is already the akhmal'k of the given clan, that is, that clan from which the individual clansmen, fathers and grandfathers, at an earlier date took their wives for some reason or other. Under these conditions, for each individual person the most favored

/164 cont./

marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother. "Pandfakh an'gej gen urdra" -- "from the clan of your pandf" (see above), from the clan from which you originated (were born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother came, you should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree to which these principles play a role in nature. Even the very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature, I was astounded that in each clan there were so many kinsmen's wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who called each other, according to the generation of the husband, sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It was necessary to record many Gilyak wives who were married several times, and most often their wives turned out to be from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan of the husband's mother. One of my companions on my journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters and brothers.

The preference shown for this form of marriage even today is always the result of the religious imperative; we have seen above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to the role of this form of marriage in the Gilyak, one may express it in the same words that have been used to describe the same phenomenon among the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Sarpûras in central India. In these tribes, "marriage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

/165 cont./

Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a common economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is concluded, and when the bride has grown a little more, approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband" (m'an'gej, n'fu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at which time they become actual spouses, without any of the ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in concluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably explains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yr-ikh" and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age when most of us are only preparing to get married the young Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anniversary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old. The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned marriages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all the ancient customs and rites.

/168 cont./ Under

such circumstances,[1] it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to remain unmarried. And it is right here that the institution of the right to marriage with persons of the class of an'gej about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, next their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad class of persons whom the Gilyak calls "fathers-in-law".

We already know the nature of the relations of these latter with their son-in-law /syat'ya/, and it is clear, therefore, that obtaining an individual wife among the an'gej, among the daughters of one's born akhmal'k, is surrounded by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man stands a sure chance of getting the widows of his brothers. But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition within each class of pu for their an'gej and under the conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has developed under the influence of commercial relations and has greatly weakened the traditional matrimonial relations, even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective for the individual marriage -- the group marriage, an absolutely unlimited right to sexual intercourse between classes of pu and an'gej. We turn next to this right.

* 835 Group marriage. Though the right and obligation of individual marriage in the Gilyak tribe, which have been considerably shaken by the inevitable influence of both historical conditions and the conditions of life, the right to group marriage, the right to sexual intercourse between persons of these classes, continues to be preserved in full strength. This right, it is true, does not carry with it a definitely compulsory character; a woman cannot be compelled into sexual intercourse either by her kin or by her pu. It is not even allowed that the father, brother, or husband of a woman propose to the daughter

A lie, a limited choice of women plus unequal sex ratio in favor of the men. --Analysr]

/172 cont./

602 know, an ymgai is the closest person to an akhmaik and to his wife. An ymgai is a preferred hunting companion summer and winter. He is the dearest guest; the wife serves the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers the akhmaik'i /173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the ymgai is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there
[836] are dozens of maidens -- his anĝ:ej, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

* 835 Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their
602 married anĝ:ej.

From the kinship terminology we know that a man's
[184] married anĝ:ej include, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further -- all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the married sisters of his tuvn -- a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the
* 835 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage, the sisters marry persons of the class same as, or, at the with regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers' wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers" operates. But, due to deviations from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmaik (1).

[582] 1. An accidental akhmaik is what I
[214] call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

/173 cont./

* 835 by chance taken a wife secretly,
614 rather than from the clan from
582 which all the kinsmen usually take a wife.

601 In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the
* 835 terminology as well, are not the same. Among the majority
184 of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women
614 is legitimate, the participants call each other pu and anĝ:ej, and their children call each other tuvn and the sisters of their mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and "fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who are neighbors of the Ainu, the arrangement is different. If the sister of a man's wife marries his akhmaik, then sexual intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an akhmaik, is absolutely prohibited, and, instead of anĝ:ej, the man calls her achik (mother-in-law). But if she marries a completely alien man, then the relations between them are as between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a
* 835 sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, however, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases, even in such /174/ relations, considered to be tuvn (brothers) (1)

* 835 1. I shall give an example which
601 depicts very well both the relations of such tuvn (i.e., the children of sisters whose husbands are aliens to each other) among themselves and their mutual relations towards their wives.

Wremgin and Hibl are individuals of two different clans (ikhal), one from the clan Fanĝ'i, the other from the clan Khoi, but their mothers were tuvn, i.e., sisters from one and the same clan. And

/191 cont./

601 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system
* 174 of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.
583 But what does the kinship terminology teach us?
[178]

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are
[602] called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates,
[214] for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation
601 the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral
● 582 brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that
* 174 is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the classmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of these women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. Thus all why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/191 cont./

614 "sisters" (for they are such in reality), their mothers-in-law --
601 aunts on their fathers' side, and husbands call the sisters of
● 582 their fathers-in-law mothers. We shall not speak here of the
* 174 group character of these marriages unions and of the classet of "mothers," "fathers," "brothers," "fathers-in-law" (wives' fathers) which arise from this, for we have already explained it in detail earlier.

Thus to the first principle -- the obligation of marriage with one's blood kinsmen -- is added another principle -- the wives of classmen must of necessity be taken from one common clan, i.e., two clans are bound to each other by a mutual obligation: one must take wives from the other clan, and the latter /193/ must give its wives to the former. All men of the latter, according to generation, are considered from birth to be the husbands of the women of the corresponding generation of the other clan, and, as we have seen, these classes in actuality call each other pu and anĝ:ej.

But from the kinship terminology we know that the reverse is not allowed, i.e., men of the second clan and women of the first are not joined in the class of husbands and wives. Thus, an exchange marriage between the two aforementioned clans is not allowed. All these principles which have been deduced by us above a priori from the kinship terminology completely correspond to contemporary reality. We have seen that even now there exists the right of marriage, that even now a marriage from the class akhmaik is alone considered "pure," that marriages of classmen are usually made from one common clan and that exchange marriage between clans is not allowed. Now we can with confidence continue our analysis.

614 But what is this clan from which classmen are obliged
601 to take wives? The answer to this is that detail of nomencla-
602 ture whereby the mother of every man is the sister of his
582 father's father. In other words, all wives of classmen are
* 174 taken from that clan from which their ancestors come. The members of the clan are that, both on the father's side and

/193 cont./

614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
601 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
● 582 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
* 174 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, we shall see below. Now let us look at the consequences
* 174 this principle had in its practical application.
582 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
591 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the
581 future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /nic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriages, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Termi-
[602] nology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

581 relationship of pu and anĝ:ej toward each other (1).
* 174
582
591
581
[114]
[835]

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 62).

[113]

* 174 2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons
582 of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women
581 for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. These norms have worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

/194 cont./

* 174 Thus there was created that type of individual-group
581 marriage which we see among the Gilyak, and among all
● 582 other peoples where marriage is founded on this principle of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This system of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /195/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest one is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, however, men and women simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But à la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost completely impossible, because the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother expand into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants at any given moment will be equal to the number of women in another group of descendants.

171 2. Let us take the same instance; one brother and one
* 174 sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one
581 daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal
582 marriage, as it is described among many peoples and appears
595 so typically in all the descriptions of the Tibetans, becomes inevitable. This is the situation described in the Gilyak epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the communal wife in the absence of the other: "in Tibet, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (1). Among the

1. Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

/197 cont./

174 582 601 The natural result of this system was the classificatory system of kinship, according to which a man gives the name of wife not only to his individual wife, but also to all her sisters, and to the wives of all of his own brothers and to the sisters of these wives, both own and collateral; on the same basis he gives the name of mother to all the wives of the brothers of his father, both own and collateral, while he calls their husbands his fathers, and he calls their children his brothers and sisters; in exactly the same way he calls the brother of his mother father-in-law, her sister -- mother, while he calls the daughters of the brothers of the mother his wives.

The classificatory system, which appears to be so complicated, becomes completely clear and simple; it is logically developed out of a basic principle -- the female offspring of a brother belong to all the male offspring of his sister. At first it may seem strange and extremely complicated that, for example, a man's wives include not only the wives of his brothers, but also their sisters. In actuality, this is explained very simply -- the wives of the brothers cannot be other than sisters, and they all belong to the whole group of "brothers" -- cousins of these sisters. Or, a man calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law"; this is because his father-in-law can only be the brother of his mother, no one else.

The only variation possible in this system is connected with the differences in the rights of group marriage of younger and elder brothers. Among some peoples all the brothers are equally the group husbands of their mutual spouses; among others only the younger brothers enjoy group rights with respect to the wives of elder brothers. Among the Gilyak, as we have seen, we find both systems, and correspondingly two terminologies with respect to the brothers of the father and the wives of the brothers. Among some only the elder brothers of the father are called fathers, while

/197 cont./

* 174 ● 582 601 among others only the younger brothers; similarly among some a man only calls the wives of his elder "brothers" his wives, while among others all the wives of the brothers equally.

Now we shall continue our analysis of the Gilyak norms.

* 174 614 6. Once every mother by right takes the daughters of her brother /198/ for her sons, then by the same right her daughters must belong to the sons of the sister of her husband; this sister, moreover, cannot be married to her brother, because, as we have seen, the exchange of women between the descendants of sister and brother is not permitted. Thus, side by side with the two groups, the descendants of the brother and the descendants of the sister, there is formed a third group -- the offspring of the sisters of the husbands of the latter group.

7. Since in each of these groups the men draw their wives from the group of the brothers of the mother, while the women marry into the third group of the sister of the father, each group forms a completely exogamous unit, i.e., clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or, vice versa, the women into the clan of the husband, there resulted either a maternal or a paternal clan. Among the Gilyak the clan has been paternal from remote times. The strength and unity of such a clan union rested not only on the negative bond of exogamy (exogamy or prohibitions against certain degrees of kinship can exist even without a clan union), but on the precious positive ties, on the common right of marriage, on the common right of the clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, on the mutual rights of group marriage, on the privilege of having for one's sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ one's blood kinsmen -- the children of the sisters of one's fathers, the members of that clan which from time immemorial has married its ancestresses. The strength of this union was doubled by the peculiarity of its composition. Within the clan there was not a single non-blood element: if the clan was maternal and the sons-in-law moved to the

urdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-
nown among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the
mber of males is greater there than the number of females.

10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of
ide price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment
r the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of
arriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen
nong the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may
for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to
e daughter of the mother's brother.

In order that such an essentially exogamous system might
preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of
vorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole
mplex of favorable economic, social and sanitary condi-
ons is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating
emselves the various families of the phratry should be able
maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on the
her hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the
milies, and that there should be no cases of extinction of
tire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore,
me degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is
cessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory
arriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor.
nally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic con-
tions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the
embers of the phratry would remain more or less the usual
enomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the in-
ence of new economic conditions there should not be
gendered one or another temptation to make woman the
ject of purchase and sale.

The preservation of all these conditions among primitive
oples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a
ole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the
lyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial
ode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individ-
l persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

161 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We
177 are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families,
614 but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This
731 process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an im-
*174 mediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first
Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples,
together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought
the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an
especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive
surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects
of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans
died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans
in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne
in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means
strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may
remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable
number of its members.

161 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and
614 various other causes. Although according to the interclan
72 rules the women are spared and the number of men who are
*174 killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle
the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee
can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

*174 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more
177 highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive
manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens
intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious
imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks
down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representa-
tives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own
institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate
individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they
gradually begin to draw after them many others. The
• [582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians
their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But
even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had
contact with various other peoples.

174 giving women to alien clans. The procuring of such wo
178 presented great difficulties. As a result of this long strug
*614 for the women of alien clans -- a struggle about which i
615 be necessary for us to speak in detail later, there appear
[583] institution of the "bride price," payment for the bride --
institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

174 But once having appeared, the institution of the bri
178 price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreadi
583 of the institution of the free marriage.

*614 The bride price became the most powerful temptati
615 for violating the old norms, even in cases where there w
no necessity for their being violated.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the
rich, who came into being with the establishment of tra
relations, began to look on the free marriage union as a
means of satisfying their ambition and of becoming relat
to people who were their equals in wealth and distinctio

*614 And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorab
615 circumstances, notwithstanding the intrusion of the new
178 stitution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to l
and to preserve their power over minds. In the great ma
jority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than al
the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In
[583] eyes of the contemporary Gilyak, marriage from the akh
• [582] clan, from the mother's clan, is still the only "pure" ma
riage, and the most favored marriage for each individua
man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother,
in which case bride price is not only not required, but is
even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic pheno
which destroy the customary norm for only a moment an
then are spontaneously drawn into the ruts of the old nor
This comes about in different ways. In some cases a ma
may not marry for one or another reason from his mother
clan, but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take
wives from the old clan of the ancestress. In other cases
if for some reason a return is not possible, then the alien
clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the law
marriage clan for his offspring, who in each generation

/196 cont./

174 58 582 [835]

group rights to the wives of his elder brothers, who in their time enjoyed his wives. In the majority of cases, therefore, we see that only younger brothers enjoy group rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

5. Thus far, we have taken the simplest combinations -- one brother and one sister. Where there are several brothers and several sisters, the consequences will be similar, but will assume a more complex form. If there were always the same number of sisters and brothers, and if each brother and sister had a corresponding number of female and male offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Ordinarily, on the contrary, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes in their offspring is even less possible. Let us take several examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. This time it is not only own sisters, but also first cousins who are the group wives of the brothers. Or: there are several brothers and several sisters, but the distribution of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, whereupon the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but of male and female first cousins as well.

Finally, women did not always have brothers, and the latter did not always have daughters, and then, naturally, it was necessary /197/ to resort to the daughters of first and second cousins. In a word, into a marriage group of the offspring of a brother and sister are inevitably drawn, on the one hand, all the collateral brothers up to the most distant degrees, and, on the other -- the collateral sisters, and thus there is established group marriage between own and collateral brothers, on the one hand, and own and collateral sisters on the other -- the typical punalua family in its purest form.

Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession; the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves over to another. As for the children, either they are not distinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

3. The same situation in a new variant: the first brother has reached marriageable age before the second. The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his father /sic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother remains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

4. At a given moment a brother has several adult daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son. The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the sister of the brother /sic/. Thus it is at the present time among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his individual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood. The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder brother is not so indisputable.

An analogous development takes place if the elder brother-polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up; then each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but at the same time each of the younger brothers will have

/216 cont./

[192] why when these marriages were recognized to be harmful and marriage between the children of brother and sister was established that the original, single society was divided into two exogamous halves: in one of these halves were the brothers with their wives and their descendants, and in the other the sisters with their husbands and their descendants. Consequently, the dual division was a result of cross-cousin marriage, and one must therefore not seek the cause of the aforementioned regulations of the form of marriage in the dual division, but in something else. This cause must be sought in that situation under which the change from bilateral marriages to exogamous marriage in the form of cousin marriage took place. The study of the Australian classes first of all confirms the long disputed opinion of Morgan that exogamy is the result of realizing the harm of blood marriages, marriages between brothers and sisters. It shows also that the transfer to the exogamous form took place in extreme paleolithic antiquity and slowness, a fact that is easily explained by the usual conservatism of primitive man in general, and in particular with regard to such an institution as marriage, which is so closely bound up with religious ideas. This very psychology of conservatism, which at every change of the old institution tries to preserve at least the old form, in which it clothes the new institution, has resulted in the apparently paradoxical fact that the institution which, in the consciousness of the harmful effects of blood marriage, established marriages between cousins of the first degree allowed such marriages exclusively between the children of brothers and sisters and at the same time forbade such marriages between the children of two brothers and two sisters. Although the latter are hardly distinguished in any way from the former in the blood sense.

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[193] How did this come about? The fact is that the cross-cousin marriage undoubtedly appeared to replace the marriage between brother and sister. Under this form of marriage, not only were the spouses brothers and sisters, but also their parents. The fear of the consequences of this marriage was expressed in the fact that marriages were effected between the children of brother and sister, and these latter were spouses in their turn.

This is why, when necessity forced the abandonment of this form of marriage and the replacing of it by cousin marriage, the conservatism of primitive man chose the form which bore the closest outward resemblance to the old form sanctified by time /217/ and religion, namely, that one in which the only orthodox marriage were marriages between the children of brother and sister (although now these latter were no longer spouses), and not between the children of two brothers and two sisters. Thus the form, which at first plays a paramount role in the eyes of the primitive man, was in reality only the form, primitive man unhesitatingly realized that the existence of a new change was thus concealed from the deity -- the usual manner of pious "deceit" of the gods.

In just such way brothers -- own and collateral -- and their descendants, on the one hand, and sisters and their descendants, on the other hand, formed the two exogamous halves of the single society.

Another very important, although less cardinal question to which the investigators of cousin marriage give no answer is the following: if cousin marriage is explained as the first stage of exogamy, as the first measure thereof, then from where does its obligatory, its almost necessary character come? It would seem, on the contrary, that once the good of exogamy was recognized it would be most logical to encourage marriage between the least closely related persons, even between individuals who were entirely alien to each

/217 cont./

[194] other, while marriages between cousin should have been forbidden. Why, then, is cousin marriage so obligatory, so necessarium, in order that it might pass completely out of use as an antisocial institution.

The prohibition of marriage among the Australian peoples can serve as the best example of this strange fact. Among these peoples, judging from the organization of classes and from their personal declarations, the consciousness of the harm of marriage within close degrees of kinship is quite well developed, and they have manifested great resourcefulness in order to block the possibility of close marriages, excelling other peoples in this respect. Such a complicated system as the kinship system of the Arunta tribe has been specially devised for the abolishment of marriages between close degrees of the first degree. It would seem after this that marriages between the most remote degrees of relationship ought to be encouraged, while marriages between cousins of the second degree ought to be regarded as merely allowable. Among these peoples, however, "cousins of the first degree are thought too remote, and marriages beyond this degree are prohibited" (1). Thus, marriage with cousins, even

1. Crawley, op. cit., 61.

an impossibly close degree is not only allowed, but obligatory.

Further, if cousin marriage is only the first stage of exogamy, /218/ why, in spite of the enormous period of time which has passed since its inception, does it continue to survive so stubbornly up to the present time among a large number of tribes, including such numerous ones as the Dravidians, in its original, unaltered form. And even there, among the tribes of Australia, it underwent limitation in the sense of the exclusion of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but still the principle, as we just saw, is preserved inviolate, and marriages beyond cousin of the third degree are not permitted. This stubborn involving of

/218 cont./

[195] for example, this persistent striving to perpetuate it by means of obligation, must rest on a serious basis. It seems to us that the strength of the cousin marriage rests on two important motives. The first motive is the same as the striving of every kinship group, in particular of each mother, to provide her progeny with wives.

At the primitive stage of human development the element of struggle in sexual relations undoubtedly played just a tremendous a role as in the zoological kingdom in general. And one of the most important problems of human communities was to limit this struggle as far as possible, by one or another regulation.

The institution of marriage, obligatory between persons of a certain group, was that form of sexual regulation which was called upon to ratify the above-mentioned fundamental dictate of the community. Prior to the establishment of exogamy, this dictate could be satisfied by the intrabloood marriage obligatory between brothers and sisters. With the establishment of the principle of exogamy, cross-cousin marriage seemed to have solved the problem to a certain degree but the question of the sister of the father, but the daughter of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses become blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the desire for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship relations the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed continently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

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[196] That is why up to the present time among a large number of Dravidian tribes marriage is mandatory when a brother has a daughter and a sister is born. That is why, as we saw, among the Australian tribes, with all the striving toward limiting cousin marriage, marriages more remote than cousins of the third degree are prohibited; consequently, marriages between cousins of the second degree are obligatory. That is why among the Mongols, whose favored marriages are the marriages between persons alien to each other, marriages between the children of a brother and sister are called "white ass," i.e., considered acceptable, while marriages more remote than the most remote members of one clan are "black sin," i.e., completely unallowable. In order not to increase the difficulties of the subject and with the desire to show, in spite of all the peripetetia of this small tribe, only the marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is considered as legitimate.

After these preliminary observations, we may proceed to an examination of the question as to what place the marriage between the children of the sister of the father and the

/219/ different places. In Australia this marriage proceeded very early on the path of exogamy: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the marriages between cousins of the second degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his son of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses become blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the desire for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship relations the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed continently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

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[197] When adapted to individual families, this arrangement is expressed in the fact that the son of a brother marries the daughter of his father, because marriages of the son of a sister marries the daughter of her brother. The spouses are cousins of the first degree, while the wife of each man is, on the other hand, the daughter of the sister of his father, and, on the other hand, the daughter of the brother of his mother, because the fathers of the spouses married each other's sister. Such was the first stage of the limitation on marriage between persons close by blood. Further limitation occurred

/220/ differently in different places. In Australia this marriage proceeded very early on the path of exogamy: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the marriages between cousins of the second degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his son of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses become blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the desire for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship relations the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed continently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

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[198] The peoples of this group, for which the Gilyak serve as the most striking representative, begin to limit marriages between cousins of the first degree, considering it necessary to establish a more remote degree of kinship between spouses, but they did not wish to sacrifice that principle which seemed to them most important, namely, the one according to which each mother receives for her son the daughter of her brother. They actually preserved this principle, but, in order to satisfy the necessity of lessening the closeness of kinship between spouses, they sacrificed the other principle of cross-cousin marriage.

As we know, the son of a woman receives the daughter of her brother, but the reverse, i.e., the marriage of the son of a brother with the daughter of his sister, is not allowed. As a result the limitation on the closeness of kinship obtains -- spouses are cousin of the first degree only on one side -- the side of the mother of the father of the husband, but on the side of the mother of the wife, while previously, with cross-cousin marriage, they were cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the father of both spouses. But at the same time there is preserved here the old basic principle -- marriage to the daughter of the father's sister, but the reverse, that the spouses remain cousins of the first degree -- true, on one side only.

/221/ This departure from the principles of the Australian type in the form of the limitation on marriage between cousins of the first degree brought about a fundamental change in the organization of society. It brought about the transition from a bipartite division of society with its classes to the organization of a pure clan, and in particular to the four-clan theory that we saw among the Gilyak.

With the Australian system of limitations on marriages within close degrees of kinship, no matter how far these limitations went (at the present time they do not go further than cousins of the second degree), society remains irrevocably divided from the standpoint of marriage into two exogamous

[199] groups, joined in the constant mutual exchange of women. In fact, each division is a real clan, because marriages are prohibited within the division. True, along with these two divisions a complex system of marriage classes is established, but these latter are nothing, but a means of that clan a man belongs to, he continues to remain in his division, while the classes do not change the position of the person in the clan, but are only mnemonic titles personally limiting a man (but not his offspring) in the choice of women of a particular degree of relationship. In the four-clan system -- only cousins of the first degree; in the eight-clan system, cousins of the second degree. In reality, classes are not even obligatory appurtenances for the actual clan division. Among the Dieri tribe, for example, there exists the same prohibition with respect to marriages between cousins of the first degree as among the Arunta, but, while among the latter eight classes have been established as a mnemonic device, among the former this limitation has not been reflected in an extensive class division.

Thus it is clear that in the Australian system, by virtue of its having preserved the principle of the exchange of women, cross-cousin marriage demands only a division into two clans. The society is a two-clan physry.

The Gilyak system was unable to remain in this two-clan physry. From the moment when cross-cousin marriages, i.e., exchange marriages between the children of brother and sister, were prohibited, the two-clan physry was insufficient: one clan took women from a second clan, but the latter was obliged to seek women for itself elsewhere, while, on the other hand, marriages outside of a given ethnic group were not allowed (as we see now in Australia). It remained to transform the two-clan physry into a multiclan physry.

[200] This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply explained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all among the modern investigators. Many scholars have noted this institution with disbelief, considering it impossible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this institution among the Gilyak (1910), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentoten /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his

(1) In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the spouses are cousins of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a lively institution.

Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on such marriages among the most different peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the same clearly expressed trace of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

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Kohler's correspondent reports on it from Africa among the Hottentot. From Indonesia, such an authoritative investigator as Wilken reports on it, writing: "Among the Batak, the Redjang (Borneo) and the natives of Ambonia, it is permissible for the son of a sister to marry the daughter of a brother, but the son of a brother may not marry the daughter of a sister" (3).

2. Wilken, Bijdragen /Contributions/, Serie T, V. I, p. 148.

The kinship terminology corresponds to this arrangement: among the Batak on Sumatra, for example, a wife or female sweetheart is called ibibere-re-datang, i.e., daughter of the mother's brother.

This institution was already recorded in still more definite form in the 1870's among the Dravidian tribes of India. Thus, for example, in the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpdas in central India, marriage between cousins is compulsory when /223/ the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. Many data may be found in the most recent literature by Rivers (1).

1. "Marriage of cousins in India, Jour. Royal Anlat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 pass.

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IX.

The Gilyak Kinship System and Morgan's Hypothesis

The Gilyak system of kinship and marriage fully confirms the basic hypothesis of L. Morgan that the terms of kinship are the result of corresponding sexual norms and norms of marriage. What for Morgan was only a deduction, we actually see to the fullest degree in Gilyak life. If a Gilyak calls a group of women by the term "wife," then those women are actually wives for him in the proper sense. If a Gilyak calls a certain group of men -- fathers, then these are actually persons who have sexual rights to his mother. If a Gilyak calls the wife of his mother "father-in-law," then it is because, according to primordial law, he is actually obliged to marry the daughter of this uncle, who will then be his father-in-law. For Gilyak system one finds the explanation of even such universal classificatory terms as elder and younger brother and elder and younger sister, which include two genders, especially in marriage aspect. First of all, these terms regulate individual marriage in the clan of the mother. An elder brother is obliged to marry the wife of his elder sister, and a younger brother a younger sister. These terms are important in the levirate, since a widow passes to a younger "term." Finally, among half of the Gilyak, only the elder brothers have sexual rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

How clearly individualized the correspondence between a kinship term and the marriage rights is in the Gilyak terminology is seen especially clearly in the relations of the brothers to their wives. Among half of the Gilyak, as we have seen, the brothers without exception have sexual rights to one another's wives. And among them the terms actually correspond to this: a man designates with the term "wife" all the wives of his brothers without exception, and therefore all the children of brothers without exception call

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There is yet another characteristic peculiarity. We have mentioned that cousin marriage leads to the right to marriage, and that, under such a system, bride price, payment for the bride, is forbidden.

The same thing is to be observed among the Tungiz. Finally, the existence of the clan among the Tungiz is also a not unimportant indication of the fact that endogamy is a new phenomenon here, for among purely endogamous tribes, such as the Aino, the genuine institution of the clan does not exist. The clan is an exogamous institution by nature.

We proceed to that large group of northern Paleo-Asiatics which includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of this group, the Chukchee are the people who have been studied in great detail, and we must consider them at greater length.

According to Bogoras' /Bogoras/ description, the customary mode of marriage is with kinsmen and "most frequently between cousins," if possible from one side the same family, and, if this is not possible, then between kinsmen of the same encampment, i.e., cousin /241/ of more distant degree, but always within the same village. Exogamy is prohibited -- a purely Turanian feature. Since at the same time the exchange of women is practiced, we have here a kind of cross-cousin marriage -- again a typical Turanian feature.

Marriage between cousins was undoubtedly obligatory at first, only the time, this may be, by the way, from the fact that, as among the Gilyak and the Tungus, among the Chukchee marriages are concluded at an early age. This marriage is even more in fashion among the Chukchee than among the Gilyak, since, according to the words of Bogoras, the majority of marriages are concluded in childhood, and the bride price not paid, but there is not even any question of it. Marriage between cousins always became more and different with regard to the marriage of their children even before their birth. The obligation to marry also explains the reason why the bride price is not paid, the institution of the bride price is unknown to the Chukchee. The usual method of acquiring

/241 cont./

such catastrophes, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. This alternative which, according to the epos, faced the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful /242/, who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage -- proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /243/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the present the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying a woman of the /244/ category, a woman who is regarded as one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the categories of /245/ the most desirable marriage is with the daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most orthodox is considered the cousin marriage between the daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a marriage is so highly valued that even before the future spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother give each other their word to unite the children in marriage. After the birth of the children, when they have reached the age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the claimant of one side or the other a formal act of agreement or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not only the father of the bride (for she is his sister and conversation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to this: the matchmaker /ynaf/ (father or mother of the groom) before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancés with threads of nettle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/246 cont./

reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyro at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the birth of their mothers and, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting reminiscence.

Usually at the present time children are given names according to the classmen of the father. Such is the general rule. But I have seen a case when the son of the chief Gilyak of Naniwo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and classmen of the mother; thus, it is though the children were members of the mother's clan.

All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are incompatible with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants: this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan perfectly take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of relativity and of consanguinity are connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

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XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

We have already had occasion to introduce in another place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the /248/ epos, the episode from the Gilyak epos, the Gilyak dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, marries his daughter off to the people who are present. "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my will for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old form of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of a long period of contact with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

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In another poem, in response to the demand of the bridegroom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a town with one people, and the chief of the town, the father of yart, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest, from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!". This woman said: "If you take me with you, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "Your guest has come!" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife. The old man said to his daughter, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good time, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materials, p. 84 and pp. 97, 98, respectively are not indicated in the text. /

Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly established in the Gilyak consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of ashmak'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure." Even on the Amur, where the old marriage has already undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from his father's-in-law -- the root of ori's birth" (i.e., ally begin with words like this: "You are my ashmak'i

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right and obligation. When a marriage is not from the clan of ashmak'i, arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have old recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that immigrant took his wife from that clan), the organization of ally begin with words like this: "You are my ashmak'i

1. It is curious that among the Haida the ceremony of concluding the marriage of infans, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a dog, bears the technical designation, "makladyanaie pennyayaldi" (Engl- "putting a blanket on"). Evidently this ceremony, as among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out in the form of covering with string or thread, just as is done in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

/213 cont./

614 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the
615 tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are
602 possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

582 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among
74 the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the
21 daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

82 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian
74 Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia
21 rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i
14 ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

/214 cont./

582 *174 121 114 171 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers, Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian marriage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler, and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1).

[113]

1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages between cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands marriage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

582 *174 114 121

[113]

1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

/215 cont./

582 Others have attempted to give an explanation for this
174 fact, but these explanations are purely mechanical. Kohler,
114 for example, sees an explanation of this fact in the dual
121 organization of society (2) -- an explanation which is at

2. Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, 121.

least strange, for the dual organization itself is a consequence of the institution of cousin marriage. Crawley holds the same point of view as Kohler and therefore falls into the same error. He considers this form of cousin marriage to be "an automatic result of the fact that the name of the family is inherited. The children of brother and sister may marry because by their names they belong to opposite phratries" (3).

3. Crawley, op. cit., 57.

Frazer expresses himself in the same way. According to him, the reason that it is forbidden for these cousins of the first degree, i.e., children of two brothers or two sisters, to marry rests on the fact that they belong to one and the same exogamous class and are therefore restrained by the basic law which forbids a man to marry a woman from his own exogamous class.

The basic mistake of all these writers consists in their having taken the result for the cause, namely, that the so-called cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marriage between the children of brother and sister, was a result of the division of society into two exogamous classes, but they do not raise the question of just what it was that gave rise, in turn, to this dual division. In reality, the dual division into two exogamous classes was a result of the new institution of marriage between children of brother and sister, replacing the earlier endogamous blood marriage.

582 Before that, the group -- the descendants of one an-
174 cestress -- was /216/ indivisible; marriages took place
121 within the group, usually between brother and sister. And

601 171 174 [595] [835] periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 581 [583] [851] 611 [551] [684] 614 [582] At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

593 601 [592] [352] One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently [965] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

615 614 582 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V) would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third generation, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 [601] 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable extent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as, for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, just like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibitions.

174 ●583 614 615 [171] 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particular, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Australians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

174 ●583 614 615 which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan, even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marriages with those of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alternatives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /48/ to say nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one stolen, or to circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real intentions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength, while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real coercion.

171 174 583 Only with such an explanation of abduction can we understand why, for example, the Australian kurnai, having allowed their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bridegroom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less cruelly than her parents: by this he desires to show the gods, and the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock abduction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized peoples.

/48 cont./

174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
● 583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic: see yokh on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price,
583 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone-
[673] ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
[689] the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
[682] eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
[192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
583 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands,for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

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*614 Once the above-mentioned principle was created and became an immutable imperative of life, the natural consequence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the foundation of the clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyak,as we have seen, is not the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It gives a man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the most difficult problems of primitive man. There are ordinarily
● [583] fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and to
[556] make matters worse each of the wealthy men snatch up many wives. For the poor man -- and such are in the majority -- acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy; frequently he must even resort to methods that risk his life.

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, in particular to the daughters of the brothers of his mother; this is simultaneously
[583] his religious obligation and right. The bride price in such cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always has a right to expect his clansmen, interested, like himself, in his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man succeeds in setting up his own family, the families of his older brothers, with whom he shares the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, are his family, their wives are his wives, to
[587] whom he has lawful conjugal rights. When a married Gilyak
[768] dies, his wife passes without any bride price to one of his younger brothers determined by the choice of the clan.

*614 These are all advantages which play a role of the
587 first order in the eyes of primitive man. The crown of
768 these advantages is the social privilege of every clansman of not having to fear for the fate of his wife and his children after his death. His wife and children during his life are juridically, and frequently factually as well, the wife and children of his younger brothers; they will remain such after

/124 cont./

*614 it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is dif
615 what happened to their feelings later on, but t
608 bility of such examples illustrates boldly the r tween members of matrimonial clans.

*614 The principle of mutual aid between memb
615 monial clans is reflected in the right of inherit
428 despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only o
● 583 namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can o "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). T reduces the bride price to the simple formality from one pocket and putting it in another, ser as an important indication of the fact that orig the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the cha ment for the bride, but rather was a form of re But for what?

*614 The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of
615 bride price is in general a strange anomaly. A
174 marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is
583 ligation, and even preferable between the chil and sister, how can there be any talk of payme the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution been due to some recent change in the marriag
[178] change we know: it consisted in the fact that when marriage from the clan of the mother wa it became necessary to take wives from a stran this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only acce away its women by masking it with some act o of the gods, which would at the same time be
[182] father-in-law. By analogy with the religious of revenge (see above), there thus arose the ins bride price, satisfying both the interests of the and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the y

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my children and your children also be ashmakik'i. If you do not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure').."

After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the ashmakik is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages in the clans of ashmakik'i. One of the causes was the depopulation of the clans from which they took wives, which compelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause, perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they preferred to drive themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relationships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good person, udla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared his catch with his tribesmen, now udla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

/270 cont./

in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers, and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the ancient "yiqunl" -- legends -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek women who were famous for their special qualities, who were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is expressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- an k-e-j. The term jokh, which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

/279 cont./ Along with the distribution of the bride

price within the family, customs of a completely exceptional character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given to the "old ashmakik," i.e., to that ashmakik with whom a given family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for example, if in the course of several generations family A has taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each generation have married the daughters of their own brothers, then every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women, who, as we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue of the unilaterality of the cousin marriage, and receives bride price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B, usually to the brother of the mother of the woman who has been given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is alive. It is curious that the family of the groom presents this gift to the old ashmakik as part of the bride price. This custom is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards receive the bride price for them, but participation in the distribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to propose one's daughter or sister to the old ashmakik oneself," the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom, "than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all: if a mother has several brothers and a nephew has several sisters, then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the woman is given /280/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is unilateral, and for the son of the brother of the mother the daughter of his last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

/280 cont./

it is a remnant of maternality when the mother's brother played a privileged role; the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond-, signifying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her dowry. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (akh), whom they provided with a Japanese saber for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, put in it to serve her.

The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsoever.

/286 cont./

went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chiakl-varadz-, Gilyak gesmiz, geshka nanji); the second party did not /287/ notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhaji. 3) Khal N'ashkhaj.

Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kounaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagli and the Aimu khal'a of Dmittriya in Tyr. They make chêdzigr (see below) and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagl. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter encampment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

/290 cont./

Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896). Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to Nifevo; 2) Derbir-vun (1896).

Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the Russians was the Kegin clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvmif); then the khal separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun, Vlevut). It takes women from the Khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a hoyykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the Perkhvung. 3. Kedzung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhay-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyt beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chiniroikh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langy. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the ox -- chain and stone on the little-leaf one of the brothers, and then killed her. They have a Nima dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarning. 7. The Snarning take women from the Perkhvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ulkhir, near Sofisk (Onyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarning. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chiya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'ash'khaji. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

/299 cont./

calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he replies quietly: "Pilavon kikhal purard hokhagin on' krygrys" (1).

1. Krygrys -- an Aimu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a kikhal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was serfed, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys. A free one is kinyiygy n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila kotr -- big mountain bear, mer edr -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Takhta.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Aimu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/300 cont./

567 part of their dowry. In buying wives, the price corresponded to
568 the additional slaves. In 1896 a former slave, about whom we
569 have the following information, lived there. A Nanai bought
570 from Kizi a Kugi (Ainu) maiden, and an illegitimate child was
571 born. Khuzin's father bought the son of this Kugi (kygryn) in
572 Kizi. He was 25 years old; he was paid for with nine pieces
573 of silk material (21 meters) at 75 rubles a piece.

This worker served him for five years. Eighteen years ago
he ran away to Kizi, and then to Arvo (near Nishnetambovskiy).
The name of this kygyn was Kutz. His former master from
Khez' summoned him to conduct shamans ceremonies, and he
used this opportunity to run away. Now he is an old man and
blind. One absolutely must take him back, though blind, feed
him, and bury him with their own hands, and then his soul will
follow him to Miyvo (his father, dying, requested this of him).

Chinese girls were bought in a similar fashion. It was
necessary to take along 100 sables, 100 foxes, 100 otters, 100
squirrels, 100 polecats, between 10 and 100 black-brown foxes,
100 seals, and 100 bears. The traveler to Sanin was met by
a merchant who would take away all their merchandise and,
without counting it, would transport it to his warehouse. The
visitors would be feted for two days and /301/ questioned in Goldi
or through an interpreter. The newcomers would tell their hosts
about their wish to get married, then they would record how much
each had brought, and they would be taken to the governor. He
would provide carriages and food, and they would be transported
to the major city (Peking). They would be housed and ac-
commodated in the palace, assigned servants, fed and looked
after like "gentlemen," and taken around the city with an
interpreter. Finally whole rows of women with covers over their
faces would be lined up in front of them: behind each woman
would stand a castrated slave. The old Gilyak would recommend:
"a young male slave -- an old woman -- a risk." They would
choose right there; they would each be led to a room. A slave
would sweep and spread out the bedding, and that very night
he would learn his fate. They were painted. He sticks his
tongue in the mouth; there are no teeth.

/301/

A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take
595 two widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from
596 the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for
nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case.
In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan
of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between
clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's
brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

● 582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's
sister down to the fourth generation.

In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan
who have entered into a union kikhal n'akhur; with the Khydzyr'
in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality
and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan
which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the
Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

(114) 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by
note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po
izucheniiu gilyatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
/Materials on the Study of the Gilyak
Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake
in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a
533 Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to
536 the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes.
Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks
in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she
resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the
Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and
brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did
he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of
Mago).

/635 cont./

583 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what
714 has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from
them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always under-
take the much abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a
marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly
obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman
is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said,
is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

Let us now turn to the regular conclusion of marriage among
● 587 the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship
60 an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children
of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the
language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "antchek"
mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger
cousin on the father's side, and "ranh" mean sister as well as
female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother
and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as
father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that,
582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group,
which, as we have seen later, is also taken into account in other
connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage
among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

(114) 1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak,
Samoyed, Lapps Tylet /Tylot/, Forsch.
über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die
Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into
the Early History of Mankind and the
Development of Civilization/, transl.
from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

(113) 2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la
Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris,
1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Panthier,

● 582 (113)

2. (cont.)
Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp.
d'après des docum. chinois, Part I, pp. 25,
275; Part II, p. 238. Iahin[?], Kitai
/China/, St. Petersb., 1840, p. 198.

as much distorted form, among the Goldi (3). Even a difference

3. A more detailed explanation of this
will be given in the following.

563 Even a difference
622 of nationality is by no means as decisive for the conclusion of
the marriage as the Gilyak does not usually feel any great the radical
difference of their language from those of all their neighbors.
On the mainland there are frequent marriages between the Gilyak
and their immediate neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, and probably
it is to this circumstance above all that the similarity in the cus-
tons and usages of the two peoples, or, in other words, the
Gilyakization of the Olcha stretched several times already, is to be
attributed. I no longer repeat what I already stated, as was pointed out
at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must
limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks
about the Gilyak.

/637/ In the preceding chapter the high degree of equaliza-
tion that has taken place between the Olcha and the Gilyak in
all aspects of the external life has been discussed -- an equali-
zation which must be regarded as an assimilation of the former
by the latter. This high degree of equalization has also taken place
with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which,
in fact, become the basis for the most penetrating and enduring
manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally.
And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this
equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent
mixed marriages which have taken place between these two
peoples since the Olcha migrated to the Amur and, after the loss
of their reindeer, settled down there as fishermen in the im-
mediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, marriage which even today
are concluded between them continually. In this manner the

G 614 615 616 625

● 582

G 648 649 650

● 582

/637 cont./

example, in the above-mentioned case of Nendjan, drive one to
bloodshed, and then the instinct of self-preservation may keep many
● 582 impulses. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which
means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds
to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an
approximation, for they do not actually count their years.
A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak
and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told
me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of
which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of
them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20
years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was
not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half
child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that
they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude
that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually
this does not often occur. At least among men there are not
infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25
years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman
is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact,
some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear
them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned,
it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation
does not favor this; thus these people must also have had
experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages.
An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity.
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical
husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually
settles down with her and pays the payment of a dowry. Progress
now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but
only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers.
Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected
ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other
respects, however, even such workers are well treated, es-
pecially because they are needed. As long as a woman can
work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she
can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the
man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the con-
trary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of
women is reflected in the payment of dakyun, which is

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married
couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say.
Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which
means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds
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AB6 Aimu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

A 735

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a
story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely
a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how
a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear be-
came a man and then changed back into a bear again.
We also saw in another place how another woman
became a frog. And in this story now to be translated
we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like
the Orok and Gilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In
fact, it might seem that brothers and sisters
married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived
two brothers who occupied the same house. They were
expert hunters. So clever were they that they used
to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went
hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking
on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Al-
though there were many brave people in the other
villages, yet there were none who were as clever and
brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talk-
ing in the house, but on the day following the men went
out to catch large game. The chief wife went off to
dig up tubers (*Cryptata*) on the slopes of a solitary
mountain there was near the place. While busy dig-
ging up the roots, a young man came down the slope
out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came
up to the place where she was working and asked her
for her pipe, saying, "Please hand me your pipe and

[p133]

583 MODE OF MARRIAGE - wife-capture (e.g., actual, ceremonial); marriage by
exchange (e.g., of sisters); wife-purchase; marriage by payment of consider-
tion (e.g., substantial bride-price, bonus-price, service-price, bride-service to
(e.g., premarital, postmarital); marriage by gift exchange; marriage by forma
or informal imitation of common residence; temporary and trial marriage;
elopement (e.g., mutiny, subsequent adjustment); presence and prestige
of each mode; relation to rules of residence; conceptualization of bride-pric
or dowry (e.g., as purchase price, as compensation for loss of services, as
guarantee of marriage stability); content and mode of payment of consideration;
contributors and recipients; etc. See also:
Gift-giving . . . . . 431 Residence rule 521
Infrequent modes in secondary marriage . 587

/155 cont. /

violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the violated man of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of ahimat'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

4. Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matriarchal clans is the opinion of the gandi'y in the bear festival.

In the opinion of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, and it organizes sometimes a rare winter games without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The bear, which every household poisonous, is harmless, and off they go; the rest is on the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest delicacies. The only difficulty in the organization of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: the bear sports, the very sacrifice of the festival — the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the abkut and most respected representatives of the tribe. Finally, the competition /'ijgi' in wrestling, races, and dances, the feast, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of congratulations. Against the sober background of hut gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and tremendous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these festivals, unfortunately, are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only yengi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own yengi but abkut's

/150 cont. /

for the mass, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all this concerns only cases involving a marriage. Sexual relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with the permission of the women, do not prejudice marriage, even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married. It, at least, does not happen to bear of regressions in such cases. A reaction on the part of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in case of coercion; then there is the possibility of death and suits for ransom. Also, at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying women of their own kin (Gilyak), as, for example, in the Amur region. It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the relationship of kinship. In the past, this relationship was the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions.

Yet, against the violations of these prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable legends and myths, and artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychic in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the kinship nomenclature, are considered mutually reckoned in the clause "pu" and "ni-kyu", that is, /'i'i/ also from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining clansmen are placed under the strictest prohibitions.

What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the intercourse of ajakal, i.e., the persons born into one commonagnate clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are no marriages, and, in the past, even "pu" and "ni-kyu" neither marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

/145 cont. /

Concerning the primary obligation of marriages between pu and ni-kyu, supporting evidence is offered by another extremely important phenomenon, namely, the fact that the bride price, i.e., the payments which is received by the father of a woman, enjoyed the same degree of a sacred character as the bride price among an enormous role in the question of giving a woman in marriage, it has originally lacking or at least plays an insignificant /'ilili role. In cases of marriages between cousins of the first degree, not only is a bride price not demanded, but it is prohibited to demand it during the betrothal.

The absence of the bride price in marriages between pu and ni-kyu is clear evidence that the marriage between these categories was at one time an obligatory marriage, and in the case of obligatorness without saying that there can be no question of any financial obligation.

There is no doubt that the bride price was a later institution. In the traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called bride-wealth, the price for the woman, is artificially described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "father-in-law" usually fill the boat of his bride with all kinds of valuables.

Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays in the life of the Gilyak, the weakness of the explanation, the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature, the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be sought in a compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the contemporary character of the bride price.

As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and ni-kyu, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "father-in-law" and their legal "son-in-law" /'ijgi'i/. These relations are surprising

/146 cont. /

"husband" and "wife." Thus, each man has several "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these class, according to the kinship nomenclature, call the "son-in-law" the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this complicated system developed.

For the present, it is quite enough but been said to the that in the sphere of individual marriage the applications pu and ni-kyu have played and still play an enormous role, manifesting themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage — one of the many benefits which the clan system has brought to the Gilyak people.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of this institution, which, as we have seen, is the present time for the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in real life, there is no doubt that the bride price was a later institution. The traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called bride-wealth, the price for the woman, is artificially described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "father-in-law" usually fill the boat of his bride with all kinds of valuables.

Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays in the life of the Gilyak, the weakness of the explanation, the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature, the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be sought in a compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the contemporary character of the bride price.

As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and ni-kyu, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "father-in-law" and their legal "son-in-law" /'ijgi'i/. These relations are surprising

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My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, Ivan Ivanovich Kenkin, was married to the daughter of an old Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, Fiun. The latter was himself a no less capable person than his elder brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his older brother. It had evidently come about in this way: as a rule, he had enjoyed the wife of Ivan Kenkin, with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attachment grew between the wife and the younger brother, and of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his elder brother, was quite natural. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Jibel'ka himself, regarded this as an entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gibel'ka himself with a request to tell me, he, with a shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how the Russian intelligentsia regarded this, and this question did not produce any particular impression on him.

He spoke enthusiastically about his two wife, loved his children (twenty), although he could not have any confidence whatsoever that they were his, and his son, a boy of 14, felt a great affection for his younger brother, the father of his children, for which he was reproaching

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him for his lack of manliness. Such examples are well known among the Tonda tribes, in spite of the fact that the Gilyak are not characterized by the number of females.

10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of the bride price, which, in the present, as we have seen, is not for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of marriage would be merely fictitious. This is also the case with the Gilyak today, no matter how avid the Gilyak may be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother.

In order that such an essentially exogamous system might be preserved and lasting, it is necessary that a number of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is necessary. In the past, the Gilyak, in the majority of cases, lived in a state of poverty and of hunger, and, in general, there was no stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the wealth of the Gilyak was so small that no pecuniary fund was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Russians brought a certain stimulus for accumulation, and appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate, which were exchanged for the Russian commodities and which, people who did not have them and wished to possess them, were willing to give the maximum amount of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, when the woman was given without a bride price, became unpardonable, and it was replaced by the new form of the marriage, more convenient the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the institution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

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bone of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained the property of the clan, and, in the past, the wife of all the same clan — the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the sisters of their fathers, the agnates of their husbands, women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and nieces of each other, and, in the past, women of the clan were have led to the institution of /'ilili. But, for the wife which is giving its women in marriage in violation of the prohibition, this is a means of deceiving the gods, the gods-ancestors, to whom marriages with persons of alien blood are the gravest sin, and, in the past, a whole series of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is necessary. In the past, the Gilyak, in the majority of cases, lived in a state of poverty and of hunger, and, in general, there was no stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the wealth of the Gilyak was so small that no pecuniary fund was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Russians brought a certain stimulus for accumulation, and appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate, which were exchanged for the Russian commodities and which, people who did not have them and wished to possess them, were willing to give the maximum amount of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, when the woman was given without a bride price, became unpardonable, and it was replaced by the new form of the marriage, more convenient the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the institution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/148 cont. /

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/205 cont. /

As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Aino, furnished them and the Russians, who, in addition to the payment for the "bride price," payment for the bride — an institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

But once having approved, the institution of the bride price became. in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading of the institution of the free marriage.

The bride price became the most powerful temptation for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no case, might be violated, therefore the old norms

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who had no daughters, were compelled to conclude marriage relations. began to look on the free marriage union as a cheaper and more convenient form and of because there was no temptation for people who were their equals in wealth and distinction.

And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorable conditions, the institution of the free marriage, the old form of institution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to live and to preserve their vitality. The old form of the majority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than all the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In the past, the Gilyak, in the majority of cases, lived in a state of poverty and of hunger, and, in general, there was no stimulus from the Jibinals (also from the mother's clan. it still the only "pure" marriage and of the institution of the free marriage. Individual man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother. in which case the bride price is not paid, and marriage is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and do not permanently shown into the rule of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry the daughter of his father's brother's clan; but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take wives from the old clan of his ancestress. In other cases, the marriage of the son of the father's brother's clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the lawful marriage clan for his offspring; who let each generation

FS59 cont./

residence is known to every interested individual, and cur-
tesy demands that he should be the first to pay the settlement. But
such is the fate of heroes; marvellous adventures always
fail to their lot. Commander Fayer was a man of great prudge, who
his have suffered some catastrophe. The nearest class of
their fathers-in-law may have become extinct through an
epidemic or a famine, while the nearest relatives may
have emigrated long, long ago to some distant place and
lost all ties with those left behind-under such circumstances
it is not strange that the hero must wander in all
directions in order, like the hunter, to find his way to the
desired goal through visible traces, inquiries, and guesses.

Finally, it also may be that the distant relatives, when
the hero at last reaches, is betrothed to a stranger, and all
the imposing strength and power of the hero are necessary
to compel the father-in-law to violate his word, given to
another, which threatens the ruin of his house in the eyes
of the offended bridegroom, or, at best, with a trial and the
payment of a large ransom. The hero himself must
later endure a whole series of gifts when he a wife obtained
in this manner. Here is a typical example of this kind from
one *Tarkhun*: The hero, Tarkhun, was the son of a woman
who is to be his wife, hears the following answer from the
father of this woman in response to his claim: "Has a be-
trothed -- *Ykgyen yakhr* (technical term for a girl be-
trothed to a stranger). One clan of the mountain people and
still other clans will come to make war on thee." On Gilyak
said: "Nevertheless I shall go and carry her off."
The old man replied: "You will only come back tomorrow."
(In the following day, when the bridegroom arrived
feast, he not only let his daughter go without receiving any
thing for her, but even ordered two boats to be loaded full
of valuables as a dowry for her, and, in the possible when
the woman is the lawful bride of a man by right of birth.

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It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not
having any traces of Goldi-Manchurian borrowings and in-
fluences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal,
which at the present *Fayer* was an important role. All
is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to
take my wife." Father: "All right, take her." The ship
everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is im-
mediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which
I shall speak in detail later on, is the conferrarie, the joint
smoking or meat.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero
"Has are a man from another clan." "I am a hero of
Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the pres-
ent the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying
a woman of the same clan, or, more correctly speaking, of
one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is con-
sidered "pure." And the contrary, especially for the lives
of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the cate-
gories of girls for marriage, designated according to the
daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most
orthodox in consideration of the relationship between the
daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a
marriage is so highly esteemed that even the betrothed
spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother grew
each other that-and to same the sister and the brother.
After the birth of the children, when they have reached the
age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the
clansmen and in the presence of the elders of a sort of agreement
or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the
brother of the groom pay a certain sum of money
with the father of the bride (he is his sister and con-
versation between brother and sister is prohibited) for wife
his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to
the marriage of the brother and sister (the groom
before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancée
with threads of cattle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

FS61 cont./

the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
sacrilegious to touch the sister and brother with the objects
are considered husband and wife, and they address each
other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife
comes to the home of her father-in-law, and, instead of marriage
proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later intro-
duction, established in contradiction to the ancient law
with *FS62* all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was
a correction of blood revenge.

Then are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us
in the traditional epic.

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FS63 cont./

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with threads of cattle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

FS70 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox
FS71 marriage with a girl of the same clan, the groom
FS72 *Ahlagnat* (eastern dialect *Yagyuk*).
Yenen participating in the conference: (1) the side of the groom
(the groom himself, his father and mother, (2) brother of the
father. (3) aides of the groom. 4) husband of the sister
of the father. (5) the father-in-law of the groom, if they give
apparently the norms of orthodox marriage. According
to this law, (1) husband of the sister of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by
the norms of Gilyak law, the father-in-law daughter cannot marry
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of
the father-in-law of the groom promote the marriage of
his closer *ahmnik*, the brother of his own daughter-in-law.
Thus, in the case of the father-in-law, the husband of the sister
ahmik (demoted person) among his clansmen. Since the
marriage is considered the affair of the clan, these frequently
participate in the conference. Sometimes, several hundred
because objects for which one might obtain not only objects
of luxury, but even a woman, are: a several horse, weapons, and
ornaments, bee also food and spices, such as rice, groats,
and, finally, money, and, finally, a woman. Since the price
Gilyak closely remember the time when sables and foxes used
to run around fearlessly in great numbers and bring a
dwellings, and so one *FS73* killed them, since they pre-
ferred to drive themselves in big slides. And all of a sudden
in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
the initial principles of the Gilyak, and, as the relations
shops of the people changed themselves. If formerly a man's
wife was the most valuable property, the acquisition of a good
person, *ordu Ayrnak*, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
his wife with other people, is not changing into *ayrnak* (a
synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a
number of luxury objects. Formerly the relations were sup-
posed upon the tribe, as well as the desire to excel others

FS74 cont./

children. Nevertheless, in the side of the groom
FS75 marriage, the groom's relatives are represented
FS76 *Ahlagnat* (eastern dialect *Yagyuk*).
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FS78 cont./

him carry: "That is not your business. We will take care of
that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional
answer he presents to the father of the bride, and, in the end,
know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which
the matchmaker is entitled to agree (1).

1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak
explain the motives for the father's
dependency opinions of his daughter.
I think, therefore, that Sobolevsky
was wrong in saying that the daughter cannot marry
husband against his will. For the old woman was very
timidly and in the most polite form, yet quite pointedly, but
when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sobolevsky
signed with her, and, finally, said: "Then let portrayed to
give the what thou have. You have a daughter, I have a
son. Let us become *ahmnik*!"
(The Korsak, 73b. Sobolevsky was already given my word to
others.
Even When if you did give your word to another man?
You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to
court with you!
After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the
bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride
price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride
price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride price
and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride price and
this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I be-
lieve, throws light on the very origin of the institution.
The Gilyak language shape initial *a* replaced by the
word *ar*, *ayk* from *ammyrd* (= to give a gift, to that
ayk (= gift, to give a gift, to give a dowry. Thus, the
of the case of the groom given to the family or the clan of
his bride. That that term *ammyrd* is used in the sense
to give a blessing. In other dialect cases where compensation
for the bride price, or, more correctly, in the case of
ammyrd -- (antique) gift to an adopted woman, for a
wife, or, in a marriage, when the land came, do then come
to my aid.

FS79 cont./

"to pay." It is curious that this word *FS80* *ayknu* -- "
(to give a gift, to give a dowry, to give a present
ayk is a synonym of *ammyrd* -- to fight, to war (*ayknu* is more
the active voice of this verb. The word *ammyrd* is
the passive voice of the verb *ayknu*. Ancient wars
peacemaking by payment of damages. This evolution can
be traced in the Gilyak language. Initial *a* replaced by the
one, where the bare has gone to take revenge for his mother's
father, he pay an him an he return. *Pyk ychod yayk* -- "
you fulfill *ychod* for your father (literally *ychod* -- "fulfill
yayk -- "payment of damages." *Ychod* -- "fulfill
killed them all." Here the term *ychod* is used in the sense
act of blood revenge. Here the term *yayk* is used in the sense
in the sense of ransom. "Yes *yayk* yehen" -- "For these *yayk*
compensation." *Yehen* -- "compensation."
Thus all this it is clear that the bride price in its origin
sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, offe
to the family or the clan of the bride for the fact that this
way by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it w
not an obligatory payment, but a gift, and, in the end, a pr
wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing contin
to increase in proportion to the wealth of the groom and the
than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not t

1. Here is an illustration of the in-
stitution of the bride price as an in-
stitution of mutual gift-giving, not
of many centuries which it seem down.
As either in the settlement of Poyr,
a man who was not well-to-do, gave as
a bride price to his father-in-law
Chinese beetles, one Japanese *Yantrk*,
one Japanese *Yantrk*, the
father-in-law sent his son-in-law two
Chinese robes and for two or three

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years regularly sent him rice, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him all that he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is in essence as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

2. Incidentally, among the Turkic peoples and the Shoshoni Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another.

It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

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of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

/278 cont./

iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).

1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus´pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s´if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium. Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

/278 cont./

chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately: the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

583 /279 cont./ Along with the distribution of the bride
582 price within the family, customs of a completely exceptional character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given to the "old akhmalk," i.e., to that akhmalk with whom a given family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for example, if in the course of several generations family A has taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each generation have married the daughters of their own brothers, then every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women, who, as we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue of the unilaterality of the cousin marriage, and receives bride price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B, usually to the brother of the mother of the woman who has been given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is alive. It is curious that the family of the groom presents this gift to the old akhmalk as part of the bride price. This custom is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards receive the bride price for them, but participation in the distribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to propose one's daughter or sister to the old akhmalk oneself," the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom, "than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all; if a mother has several brothers and a nephew has several sisters, then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We
[197] have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the woman is given /280/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is unilateral, and for the son of the brother of the mother the daughter
[194] of this last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

582 /280 cont./
583 it is a remnant of maternality when the mother's brother played
583 a privileged role; the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin
194 marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

583 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

583 For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond:, signi-
556 fying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the
583 greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female
556 slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance,
569 Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (akh), whom they provided with a Japanese saber for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, is put in it to serve her.

583 The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride
422 price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsoever.

/281 cont./
583 She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After
462 her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she
428 may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

583 After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over
585 the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and
583 no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families,
585 the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom
556 lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry.
583 But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the
585 wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged
452 in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/281 cont./
583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
614 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[576] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/370 cont./
634 his wife half to death. Even his ruyn, in such cases, does not
[84] escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak
614 even the ruyn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante
[197] delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with
178 a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife grad-
583 ually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

/371 cont./

583 no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal,
584 it was in quite recent times. The wars of which Gilyak tradition
585 tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of
women, and they developed the practice of reconciliation by
586 way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russians into
583 the Amur region has led to a considerable diminution in the num-
ber of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduc-
tion of a woman, the display of a paper from a Russian office
will incontrovertibly result in the return of the abducted woman.
Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that
of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russians
under the term kalym. The bride price is ordinarily paid in
articles, money, and labor. As bride price they give boats,
kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs,
and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in propor-
tion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her
domestic talents. A woman who is an "accomplished woman"
in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who
understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear
well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife
is a rather expensive affair. Here is an example of a not very
considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitnidvo paid for his
wife with two Japanese kettles (one large one, costing 60 rubles),
one spear with silver fretwork, a fox-fur coat, ten dogs, and, in
addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after
583 which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely
characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls
/372/ the biblical story of the service of Jacob for Laban, is that
of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several
years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter
of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged
man and has no sons, he takes to himself a son-in-law who
agrees, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the eco-
nomic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the
father-in-law. The son-in-law, customarily a complete pauper,
fishes and kills seals, and all this constitutes the common

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583 property of the whole family, but the personal money earnings
of the son-in-law, as well as the sables and foxes that he ob-
tains through his efforts and skill, remain at his disposal, which
makes it possible for the son-in-law to attain an independent
standing in time. But in general the payment of the bride price
by labor is not frequently encountered, for the sale of the woman
is too enticing a prospect for her kinsmen, and moreover the
Gilyak have not yet grown accustomed to asking for the labor
583 of others. The bride price is paid to the father of the bride, or,
614 in his absence -- to her brothers, if they are adults, otherwise --
to their guardian, i.e., to that clansman-ruvn to whom they,
along with their mother, have passed; in the absence of any
brothers of the bride -- to that same ruvn of whom we just spoke,
that is, the one to whom the mother of the bride has passed;
in the absence of such -- to the brothers of the father, then to
the distant clansmen-ruvn, but in general to clansmen of the
male sex. Originally the bride price was always given, not to a
separate individual, but to the khal' (clan). And even nowadays
among the Tungus, fellow tribesmen of the Gilyak, the bride
price is paid to the "nasleg," i.e., the clan. And this is per-
fectly natural, since originally the bride price was a ransom
paid to a whole clan, which was avenging the abduction of the
583 women. This primitive significance of the bride price is re-
614 flected in the custom whereby the wife of a deceased Gilyak al-
583 ways remains in the clan of her husband and passes, according
to the decision of the clan, to one of the brothers (ruvn) of the
deceased (only to a younger brother, however, and only in the
event of the unwillingness of the ruvn to marry the widow does
the return to the clan of her father, while the children remain
in the clan of the husband. The obligation of the clansmen-ruvn
with regard to the widows of their deceased ruvn reminds one of
biblical story of Boaz and Ruth. The bride price is either paid
all at once or in part in advance and in part some time after the
bride moves to the home of the groom.

583 There are instances of the sale of children of the female
584 sex. A Gilyak purchases for himself or for his young son a young

/372/ cont.

583 girl, who, until the proper age, remains in the home of her
584 parents for instruction in all the women's sciences and crafts; in
/373/ this case, part of the bride price is paid at the conclusion
of the agreement. Every year after that the groom makes pres-
ents to his future father-in-law, and the remaining part of the
bride price is paid when the bride moves to the home of her future
husband. If the "bartered bride" should die in the interval be-
tween the conclusion of the agreement and moving to the home
of the husband, the bride price is returned. Young girls custom-
arily move without delay to the home of the groom, who is often
several times older than the bride and who purchases her, even
though he already has one or two wives, with the sole aim of
having a young worker when the other wives grow old. If the
groom is also underage, the future spouses are raised together, be-
come friends from childhood, and become attached to each other
for life, but this good feature of the purchase of small children
does not at all atone for the other features of the custom, which
is based solely on the calculation of buying a wife cheaply. The
custom of purchasing wives for underaged sons was perhaps one
of the reasons for the above-mentioned prohibition against the
enjoyment of conjugal rights by an elder brother with regard to
the wives of his younger brothers, and from this arose the custom
of forbidding the older brother to marry even the widow of a de-
ceased younger brother. The Gilyak pursues bargains to such a
degree in purchasing a wife that not infrequently he obtains for
his underaged son a bride who may be two or three times older
than he, if only he gets her at a bargain. The payment of a large
bride price gives the husband the right to get a part of it back in
the event the wife dies soon after the marriage, and sometimes
583 also a part of the heritage of the father-in-law. But side by side
with the payment for the bride there exists among the Gilyak
another institution -- the dowry. Before setting off for the bride-
groom's home the wife is attired in festive dress and is provided,
according to the condition of her parents, with valuable fur coats,
garments, and ornaments. This dowry belongs to the bride, who,

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583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It
is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned
with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms
Zibe's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a
present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any cere-
monies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the
bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but
586 nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is con-
583 cluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back
to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father,
dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or
/374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by
the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price.
583 In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the
584 Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with
its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one
middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife,
sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small
compensation.

462 But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife,
562 and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not
584 required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women
is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that
she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her.
She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used
for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she
who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for
months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose
every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and
on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding
of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana,
berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak dur-
ing the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of
feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while
her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

/632 cont./

595 certain conditions, as, on the whole, a rare exception. Accord-
[184] ing to the statements of the Gilyak, the latter is practically not
found at all on Sakhalin, along the Liman, and along the coast
of the Sea of Okhotsk, whereas among the Amur Gilyak it occurs
more frequently. An explanation for this will appear from the
information in the following. In polygamous marriage the num-
ber of wives is usually limited to two. Among the Amur Gilyak
I discovered several such marriages (1). Marriages with three

1. For example, the Gilyak Ssogin in Kulk (Mäo) had two wives, Keliguk and Malguk; similarly, the Gilyak Tschigun had two, Chumsik and Tyisuk, etc.

to five wives are very rare, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there are none at all among them with more than five wives. In addition to voluntary polygamy, however, there is among the Gilyak a form of polygamy brought about by the law of inheritance or, more accurately, by hereditary obligations, which will be discussed later.

583 The chief motive which impels the Gilyak toward monogamy is the custom of buying their wives which prevails among them, as among most primitive peoples and in particular among all the indigenous peoples of Siberia (2). The Gilyak expression for "to

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2. As, for instance, among the Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Tatars, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyak, and others (cf. note 1 on p.1030). The same custom also prevails among the Chinese (Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. II, p. 261. Bazin, Chine moderne, 2nd Part, Paris, 1843, p. 482). Even among the ancient Germans, marriage was originally a purchase, as in Iceland, Norway, and among the Anglo-Saxons (Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 237).

/632 cont./ The Gilyak expression for "to

583 marry" is "umgu genytsch," to buy a wife. If a Gilyak wants to
[192] marry in a peaceful and lawful fashion, he must pay the father, or,
if the latter is no longer living, the brothers of the girl he desires
to marry, a certain amount determined by mutual agreement. De-
pending on the circumstances, this consists of various articles
needed in daily life and housekeeping, such as clothing materials,
cooking kettles, boats, sleds, dogs, etc., as well as a number of
luxury items of hypothetical value, such as neatly worked spears
provided with small inlaid silver plates, old Manchu iron-armor,
and so on. To give an idea of the amount of the bride price among
the Gilyak, I shall add here the payments which a couple of Gilyak
whom I knew had to pay for their respective wives. The Gilyak
583 Ssogin in Kulk (Mäo), for instance, had to pay the following price
435 for his second wife, Malguk from Langr:

6 large spears with inlaid silver, at 10 ja apiece (3), together . . 60 ja

3. The prices presented in the following may serve at the same time as a partial confirmation of and a supplement to the above (pp. 933-937) table of prices of the Gilyak compiled independently.

2 large Chinese hearth-kettles, at 4 ja apiece, together				. . . .	8 ja
3 Japanese kettles (kughi-wunj), " 9 "	"	"	. . . .	. . . .	27 "
4 large boats, " 10 "	"	"	. . . .	. . . .	40 "
20 dogs, " 1 "	"	"	. . . .	. . . .	20 "
				Total	155 ja = about 310 rubles.

/633/ My guide Chossiambo, who, to be sure, was an Olcha himself, but had married a Gilyak woman, the daughter of the oft-mentioned Judin in Tebach, had to pay the following price for his wife, according to his and her testimony:

/633 cont./

583 5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ja each, together . . . . .20 ja
585 1 large Chinese hearth-kettle . . . . . 3 "
1 Japanese kettle with three handles . . . . . 30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor . . . . . 30 "
1 large bear . . . . . 30 "
5 especially good dogs (kyla-kan) at 4 ja each . . . . 20 "
Total 133 ja = about 266 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

583 1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price of several Siberian
191 peoples in older and more recent times.
113 At the time of Adam Brand (Neuverm. Beschr. seiner grossen Chinesisch. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey Which He in 1692, etc./, Lübeck, 1734, p. 99), it amounted to 10-15 reindeer among the Tungus on the Werchnaja Tunguska. A rich Ostyak girl on the Obj at the time of Pallas was not often given in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and a quantity of all kinds of furs (Sujef, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 52). According to Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 56), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage among the Ostyak on the Irtysch amounted to 200-300 rubles in

/633 cont./

583 1. (cont.)
191 money, one horse, a cow, and an ox,
113 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparations for the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Siberien's /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Assja-Samoyed women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Cheremis, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

583 requires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In
583 view of the circumspect and thrifty nature of this people, con-
595 stantly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has
556 been pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do
184 man will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addition to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his wealth duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain special esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, polygamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur Gilyak living together more densely than it is among their countrymen along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/633 cont./

583 It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom
121 of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a
182 primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an in-
[562] sulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and industry, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premature marriages. Moreover, as we have seen, through the material obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even as a gift. Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to
[562] a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people concerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak, beyond the above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following observations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of women is by no means rare. According to their own statements, it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the two parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

/634 cont./

583 of the parents of the desired girl, calmly makes use of the customary hospitality, and seizes the proper moment, when the host and hostess are very busy or have gone off, to flee with the girl on a waiting sled or boat. He follows the same procedure
583 in abducting a woman who is unfaithful to her husband. As soon
584 as the wronged father or husband notices the theft, he pursues the
628 fugitives with a few relatives or villagers. If they are overtaken, the abducted woman can be brought back, but not without a bloody fight with the abductor and his helpers, in case he has provided for some, since both parties resort to knives and spears. In most cases, however, the abductor was clever enough to provide for an escape with his willing booty. Then the feud continues and may be prolonged for years, since, as a result of the blood vengeance practiced among the Gilyak, which will be discussed later, revenge is demanded and an opportunity to carry it out is sought both by those who have suffered directly by the abduction and by those who have been injured in the fighting. Whole villages may thus become involved, so that the inhabitants of them, in order to avoid the danger of a surprise attack, carefully avoid each other and /635/ intercourse between the villages ceases entirely (1). In the face of such complications and dangers, the

1. In my time, for example, the villages of Tammla-wo and Talwantigr-wo, along the Liman coast of Sakhalin, were engaged in such a feud, and the inhabitants of the latter, as much the smaller, had to be on their guard against those of the former.

Gilyak rarely undertake the abduction of a woman in a neighboring village, but, as a rule, select a more distant field of operations. It most frequently happens that Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk and from the Liman coast of Sakhalin abduct the daughters or wives of their countrymen on the Amur, either because, in view of their distant habitation sites, they need have less fear of their revenge, or, as a result of their being less well off, are unwilling

/635 cont./

583 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And
628 among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious
684 and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in
[533] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the
[126] conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

Another point with regard to the abduction of women must
583 be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year
114 (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage. Later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

[113] 2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/635 cont./

583 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after
114 has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard
them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always
take the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concludi
marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly
obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a
is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has bee
is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

582 Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriag
601 the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relations
an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the childr
of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in
language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "a
mean older and younger brother as well as older and younge
cousin on the father's side, and "ransh" means sister as well
female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the br
and the sister of the father are designated with the same wor
father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyo
582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin gr
which, as we shall see later, is also taken into acc t in o
connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marria
among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and

[171] 1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak,
[113] Samoyed, Lapps Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them

[113] 2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Pauthier,

116, 422, 435, 583, 591

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husband—not the
thirteen years old to assist his ageing spouse—but t
keeping, is in possession of wealth enough to pay th
fronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have a separat
to live on in the paternal home, or, if [269] not, he
friends and comrades to help him build a hut; but th
required, and this is a very expensive item. He ma
forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have even heard
was the difficulty with our Vanka, who was a capabl
his own estimate, but according to our notions abou
desirous of marrying, and offered to take me and m
summer to the 'end of the world,' with the aid of thr
rate charge of forty rubles apiece. With this sum he
and he had already saved sufficient for the purchase

old man who buys a second wife
ne youth who aspires to set up house-
e price demanded, he is still con-
e establishment. He may be content
will probably be able to get his
is is not enough, a cauldron is
have to pay in skins the value of
of them costing sixty rubles. This
young man of fifteen, according to
twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was
interpreter during the following
ee of his companions, for the mode-
would be able to buy a cauldron,
of a wife."

/646 cont./

567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, [197] indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is [648] rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought [181] by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is [439] the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

567 On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that 435 of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in [583] particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kuik, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr; as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because [556] of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems [584] so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does [583] not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in [556] exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the purchase price in some other form.

/652 cont./

568 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the [7] Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

The law of inheritance existing among them gives us 428 further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After 562 what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and, [601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be- [768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken [583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers 587 dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

116, 435, 583

"Dr. Schrenck, speaking of the Amur Gilyaks whom he visited fifty years ago, says their word 'to marry' (umgu genich) means 'to buy a wife,' and the value of the articles given, such as bear-spears, kettles, boats, and dogs amounts to large sums; in one case to as much as 310 rubles (31 guineas). The Sakhalin Gilyaks are much poorer, and give a sledge with a team of dogs, or a spear and two pieces of foreign stuffs. Sometimes an additional arrangement obtains, where the husband, who, unable to pay a handsome price, and in consideration of the value of his wife as fish-cleaner and preparer, gives his services to his father-in-law as hunter or fisherman for one or two days in the season."

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard,
during the rest of the time only the women are industrious.
The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get
up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit
up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak some-
times even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for
gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live
quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never
occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent
and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps
often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge them-
selves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.
464 Gilyak have monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
426 na-Amure [232] they sometimes turn to hauling in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing
and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into
it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they
are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never
trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying.
If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his
relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing
whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.
428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother.
If the children are under age, their uncle or some other
close relative is their guardian and later returns their pro-
perty if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left
with children, the property remains intact in the family,
and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the
widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth
of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the de-
ceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother
or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we
said, her second spouse, but if she already has children,
they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does
not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate
is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this
case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom.
If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half,
but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
● 583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.
428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the just usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint-owners of the estate along with their children.
565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one,
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.
567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
594 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ-
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

/37 cont./
587 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection
601 shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-
reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was in-
dubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is
perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches
584 her brother. If he has a daughter, with a request for the engage-
● 584 ment of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in
the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the
child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on
dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the
bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes
to the home of the groom with them, the groom is fed and is educated
until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual,
592 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of
614 compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of
one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even
one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the
completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the
women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because
the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan
D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the
marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how-
[125 ever, "number" may testify most eloquently. During the census
601] that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak
family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the
abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who
called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but
who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that
one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of
the mother") from ancient times.
592 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even
178 now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way,
then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even
if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs,
sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology
preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating
with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

584 ARRANGING A MARRIAGE--marriage preliminaries, courtship (e.g., oppor-
tunities, methods); initiation of negotiations (e.g., by youth, by girl, by
parents of either); conduct of negotiations (e.g., by parents, through go-
betweens); marriage brokers; proposal of marriage, methods and consequences
of rejection, requirement of consent (e.g., of youth, of girl, of parents, of
chief); betrothal (e.g., conceptualization, announcement, ceremonial, sym-
bols, duration); status and behavior of betrothed persons; infant betrothal
(e.g., prevalence, procedure, nullification); breaking an engagement (e.g.,
reasons, procedure, consequences); adjustment to death of betrothed (e.g.,
substitution of a sibling); etc. See also:

courtship . . . . . 860 Sexual overture 832
Conjugal relationships . . . . . 678 Adulterous activities 865

/165 cont./
587 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative
● 584 to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed
soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any
possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this
important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after
the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to
585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the
ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up
the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the
hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a com-
mon economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion
[601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is
concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more,
approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually
moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with
him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem
to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband"
(n'an'gej, n'ru) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at
which time they become actual spouses, without any of the
ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in con-
cluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably ex-
plains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "n'rskh"
and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age
when most of us are only preparing to get married the young
Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anni-
versary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
[582 unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call
themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth
of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old.
The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the
latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than
her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further
emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
[556 riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly
zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually
are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all
the ancient customs and rites.

/167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans
606 of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, ac-
609 cording to generations, are considered an'g'e) -- his wives and
614 the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology,
[601 and it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how
this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to
see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations
ru and an'g'e) have played and still play an enormous role,
symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the
right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan
structure gives to each of its participants.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of
● 584 this institution of the right to marriage at the present time.
592 For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most
595 difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also
in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty.
First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among
the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the
census that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785
females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is
694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there
are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant per-
centage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals,
keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my
census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the
settlement of Arkyn, for every ninth inhabitant there
was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to
women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every
11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married
men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of
women was. /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set
[583 of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a
considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride
price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term
service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

/169 cont./
833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g'e) is lo-
● 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt; in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
● 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
222 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
material men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they con-
tinually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
● 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[52] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[847] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with religious
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[769] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
● 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
● 835 note that during the negotiations between the ru and the
● 584

/170 cont./

835 an'g:ej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
832 the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
584 betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
595 together. To say to a woman of the an'g:ej category, "Let us
[195] have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
684 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[14] 629

1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My companion laid before them his

/178 cont./

835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often and so persistently about these relations; they considered them so commonplace that they should not, according to their way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you? Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
152 835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns /179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirtations of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between
[182] brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
602 Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
584 not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for the purchase of wives.

835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych,
[192] n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539]

Mother, mother, dear mother,
Haf thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
593 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
835 going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
[762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
584 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
593 advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/251 cont./

584 childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an
593 unloved man. But these are exceptional cases

831 In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in any way from love in civilized society. Coarse sexuality is completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive people we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lover's sorrow to the stormiest outbursts of heroic passion, which neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a manly resolution to part with one's life.

831 These psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in
593 love songs, especially in the songs of women.

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching images and forms. "Night and day do I think of thee... As on my own mother do I gaze...If thou leavest me, only of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I walk. From the well whence we both did drink, thy dark shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and flint that hang from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like rain, the calf of my right leg fails me, it has become immovable, wholly dry have I become, my legs do not move" -- with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy that the same sentimental notes sound in the songs of the men, and the references to left and right tears pattering like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly, all of thee"... Only rarely does clumsy vulgar (from our point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat thigh the joint (the malves) spins(twitches), that is how I like it." But never any cynicism.

/252 cont./

831 The importance of the role of love in the life of the
533 Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
831 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
584 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
593 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
762 are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides
831 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
593 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
762 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.

There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
[849] her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
593 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
762 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
[832] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

835 /254 cont./
831 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which
832 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
533 himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
538 ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first
[539] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy
bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on
the wall."

The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited love.
832 One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which
[825] they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or
they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress.
But there are also other means that are not so harmless and
lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these
drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days,
dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to
sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of
them.

832 Among the Gilyak,as in our country, there are timid in-
584 • dividuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration
of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old
women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present.
Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries,
ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, correspond-
ing to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

832 There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love
are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the at-
traction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the
aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The
word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the
term poch urland, literally -- "of a good face."

/258/

XII.

Methods of Obtaining a Wife

584 • Data from the epos. It is first of interest to reconstruct the
538 picture of the acquisition of a wife in the old days according
to the data from the popular epos. Judging from these data,
especially from the so-called r'afund (poems), the acquisition
of a wife in the old days was not at all an easy matter (1).

[592] 1. That the procuring of a wife was
not a simple matter is shown by the
very expression for this undertaking,
an'gej nanygind, in which the verb
nanygind is a technical term for the
hunting of a beast, usually accom-
panied by difficulties in the search and
all sorts of dangers.

On the contrary, one of the chief exploits of the heroes is
the search for a wife. In order to find his wife, the hero of
a Gilyak poem must undertake the most distant and hazardous
journeys to the end of the world; he must sail over stormy
seas, even ascend to heaven or descend to the kingdom of
the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all
sorts of heroic duels with whole clans of the most fearsome
foes -- duels encountered in the course of these peregrinations.

Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of
necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportun-
ity to find a wife nearby?

First of all, we shall note that the aforementioned term
an'gej nanygind, "to seek a wife," may lead one to think
that the ordinary mode of securing a wife for the heroes was
force, abduction. True, this, too, was done by them, but
most frequently they obtained their wives in the most
peaceful manner, without even paying anything. This is

534 /258 cont./
538 • evident from the very expression an'gej nanygind, where to
denote wife the word an'gej is used -- the term used for the
category of women with respect to whom the Gilyak has the
right and obligation of marriage. And in fact everything
indicates that the object of the hero's searchings is precisely
the lawful wife who belongs to him by right of birth. Every-
where that the hero appears with his demands he is addressed
by the term ymgai -- son-in-law /syat'/, and the women to
whom he makes claim are designated an'gej, but when they
refer to some other possible candidate, alien to him, they do
not call her an'gej, but sanih. Here is a characteristic ex-
ample. The hero of one poem (2) /559/ was rejected by his

2. L. Shternberg, Materialy
po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka
i fol'klora /Materials on the Study
of Gilyak Language and Folklore/,
1908, p. 118.

lawful an'gej, who declared that if she had to marry him
she would kill herself. Then the father says: "Son-in-law!
Once the maiden does not want thee, what can you do? Go
and seek another woman (sanih, and not an'gej)." After this
he went to another place. In one yurt he found an old woman,
She said: "Son (mothers-in-law frequently give this name to
their sons-in-law), why hast thou come? Hast thou come in
search of a wife? Thy wives are yonder (on the hill) in that
pile yurt, there are thy wives, go" (1). The plural is used

1. L. Shternberg, op. cit., 118.

here because these were two sisters, and both, in accordance
with Gilyak law, belonged to him. True, it may seem
strange that the heroes of the poems must seek their lawful
wife with such tremendous exertions; it would seem, on the
contrary, that this would be extremely easy, because com-
monly there are very many women of this category, their

/259 cont./
584 • residence is known to every interested individual, and cus-
538 tomarily one can find them in the nearest settlement. But
such is the fate of heroes; marvellous adventures always
fall to their lot. Commonly they are isolated people, whose
kin have suffered some catastrophe. The nearest clans of
their fathers-in-law may have become extinct through an
epidemic or a famine, while the surviving branches may
have emigrated long, long ago to some distant place and
lost all ties with those left behind -- under such circum-
stances it is not strange that the hero must wander in all
directions in order, like the hunter, to make his way to the
desired goal through visible traces, inquiries, and guesses.

Finally, it also may be that the desired an'gej, whom
the hero at last reaches, is betrothed to a stranger, and all
the imposing strength and renown of the hero are necessary
to compel the father-in-law to violate his word, given to
another, which threatens him either with war with the clan
of the offended bridegroom, or, at best, with a trial and the
payment of a large ransom. And the hero himself must
later endure a whole series of such wars for a wife obtained
in this manner. Here is a typical example of this kind from
one n'ax'umd. The hero, appearing at the home of the woman
who is to be his wife, hears the following answer from the
father of this woman in response to his claim: "She is be-
trothed -- n'ky-yvyn iokhta' (technical term for a girl be-
trothed to a stranger). One clan of the mountain people and
still other clans will come to make war on thee." Our Gilyak
said: "Nevertheless I shall go ahead and carry her off."
The old man replied: "Thou wilt only come back tomorrow."
[583] On the following day, after the customary communal /260/
feast, he not only let his daughter go without receiving any-
thing for her, but even ordered two boats to be loaded full
of valuables as a dowry for her, which is only possible when
the woman is the lawful bride of a man by right of birth.

/260 cont./
538
• 538
585
[597] It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not
having any traces of Goldi-Manchurian borrowings and in-
fluences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal,
which at the present time plays such an important role. All
is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to
take my wife." Father: "All right, take her!" After this
everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is im-
mediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which
I shall speak in detail later on, is the confarreatio, the joint
smoking or meal.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero:
"Thou art a man from where?" Our Gilyak: "I am a dweller
of the village in the middle of the bay, I have come to take
thy daughter in marriage." Then this old man said: "My
child, this guest has come to take thee, go with him." This
woman said: "Very well, I shall go with him." This old
man said: "Ho, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest"...
Our Gilyak ate with his wife. Having eaten, having finished,
he set out with his wife" (1). Another example even better

1. Shternberg, op. cit., 47.

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father
of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that
woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out,
urinated, came in, made the bed, got in under one blanket,
lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero de-
parted with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

583 But along with such lawful marriages there are also
538 described cases of the forcible carrying off of women. And
this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the
hero that the clans of his lawful fathers-in-law may become
extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/260 cont./
583 Such catastrophes, as we shall see further on, are not at all
538 rare. This alternative which, according to the epos, faced
the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful an'gej,
who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife
by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention
of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage --
proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later insti-
tution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction
with /261/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was
a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us
in the traditional epos.

584 Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the pres-
• 584 ent the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying
a woman of the an'gej category, a woman who is regarded as
one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is con-
sidered "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws
of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the cate-
gories of an'gej the most desirable marriage is with the
daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most
orthodox is considered the cousin marriage between the
daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a
marriage is so highly valued that even before the future
spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother give
each other their word to unite the children in marriage.
After the birth of the children, when they have reached the
age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the
clansmen of one side or the other a formal act of agreement
[593] or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the
[602] mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not
with the father of the bride (for she is his sister and con-
versation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with
584 his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to
585 this: the matchmaker /svat/ (father or mother of the groom)
before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancés
with threads of nettle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/261 cont./
584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children
are considered husband and wife, and they address each
other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife
moves to the house of her young bedgroom, sleeps with him in
the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon
attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This baste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to
a timely strengthening of the right to bed marriage. In a few
years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up,
the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore,
in the course of time the economic situation of both sides
may change. The father of the bride may become needy
and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are
cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are
of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may
be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just
an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
565 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Ikisu,
took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with
her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she re-
ported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and
moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of
menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move;
the initial agreement is considered a pledge and, known to all.
"All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance,
who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
585 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it.
583 There is merely an exchange of girls, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousin,

/265 cont./
602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
191 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his
uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among
the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven
wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
• 584 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not
593 the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this
affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and
the bride price is handed over to him.

Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
194 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
196 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
597 that he is married, that he has a wife and children, he says:
191 n'i-umgarvo ivri, literally "I have a wife's village" (ni -- I,
umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivri -- there is), an expres-
sion completely corresponding to the present-day way of life
of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been
preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settle-
ments, and the former shows up to live with her for several
months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a
man has, besides his own native settlement, still another
settlement where his wife lives.

194 Another example: the term for designating a person's
191 origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth."
614 This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
186 be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the
settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's
clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with
which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother,
but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a
settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to
visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during
the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/268 cont./
535 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-
538 groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You
will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves
to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter,
says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate
with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated,
entered arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under
the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day
that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats
loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see foot-
note 1 below/.

Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a
538 town with many people, and, when he went into the center
• 542 yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest,
585 from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come
to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go
to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into
a yurt, an old man, an old woman were there. This old
woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said:
"I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose:
"Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak
left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both,
having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His
wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having
eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose,
ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his vil-
lage). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text
p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57,
58, respectively are not indicated in the text/.

582 Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly
[581] seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an
orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of
[184] akhmak'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."
[178] Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially
undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms
they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a
wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/269 cont./
582 my children and your children also be akhmak'i. If you do
not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break
the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according
to law ("live peace")."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty,
even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in
such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give
a very small one, if the akhmak is not an ancient one.

Orthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied
197 circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages
198 in the clans of akhmak'i. One of the causes was the depopu-
133 lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com-
555 pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause,
58 perhaps the most important, was at economic one, brought
[582] about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far
East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of
hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which
formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox,
became objects for which one might obtain not only objects
of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and
ornaments, but also food and liquor, such as rice, groats,
and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the
Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used
to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak
dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they pre-
ferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden
in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
197 the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
198 took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation-
556 ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's
582 dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good
[581] person, unla n'vukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
[194] his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'vukh became a
synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a
quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting ap-
peared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

197 /270 cont./
198 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
133 possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
555 and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
58 differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[582] become related to only rich people. In the question of the
choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded
of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and,
consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even
in the ancient "yigund" -- legends -- there is heard in
marriagetal [illegible] expressions: "He (or she) is not my
equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
556 a special fastidiousnent in the choice of a wife, to seek
58 women who were famous for their special qualities, who
614 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents,
their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
marriage came to be practiced between members of alien
clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price,
which introduced into the institution of marriage the element
of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of
alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the pro-
cedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

192 The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
584 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match-
maker -- "the man who makes an agreement", bride --
"future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms
for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With
orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and
bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
[194] nu -- husband, and the bride -- angej. The term jokh,
which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely
inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure
of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of
orthodox marriage.

197 /270 cont./
198 orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox
585 /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special
[194] term tshagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom
584 the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the
280 father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister
[582] of the father. The role of the bride's individual is explained
apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According
to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by
the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of
the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of
his closest akhmak, the brother of his own daughter-in-law.
584 If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla
602 n'vukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
614 marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently
participate, in addition to these persons, several honored
clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy per-
[556] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing
[582] with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre-
quently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the
proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away
with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all
584 alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
602 nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the
556 maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."
[533]

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married
595 man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself
584 usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter
614 herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and
betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/272 cont./

584 184 [171] The bride is not present during the betrothal, the mother has the absolute right of veto, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
584 184 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motives of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of full freedom of choice, all the more because the marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

584 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, when the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, they say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
[675] longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

584 675 Even without invitations, however, there are always witnesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of
[686] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to court, and this results in a large fine.

584 576 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot conceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement.
[203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/273 cont./

584 576 him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the host needs; after that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

[114] [171]

1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the father's deprecatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers toward the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men de-
583 584 184 cide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side unashamedly enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable ones of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

/274 cont./

584 583 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request, therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the business would quickly end, for the old woman was very needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning, namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations, I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur. The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men, old acquaintances.

584 583 539 [203] [596] After the customary exchange of news, after drinking some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have come through need, it was necessary to come to thee, It is a matter, a big matter, when the need came, do thou come to my aid.

/275 cont./

584 583 539 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to aid thee, although I have nothing.

Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me, wilt thou not wish to help?

Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, is it not so?

Pevn: Of course.

Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall also have, is it not so?

Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Thus in truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?

Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready to give thee.

After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks and, finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised to give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a son. Let us become akhmalk'i."

To this Lakkan replies: I have already given my word to others.

Pevn: What if you did give your word to another man? You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to court with you.

583 [584] After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the business negotiations concerning the bride price.

Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I believe, throws light on the very origin of the institution.

194 583 192 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the word az', azh from azimynd (?) -- to give as a gift, so that literally az', az'r means a present, a gift, which the family or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is shown from the following. In other ritual cases where compensation [628] with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a murdered man -- the term used is jus'kind, which means

/281 cont./

583 584 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the do Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, never less, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may b come necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered ve important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry m be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bri will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 614 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded betwee two families is considered an agreement between two clans, a the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging [686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of he parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 686 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses th part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit then both will not suit you. When we give you something to e if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to as for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride pr [576] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they com on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this ti the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, gi

593 /271 cont./
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614 The bride is customarily represented by the father and
[602] mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality.
593 In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief.
584 In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son in-
[538] forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, replies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also,
584 that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women
184 generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is
[593] no smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father.
[562] This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish this, is it for me to contradict!" But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

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1. It is interesting to note that among the Negda, whose customs, as a result of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 533, 584, 762

And to-day the reproachful tones of the cruelly deceived mai
'swish of the sledge and the howl of the dogs as the narta starts

'You said you would kill yourself,
And you did not.
You are a deceiver!
Men are liars!' "

den may be heard in the
off'—

/283 cont./

It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle" takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family, and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless. During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred, however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

/372 cont./

583 property of the whole family, but the personal money earnings of the son-in-law, as well as the sables and foxes that he obtains through his efforts and skill, remain at his disposal, which makes it possible for the son-in-law to attain an independent standing in time. But in general the payment of the bride price by labor is not frequently encountered, for the sale of the woman is too enticing a prospect for her kinsmen, and moreover the Gilyak have not yet grown accustomed to asking for the labor of others. The bride price is paid to the father of the bride, or, in his absence -- to her brothers, if they are adults, otherwise -- to their guardian, i.e., to that clansman-ruvn to whom they, along with their mother, have passed; in the absence of any brothers of the bride -- to that same ruvn of whom we just spoke, that is, the one to whom the mother of the bride has passed; in the absence of such -- to the brothers of the father, then to the distant clansmen-ruvn, but in general to clansmen of the male sex. Originally the bride price was always given, not to a separate individual, but to the khal' (clan). And even nowadays among the Tungus, fellow tribesmen of the Gilyak, the bride price is paid to the "nasleg," i.e., the clan. And this is perfectly natural, since originally the bride price was a ransom paid to a whole clan, which was avenging the abduction of the women. This primitive significance of the bride price is reflected in the custom whereby the wife of a deceased Gilyak always remains in the clan of her husband and passes, according to the decision of the clan, to one of the brothers (ruvn) of the deceased (only to a younger brother, however, and only in the event of the unwillingness of the ruvn to marry the widow does she return to the clan of her father, while the children remain in the clan of the husband. The obligation of the clansmen-ruvn with regard to the widows of their deceased ruvn reminds one of biblical story of Boaz and Ruth. The bride price is either paid all at once or in part in advance and in part some time after the bride moves to the home of the groom.

There are instances of the sale of children of the female sex. A Gilyak purchases for himself or for his young son a young

/372 cont./

girl, who, until the proper age, remains in the home of her parents for instruction in all the women's sciences and crafts; in /373/ this case, part of the bride price is paid at the conclusion of the agreement. Every year after that the groom makes presents to his future father-in-law, and the remaining part of the bride price is paid when the bride moves to the home of her future husband. If the "bartered bride" should die in the interval between the conclusion of the agreement and moving to the home of the husband, the bride price is returned. Young girls customarily move without delay to the home of the groom, who is often several times older than the bride and who purchases her, even though he already has one or two wives, with the sole aim of having a young worker when the other wives grow old. If the groom is also underage, the future spouses are raised together, become friends from childhood, and become attached to each other for life, but this good feature of the purchase of small children does not at all atone for the other features of the custom, which is based solely on the calculation of buying a wife cheaply. The custom of purchasing wives for underaged sons was perhaps one of the reasons for the above-mentioned prohibition against the enjoyment of conjugal rights by an elder brother with regard to the wives of his younger brothers, and from this arose the custom of forbidding the older brother to marry even the widow of a deceased younger brother. The Gilyak pursues bargains to such a degree in purchasing a wife that not infrequently he obtains for his underaged son a bride who may be two or three times older than he, if only he gets her at a bargain. The payment of a large bride price gives the husband the right to get a part of it back in the event the wife dies soon after the marriage, and sometimes also a part of the heritage of the father-in-law. But side by side with the payment for the bride there exists among the Gilyak another institution -- the dowry. Before setting off for the bridegroom's home the wife is attired in festive dress and is provided, according to the condition of her parents, with valuable fur coats, garments, and ornaments. This dowry belongs to the bride, who,

1: Sternberg--529 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/373 cont./

583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ziber's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but 586 nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is con- 583 cluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. 583 In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the 584 Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

462 But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, [562] and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not [584] required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana, berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak during the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while 000 her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

2: Schrenck--1052 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/646 cont./

567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, [177] indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is [648] rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is [181] the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale [439] of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that 569 of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small 435 among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive [583] to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kulk, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr: as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because [556] of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems [584] so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does [583] not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in [556] exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the purchase price in some other form.

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 533, 584, 762

"Among the eighty-eight adults who died between 1891 and 1895 on the west coast, [LS S: of Sakhalin] one was a young Gilyak woman who hanged herself, because she had been given in marriage to a man she disliked. Under this strange wild exterior, this dirt-encased, skin-clad, unkempt, ill-favoured form, we are startled by the 'one touch of nature;' and yet the old, old songs of this people tell mostly of such events—of the death of the disappointed lovers, or of the impassioned appeal to the loved one.

Perhaps one day we may hope to have some of these Gilyak lyrics from the pen of Mr. P.; [LSS: Pilsudski] meanwhile, his kindness enables me to give one here, and to tell the story of another.

The usual motif of these lyrics is the betrothal of the girl when young, and her subsequent violent and secret attachment to another and youthful lover. If the mutual passion is strong, then rather than become the wife of one chosen by her parents for her, she and her lover will commit suicide. This they do in the same manner, i.e. by plunging a knife to the heart, or by strangling, since those who thus kill themselves in the same way will be together in heaven. There is one song, well known among the Gilyaks, which tells how a young man loved a fair maiden already betrothed in her childhood to another, and how they agreed to commit suicide. This man, however, proved faithless, and not only did not fulfil his word, but had never intended so to do. Until this day, it is said the maiden's spirit has never ceased to upbraid him, calling always, 'Ah, you said you would kill yourself, and you have not. You deceived me! Men are liars!' [265]

ally a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
nner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close
lative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a
tter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she
ay do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also
es not take part in the more important councils. On the
her hand, she may occupy an independent and respected
sition; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may
ve her own money and inherit, although usually less than
r brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any
ore, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but
en wins respect thereby.
In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
eir wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
an is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not
rticularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable
nsequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated
e lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary
airs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her
here she is entirely independent and in the family council.
r opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.
The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
een man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
e case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and hand-
aking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall
eak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when
e man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no
brace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are
changed and even these are rather cool. However, there
e other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval.
tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's
r and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth.
metimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his
ly. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing
ch other's face with saliva.
The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
nt. During the absence of the husband, the admirer sud-
nly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the
d or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some
n do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the
ducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once
re by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek
venge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this
unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from
ne such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

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585 NUPTIALS--wedding (e.g., preferred time and place, ceremonial, persons attending and officiating); symbolic rites; means of assuring publicity and legality (e.g., banns, licenses); civil and ecclesiastical weddings; variations dependent upon status; associated property transactions (e.g., transfer of gifts, of bride-price); homecoming of bridal couple; consummation (e.g., immediate or deferred, private or public); defloration rites (e.g., jus primae noctis); concern for virginity of bride (e.g., exhibiting tokens); postwedding events (e.g., honeymoon, exchange of visits); status and activities of newly married persons; etc. See also:
Marital sexuality . . . . . 83 Residence in marriage 591

/122 cont./

*614 615 476 574 which belongs to them by right through the female line: "Ymgi (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ must be fed" -- such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

*614 615 476 574 591 This rule, however, does not find expression at all in an obligation of the akhmal'k to support his son-in-law /zyat'/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of maternality when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan site of her spouse's habitation. Nevertheless, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a most important role in the unification of the clans.

615 ●585 591 476 It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last moment before the bride is carried away from the home of her father, there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled cast-iron kettle brought by the bridegroom as a part of the bride price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle belonging to the father of the girl. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle: the former remains with the father-in-law, the second is borne home by the bridegroom -- ymgi. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the akhmal'k, the same ceremony is repeated before their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nich (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nich zychyyynd (trampling of the nich). It is also called lymyz'n-zand -- trampling of the threshold, which points to the religious element of the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymyz'n-mam -- an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-forbear, the guardian genius of the home, whose

476 615 585 591 796 615 476 /122 cont./ ● blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 *614 476 574 606 [431] The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There

*614 731 476 574 606 615 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

615 724 725 476 *614 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

/165 cont./

582 584 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to
• 585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a common economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion
[601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more, approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband" (n'an g:ej, n'fu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at which time they become actual spouses, without any of the ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in concluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably explains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yr:kh" and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age when most of us are only preparing to get married the young Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anniversary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
[582] unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old. The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
[556] riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all the ancient customs and rites.

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 221 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
[521] selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
• 585
584

/170 cont./

* 835 an'g:ej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
832 the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
584 betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
• 585 together. To say to a woman of the an'g:ej category, "Let us
[195] have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
* 835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
684 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[114] [627]

1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My

/247 cont./

000 amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.
• [585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.
881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos con-
881 nected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,
• 585 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
833 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

/260 cont./

538 584 585 [177] It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not having any traces of Goldi-Manchurian borrowings and influences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal, which at the present time plays such an important role. All is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to take my wife." Father: "All right, take her!" After this everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is immediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which I shall speak in detail later on, is the confarreatio, the joint smoking or meal.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero: "Thou art a man from where?" Our Gilyak: "I am a dweller of the village in the middle of the bay, I have come to take thy daughter in marriage." Then this old man said: "My child, this guest has come to take thee, go with him." This woman said: "Very well, I shall go with him." This old man said: "Ho, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest", .. Our Gilyak ate with his wife. Having eaten, having finished, he set out with his wife" (1). Another example even better

1. Shternberg, op. cit., 47.

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, came in, made the bed, got in under one blanket, lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero departed with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

583 538 But along with such lawful marriages there are also described cases of the forcible carrying off of women. And this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the hero that the clans of his lawful fathers-in-law may become extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/260 cont./

583 538 Such catastrophes, as we shall see fu
rare. This alternative which, accor
the man of olden times -- either to
who belonged to him by right of birt
by force, while at the same time th
of betrothal to an alien woman as a
proves that obtaining a woman by pu
tution, established as a corrective o
with /261/ all its bloody consequenc
a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaini
in the traditional epos.

582 584 Contemporary methods of obtaining
ent the Gilyak has preferred the old
a woman of the an'g:ej category, a
one's wife by right of birth. Only su
sidered "pure." And people who are
of antiquity try to observe the old la
gories of an'g:ej the most desirable
daughter of the mother's brother, in
orthodox is considered the cousin ma
daughter of a brother and the son of
marriage is so highly valued that ev
spouses appear in the world the siste
each other their word to unite the cl
After the birth of the children, whe
age of three or four, there takes pla
clansmen of one side or the other a
[593] [602] or even the actual concluding of the
mother of the groom may carry on t
with the father of the bride (for she
versation between brother and sister
584 585 his wife. The whole procedure of a
this: the matchmaker /svat/ (fathe
before everyone ties each arm and e
with threads of nettle and dog hair

ther on, are not at all
ling to the epos, faced
narry his lawful an'g:ej,
, or to obtain a wife
re is almost no mention
pecial form of marriage --
rchase was a later insti-
the custom of abduction
es, just as ransom was

ng wives depicted for us

a wife. Up to the pres-
orthodox mode of marrying
woman who is regarded as
ch a marriage is con-
staunchly for the laws
w. Of all the cate-
marriage is with the
other words, the most
arriage between the
his sister. Such a
en before the future
r and the brother give
hildren in marriage.
n they have reached the
ce in the presence of the
formal act of agreement
e marriage. Even the
the negotiations, not
is his sister and con-
is prohibited) but with
greement amounts to
r or mother of the groom)
each leg of the fiancés
and, in addition, gives

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a fe
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is consid
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the childr
are considered husband and wife, and they address each
other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young
moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with hi
the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and
attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amount
a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a fe
years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow
the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthern
in the course of time the economic situation of both side
may change. The father of the bride may become need
and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There
cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed
of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister,
be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/
an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gil
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iks
took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep wi
her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she re
ported her first menstruation to him. But it also happen
[675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents an
moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of
menstruation, but no formalities are required for this m
the initial agreement is considered a public ac, known
"All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintan
who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his si
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not onl
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question o
There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is n
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousin

"The cauldron plays an important part, not only in the everyday domestic economy, but at the very threshold of the new joint life—at the marriage ceremony itself. At least, this is so among some of the clans on Sakhalin. No religious function, as we understand it, graces the occasion; only a simple custom, which appears as a traditional sanction to this important departure in the Gilyak's family life.

The payment hav ing been made without formality to the bride's father, a feast is prepared in his hut, to which the bridegroom comes with his friends, bringing a new Japanese cauldron. The marriage feast is then cooked in this new vessel, and eaten with rejoicing, for the eating together is part of the necessary function. This ended, the two cauldrons, the new one and that pertaining to the hut, are both cleaned and placed by the bridegroom's kindred in front of the bride, who, with her partner, is standing with her back turned to the fire, and face to the door of the hut. She then places her left foot in the new vessel and her right in the paternal, or rather maternal, cauldron, the two being placed one step apart. The bridegroom then moves them one by one, a step at a time, until the bride reaches the door. Here the couple take up their own and go to their new hut, amid the acclamations of their kindred."

586

586 TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE--methods (e.g., desertion, separation, annulment, divorce); prevalence of each; reasons (e.g., cruelty, infidelity, laziness, sterility); initiative and rights of each sex; procedure; residence readjustments; allocation of children (e.g., to mother, to father, to parent least at fault, division by age or sex); property arrangements (e.g., return of bride-price, alimony); subsequent relations of divorced spouses; social attitudes toward separation and divorce; etc. See also:

Sex status	562	Termination of marriage following the death of one spouse	768
Sex and marital offenses	684	Adultery	837
Dependency	736	Barrenness and sterility	842

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
797 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
585 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
574 and when they again depart they once more go through the cere-
788 mony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
593 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
586 marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey
[584] the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.

[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

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From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/373 cont./

in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ziber's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is concluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana, berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak during the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

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The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

Although contracted by purchase, and in part because of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

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material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In general, the man only has to attend to providing the most important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods insofar as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

/641 cont./

the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayev. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1° at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is
585 already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a
78 very insignificant one.
84

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

95 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating
96 the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a
58 sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, khgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root av), with the corresponding addition of nigyvyn: -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (je -- him + avind).

97 84 1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/267 cont./

58 we find one and the same picture of concluding marriage
538 without any formalities. It is merely necessary for a man, even though he may come from far away, even though he is only by hearsay considered a candidate for being a son-in-law, to state the reason for his coming, and he immediately receives the consent of the parents, and after that all the rights of a spouse, and on the very next day he may take his wife home with him. And that is not all; not only do they not demand any compensation from him, but usually the father-in-law even provides the departing ones with generous
[593] gifts. As a matter of form, it is true, they ask for the consent of the daughter, but maidens usually obey the will of their parents and the demand of the law. The sole rite which
•585 inevitably is practiced is a kind of Roman confarreatio, but
538 in the most primitive form: the groom and his bride must eat and smoke together. Here is an example of the procedure of concluding a marriage from one of the poems taken down by me. An old woman, the mother of two daughters, asks a young man who has arrived: "Son, why have you come here? Did you come to seek a wife? Your wives are over there in that pile yurt, your wives are there, go!" Our Gilyak ascended to the place, went in, and two young women were there. He sat down between them; having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, she took, she smoked; he then gave to the older sister, she took she smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All three ate together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they arose early, ate, our Gilyak /268/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go!" Having spent the day, on the next day they went back in a boat (1).

1. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, pp. 118-119.

/268 cont./

•585 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-
538 groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a
538 town with many people, and, when he went into the center
584 yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest,
585 from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57, 58, respectively are not indicated in the text./

582 Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly
[581] seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmalk'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."
[184] Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially
[178] undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/268 cont./

582 origin from a common mother). The favored and most frequent form of such an orthodox marriage is a marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of a sister /sic/.
584 Such marriages are concluded in childhood. Negotiations
•585 take place /269/ between the mothers soon after the birth of the children, but after the agreement a public ceremony is organized, in which, besides the fathers, the grandfathers of the children who are being married take part. The father of the groom brings a male dog, and the mother spins two threads out of the fur of this dog and a nettle; with one she binds the hand of the little girl, while with the other the father of the groom ties the son's little hand (1). All this is

[171] 1. It is curious that among the Haida the ceremony of concluding the marriage of infants, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a dog, bears the technical designation, "nakladyvanie perevyazki" (Engl. "putting the string on"). Evidently this ceremony, as among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out by means of a binding up with string or thread, just as is done in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

[581] The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present
584 is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right and obligation. When a marriage from the akhmalk clan is
582 arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have only recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that some kinsman took his wife from that clan), negotiations are usually begun with words like this: "You are my akhmalk, let

/281 cont./

583 She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After
192 her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she
428 may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

583 After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over
● 585 the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the
quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and

583 no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families,
585 the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom
556 lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry.

583 But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the
585 wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged
[452] in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/281 cont./

583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
214 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

● 585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[596] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/282 cont./

● 585 her advice on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is unhappy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way possible. During the farewell feast the groom sits alongside the bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe, but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the groom is supposed to comport himself modestly the whole day, and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next morning the newly married woman brings something to eat to the newly married man and calls him "husband." On that very

585 morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last
782 regalement, and at that time the parents of the newlyweds exchange prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such benedictions, taken down on the Amur:

539 "If god gives happiness, they will live out their time
585 happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time
782 badly. O god, make the life of our children a happy one!"

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /283/ the following prayer: "O god, make, make happy the time of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life together give good fortune!"

Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the

585 direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually
788 setting out they go through a ceremony which bears the designa-
[782] tion "stamping the kettle." It consists of the following. At the inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large Manchurian kettle with five little ears (for the feeding of dogs) from the bride price of the groom, and at the outer side a small kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the bride and the groom, one after the other, place one foot in the large kettle and the other foot in the small kettle, not treading on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a symbolic union of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence of the two female penates -- the "old woman-mistress of the threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

● /283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony "stamping the kettle"
783 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
177 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the

593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no

[697] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.

[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning

593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyz') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-

● 585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŏgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
839 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/374 cont./

in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ziber's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is concluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana, berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak during the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier [556] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, village and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

591 592 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 592 the central room used by all the members of the household, with 342 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

577 171 As little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, 577 Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

116, 177, 586

"Mr. Pilsudsky, whom I found to be a great and true
an intelligent member of this tribe, whom he knew—one
by the Russian Government to track brodyagi—came to h
his wife. He had migrated to a far-off village on the riv

1. Which discharges on the east coast at a spot a few
of the Tim.

day that he arrived at Mr. P.'s hut, his father-in-law a
they told the story of the newly married wife's desertion
Gilyak to the Bay of Okhotsk. This was hundreds of mile
less to do anything, and advised the young husband to ac
wife live with the man she loved; but nothing would satis
ing upon it. He had seen such effect mighty things; buy
bring about the arrest of a criminal, and so he would ha
portunity was such that at last Mr. P. gave him a paper
good to take away the wife of another man.' The Gilyak
and went away; and afterwards on the strength of this pa
body in taiga could read, he got his wife back again."

friend of the Gilyaks, tells how
of those appointed as overseer
im in difficulty one day about
er Nabil (1) and married. On the

miles south of the mouth

ccompanied him, and together
and elopement with another
s away, and Mr. P. was power-
quiesce in his fate, and let the
fy him save a paper with writ-
(ruble notes) untold wealth, and
ve this magic. [264] His im-
, on which he wrote, 'It is not
took the paper, in an envelope,
per, the writing of which no-

years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the weakening sex impulse. I would believe that a 35-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A man's wife can be a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequently cases of mature individuals (around 23–28 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is among the Gilyak only very rarely, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

Women are in general well treated by men, partly because the Gilyak women bear the mark of instinctive humanity, partly because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will be abducted by an admirer who usually consoles the husband, the husband, for the payment of halym. It happens very rarely that a well-to-do man has several wives. The man only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

In general, we can conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, it happens just the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of halym, which is

582 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in no manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of [illegible] than a 35-year-old man [illegible] man may do so, but he must pay back the halym. The woman also does not take part in the more important transfers. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do so she wishes, but even is respected thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents, 557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and her inability 558 to resist is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unhappy consequences, for as we said, it is woman is ill-treated 571 she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary 572 relations, the women of mature individuals (around 23–28 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

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177 special rule in order to make sure of their wives. Such
588 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 very dangerous if eventually being the only male of their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, be-
cause they know that, according to the Greek religion,
marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently,
in case of divorce, be entitled to the [illegible] protection.
However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them
much in the long run, for the baptized individuals who later
have no intention of keeping their Christianity, alive, are soon
forgotten in solitude. No one knows where
they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is
very troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first
marriage, she must leave them with the husband.

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
woman is taken out of the house for 10 (!) days and brought to
343
1. The duration of this exile is not the
same everywhere. From some Gilyak
cases, if not a formality, it is a burden which each one always
[illegible] to be [illegible] unwanted. Also, if a woman
[illegible] his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of
his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man
[illegible] in marriage, the clan of his mother, the family of his
brothers, with whom he share the right to the women of the
[illegible] clan, or his family, have also to share the women
of [illegible] on the girl's part, they slay the newborn child,
and the clan is saved from ruin and unhappiness.

The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining
the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like
the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation
and reconcile itself with the institution of exogamy, with the
[illegible] into its bosom form time to time of individuals
from other clans.

587 SECONDARY MARRIAGES—remarriage of widowed and divorced persons, different rules governing secondary marriages (e.g., preference for relative of first spouse), reduction in bride-price, curtailing of ceremonials, levirate and sororate unions (e.g., prevalence, preference, procedure); etc. See index to series and account of widowed women. 588 Religious sects.

/184

Once the above-mentioned principle was created and
became an immutable imperative of life, the natural conse-
quence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the
foundation of the Gilyak clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyaks, as we have seen, is not
the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It
gives man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous
role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the
most [illegible] rights of man. There are ordinarily
fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and so
make matters worse each of the wealthy men has many
wives. As we have seen—and each one in the majority—
acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy. Fre-
quently he must wait a long time before he can marry. [129]

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the
right to the women of the [illegible] clan, in particular to the
women of his own clan, and he has also an unconsciously
[illegible] obligation and right. The bride price in such
cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always
[illegible] to be [illegible] unwanted. Also, if a woman
[illegible] his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of
his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man
[illegible] in marriage, the clan of his mother, the family of his
brothers, with whom he share the right to the women of the
[illegible] clan, or his family, have also to share the women
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The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining
the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like
the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation
and reconcile itself with the institution of exogamy, with the
[illegible] into its bosom form time to time of individuals
from other clans.

/184 cont.

his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the decision
of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligations of
husband and father. If the deceased has no younger
brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the "elders."
Such is the immutable law of the clan.

Such are the advantages which the clan union offers by
virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage
norms which directly issue from it. It is completely natural
that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who have a
right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being born to
a clan is the sole condition. An arrangement which
is a separate member of society may at the same time be joined
in an individual marriage and in a group marriage. Persons
who are joined in an individual marriage live in a manner
by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by
a common economy and common offspring. At the same
time, however, in each of them is given the right and necessity
to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital
group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place
irregularly, often demanding considerable interests, and usually
presupposes the consent of both parties to each act of inter-
course, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recog-
nized, lawful, that it does not damage the family life, neither
social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally—
it is even required by law—it can be one of the most fruitful
relations as marital relations. This is not only theoretical jus-
tice; it coincides also with the juridical views of those peo-
ple among whom these institutions exist. /161 first of all,
the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which in-
dividual and group spouses are not distinguished by appella-
tion, is indicative of this. Further, the obligations which
impose on the participants in a group marriage the same ob-
ligations as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus, for
example, when an individual husband dies, his wife and
children of his younger brothers, they will remain such after

/161 cont.

intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually
are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

Now the Gilyak marriage is [illegible] (1) the right to the individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular.

The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categories pu and ańkej are bound by the right to marry, in other words, out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinship terms, only these alone have the right to join in individual marriage with each other; all the other categories of kinship groups are excluded from individual marriage. This right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature — the absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly in the eyes of the Gilyak the consanguinity and kinship terms are a bar to marriage, but in the opinion of the Gilyak most naturally therefore tends sexual intercourse and marriage among the women with whom he has the right to do so.

These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship nomenclature, either from birth or from another specifically defined moment, he calls ańkej (wife), and he calls all other women ańtałli (forbidden). Ańkej are those women who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all ańj, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of her husband; 3) the husband of the "brother" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some — all the brothers of her husband.

/162 corr./

In those clans where the "older brothers" are excluded from the clan "pu" with respect to the wives of "younger brothers," the widows are ordinarily assigned to one of the "younger brothers" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brothers," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the widow, without the right, however, to sexual intercourse with her.

But the typical aspect of the marriage-rights relations between the pu and anŋ(e) is not concealed in this extremely common institution of the levirate, about which /163/ we must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon and embraces only one intinjti-case class of this category. The most characteristic aspect of the rights-obligations of marriage between pu and anŋ(e) lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the kinship terminology, in other words, in the conditions of the normal marriage. This right-obligation character of marriage between pu and anŋ(e) has, it is true, been considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall speak further on -- the Gilyak do take wives outside of the aforementioned categories, but these marriage unions do not represent the favored, characteristic form of even the contemporary marriage. On the contrary, both the contemporary customs and the ancient epos equally indicate that precisely between these classes of pu and anŋ(e) marriage was obligatory and the most satisfactory of all from the specific point of view of the Gilyak. In order to show how imperative this consciousness of the obligation of marriage between persons of the classes pu and anŋ(e) is, it will be sufficient to introduce one example from a story I recorded. In this story, they tell about a battle between a young Gilyak and a mysterious werewolf-shaman. The fight ends with the werewolf's receiving a mortal wound and returning to his yurt. On his deathbed he remembers that he is a distant akimaik of his slayer, that is, a member of that clan from which the clan of the killer has the right to take wives, and of the very category of persons of that clan whose daughters

835 536 (54)

During

*835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his vmgsi, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka was a considerably Rusified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Rusified Gilyak, Aliykh, from the settlement of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger vun, compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, by name. Ordinarily, the question in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called her father a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 (197) 1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

*835 183 187 587 768 (131)

/184 corr./

levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

*835 183 187 587 768 (131)

Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the same. Ordinarily, such people invert in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called her father a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's own clan among us in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/198 corr./

614 home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
*194 together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the same clan -- the male cousins of their wives; the sons of the
692 sister-in-law among Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for
*194 some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his vmgsi, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka was a considerably Rusified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Rusified Gilyak, Aliykh, from the settlement of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger vun, compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding.

601 *835 (196) (195) (195) (195

is true that the wife works very hard, an
quickly; yet among the Gilyaks she by cu
ecting to her treatment, is free to divorc
t even be called upon to refund the price

d, as with all semi-wild and wild peoples,
stom retains a certain independence; and
e herself and run away to her father, who
original paid him by her husband."

/381 cont./

Inheritance. The structure of the contemporary family of the Gilyak naturally arouses in the father a desire to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization requires that in any case the property should not leave the confines of the clan. Out of the reciprocal action of these principles it develops that the children inherit from the father, and only in their absence -- the brothers of the deceased and his more distant clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and ascending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the rights of inheritance, as persons who are destined to leave the clan of their father and pass into the clan of their husbands. Such is the principle. In practice, it is true, it is relaxed; thus, for example, daughters obtain their dowry out of the hereditary property, and sometimes married daughters, especially when there are no heirs of the male sex or when the husbands purchased them for a big price, also share in the inheritance; but such instances are relaxations of the principle which are not generally accepted, and customarily they are effected by way of a will. Before his death the Gilyak summons his clansmen and makes known his wishes. These deathbed dispositions make it possible for the Gilyak to make not only daughters his heirs, but even persons of another clan, for example, his sons-in-law or workmen. If he should die without such a deathbed bequest, then, of course, the above-mentioned principle of inheritance goes into effect. But the details best serve to explain the essence of this principle.

If a Gilyak dies leaving neither wife nor children, /382/ his brothers are his heirs; in their absence -- his clansmen-ruvn in the order of their closeness of kinship. If he leaves a young widow and children, the widow, according to the decision of the clan, goes to one of the brothers or ruvn of the deceased; who has the rights and obligations of a father with regard to the children and is the guardian of their inherited property until they reach their majority. The young girls obtain a dowry, while the adult sons who have separated or wish to separate obtain their share of the

/652 cont./

567 171 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

428 562 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and, [601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be- [768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken [583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 587 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/652 cont./

428 587 has one or several wives. This shows most clearly that the Gilyak have no aversion to polygamy in principle and only live in monogamy for the most part for practical and economic reasons. The same happens when a widow with minor daughters or only the latter survive: the latter are regarded as part of their parents' estate, as it were, and they are inherited by the second husband of their mother, and, when they have reached marriageable age and suitors arrive, they can be purchased only by payments to him. On the other hand, if minor sons survive with the widow, her brother-in-law inherits her and the daughters, but the property of her deceased husband goes to /653/ him only temporarily for the use of the profit from it and must be handed over to her sons as their property as soon as they have grown up.

587 The marriage of the widow to her brother-in-law is not absolutely obligatory: if there is a man who wants to marry her, he can have her with the consent of her brother-in-law and for the payment of a sum designated by him, and, as happens as a rule among the Gilyak, can take her children as well. But once they are grown up and are claimed by their paternal relatives, he cannot keep them, but is obliged to let them go without any compensation or consideration.

587 428 If, however, the deceased was the youngest of the brothers, his older brothers inherit his property, to be sure, but the widow does not go to any of them, but may marry any eventual suitor, as she wishes, and the latter does not have to pay her brothers-in-law anything for her. With regard to her children from the first marriage, however, the above-mentioned rules apply.

In the last-mentioned cases, where widow and child form at least part of the objects of the estate and therefore the principle of equal shares for all the brothers cannot be observed, the Gilyak law of inheritance favors, not the older brother, but the younger one. In spite of the fact that the oldest brother is distinguished from the younger ones by a special designation, the latter are actually favored by the inheritance law.

428 Finally, if a Gilyak dies and there are neither sons nor brothers to take possession of the inheritance, it goes to the

/654 cont./
614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
● 587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

428 /654 cont./
● 587 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In
000

[113] 3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'iakov", "Turukhansk. krai /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 In
171 principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal
614 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal rela-
602 tives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the
628 latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity,
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually settles with the husband for the payment of kalym. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
● 587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the art of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is nly during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, uring the rest of the time only the women are industrious. he men often sleep at home during the day, and they get p after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit p a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak some-imes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for old-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live uite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never ccurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent nd then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps ften wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge them-elves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board. Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to arn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing nd similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into t even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they re ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never rade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. f a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. f the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, nd the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth f the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother r some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, hey keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate s usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. f they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half,

588

588 IRREGULAR UNIONS--marriages in violation of incest taboos, exogamous rules, caste restrictions, or prohibitions of bigamy; common-law marriages; marriages to gods, to deceased persons, to trees, to persons of the same sex; frequency of irregular unions; social reactions; etc. See also:

Incestuous, premarital, adulterous, and homosexual liaisons 83
Castes 564
Exogamous restrictions 61, 582

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
517 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

889 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
829 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
● [588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/256 cont./

143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often confused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak, Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum virile was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing. Later the membrum virile attained the proper development, and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.

143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
● 588 met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter very much resembled a man in the face. My companions explained that only a year ago she had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against
[538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given
[154] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which would sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
● 588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.

881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point when she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos connected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,

881 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
585 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before
833 its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

589

589 CELIBACY--prevalence of bachelors and spinsters; reasons for celibacy; status and activities of unmarried, widowed, and divorced celibates; etc. See also:

Religious celibates 79
Care of widows 736
Mourning 768
Chastity 831
Premarital adulthood 885

/374 cont./ Yet

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortunate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[513] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she participates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourning they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
[574] husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father, and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
• [589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the desire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradually acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
177 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow themselves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/385 cont./

162 or adolescent, living apart from their
595 parents or not, and therefore "house-
128 holds" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 The total population is 1,041, of whom
595 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[167] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

• [589] 3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

[128] [184]

163 The number of children who
165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124] 4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
36 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
402 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
237 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
50 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
471 43 otters, and 63 bears.
433

162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

• [589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

59

59 FAMILY--general statements dealing with several specific asp
family. The family is a social group consisting of two or more
different sex who are married to one another, and of one or mo
own or adopted, of the married parents. It is to be distinguishe
marriage, the social relationship uniting the parents of opposite
from the household, the social group occupying a dwelling or ot
Hence, strictly speaking, a married but childless couple or a w
divorced parent with children may form a household but not a fa

/128 cont./

174 Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observe
* 614 in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired
615 in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clans akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonderful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other clans, close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

/129/

• 59 114

The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.
Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schrenck, who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinary patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

/130 cont./

58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
• 59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
[551] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[553] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

* 601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[59] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

II.

Family-Clan Relations

59 601 When one observes the family among the Gilyak, one at first does not notice anything special about it. As among many of our other natives, the Gilyak buys one or two, formerly three, wives, who are his socially recognized wives, as are his children who work with him, are supported by him, and to whom his property passes after his death. The marital fidelity of a wife is guarded with an armed hand, as we shall see below. In a word, the form of marriage is, to all appearances, completely individual /individual marriage as opposed to group marriage/. But on closer acquaintance with the inner structure of Gilyak life /352/ one encounters a whole series of phenomena which are at variance 601 with this form of marriage. First of all, it becomes apparent that a Gilyak calls by the name of father (ytk) not only his socially recognized (own) father, but also all the brothers of his father, not only own, i.e., of the first degree of kinship, but also of all the most distant degrees, and the wives of these brothers of his father he calls mothers (ymk), like his own mother. In the same way, a Gilyak calls all the sisters of his mother by the name of mother (ymk), and their husbands father (ytk). The children of brothers, as well as the children of sisters, of all degrees of kinship call one another "ruvn" (= brother and also corresponds to the German word "Geschwister" = brothers and sisters). Thus, we see what seems to us a strange phenomenon, that a person may have a tremendous number of fathers and mothers, not to speak of brothers and sisters, and such fathers and mothers are often younger than their children. But, at the same time, a Gilyak does not call the sisters of his father and the brothers of his mother "ytk" and "ymk," but "edr" and "app."

601 171 For other forms of kinship relations, the Gilyak have a whole series of names, which proves that it is not poverty of language which is the cause of this, to us, strange kinship terminology. A similar terminology exists among the Iroquois and other Indian tribes of North America, and also among certain tribes of India,

591

591 RESIDENCE--prevailing rule governing the place of residence of a m
couple (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, neolocal); existen
combined rules (e.g., alternating, bilocal, matri-patrilocal); occurr
alternative rules under special circumstances; extent to which marri
normally involves the removal of bride or groom to another communi
local exogamy, local endogamy); residence changes by children or un
adults (e.g., removal to home of grandparents or maternal uncle); r
changes made late in married life; evidence bearing upon former or
changes in residence rules; etc. See also:

Dwellings	342	Residence readjustments after divorce	
Settlement patterns	361	Organization of the community	
Bride-service	583	Residence changes by widows and widower	
Postmarital visits	585		

manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents, their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection between man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full consent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

/122 cont./
which belongs to them by right through the female line: "Ymgi (son-in-law /zyat'ya/ must be fed" -- such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

This rule, however, does not find expression at all in an obligation of the akhmal'k to support his son-in-law /zyat'/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of maternality when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan site of her spouse's habitation. Nevertheless, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a most important role in the unification of the clans.

It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last moment before the bride is carried away from the home of her father, there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled cast-iron kettle brought by the bridegroom as a part of the bride-price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle belonging to the father of the girl. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle; the former remains with the father-in-law, the second is borne home by the bridegroom -- ymgi. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the akhmal'k, the same ceremony is repeated before their departure; only this time the outside of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nich (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nich zychvyvnd (trampling of the nich). It is also called lymyr'n-zand -- trampling of the threshold, which points to the religious element of the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called /ymyr'n-man/ -- an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-lorbear, the guardian genius of the home, whose

/122 cont./
blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the dancer of the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance, since the akhmal'k's each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k's and ymgi are manifested in less fanciful and land undertakings.

The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

/129 cont./
114 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible
595 for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamiō Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

58 To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak mar-
595 riage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife
●591 is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

/130 cont./
58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
●591 residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

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*601 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
121 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
125 own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
591 realm of kinship nomenclature also seemed to confirm it in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113]

1. At the time the account of this was

/193 cont./
614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individ-
601 ual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
602 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
582 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
*174 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, we can never know. Now let us look at the consequences
*174 this principle had in its practical application.
582
591 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
581 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /sic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriage, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Termi-
[602] nology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

/194 cont./
581 relationship of ny and an'gre; toward each other (1).
*174
582
591
602
[114]
(835)

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 82).

[113]

*174 2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons
582 of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women
581 for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

/263 cont./
195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the human term -- ixrem dgere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'avind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: nlg-yvyr' n-lenyn' pyrk pavzi -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active verb javind -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
[194] etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
●591 follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system
[171] of maternality /matemitera/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term g-end -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

/263 cont./

[196] patemitical, with the wife moving into the house of her
[197] husband. At the present time the original meaning has disap-
[198] peared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree
[199] that often for the expression "to get married" there is added
[200] to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would
mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this
is an obvious contradiction in adjectiv, for it signifies moving
into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being
[196] supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of
[197] marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as
far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life
are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The
reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with
someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for exam-
[198] ple, ytk menakh vavin kull ityd, i.e., "father ordered us
to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each
[199] other." Further, the active verb ajvind is used in the sense
of to be married, to have a wife, for example, menyn ryvn
an'gual vhnyvf ajvuzk -- "two brothers lived in marriage with
one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several
[198] remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony
[199] of this is found in the contemporary formula of common
[200] marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymgxi
[201] ainish jagn'udra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although,
according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife
to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system
[197] where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house
for good, or, as among the Aino of today, he regularly
came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and
it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated
to feed the son-in-law on the same basis as those on which
at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed
his wife.

/264 cont./

[200] This formula has preserved its vital significance even
[201] today. One is supposed to send regularly to the son-in-law
[197] jafu of eel-skins and a share of every catch. Moreover, the
[198] young men of the category ymgxi during the course of several
[199] months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement
of their father-in-law and are indispensable participants in
the more important hunting expeditions.

In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the
[200] time of dances and excursions for the hunting of sea animals.
[201] The master of the boat -- he is the head of the expedition --
in such cases especially summons his ymgxi to take part in
the hunt (1).

[191] 1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely maternal tribe. Here, according to Swanton (Haida, p. 69), when a man undertakes a military campaign, he calls together his tribesmen who are his potential or actual son-in-law.

[191] All this time the ymgxi are not only fed for nothing, but
[197] when they leave they carry away with them an equal share
[198] of the catch and various /265/ gifts besides. One's relations
[199] with these young men are either much more tender than with
[200] one's own children. And this is entirely understandable, for
[201] a man's ymgxi are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his
tribesmen, who under a maternal system must live with him,
while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement
of their wives and will be completely entranged from him.

[197] This obligation for the "nourishment" of the tribesmen
[198] through their son-in-law, however, is a customary institution
[199] in maternality. Among several peoples, as, for example,
among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the property
of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely
[200] improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to ravish
[201] with impunity the possessions of his uncles. This right is

/265 cont./

[200] preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
[201] by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
[197] of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his
[198] uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among
[199] the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven
wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
[198] marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not
[199] the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this
[200] affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and
the bride price is handed over to him.

[201] Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
[197] be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
[198] in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
[199] that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says
[200] n'-umgarvo ivzh, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- i,
umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivz -- there is), an expres-
sion completely corresponding to the present-day way of life
of the Aino, among whom to this day maternality has been
preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settle-
ments, and the former shows up to live with her for several
months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a
man has, besides his own native settlement, still another
settlement where his wife lives.

[201] Another example: the term for designating a person's
[197] origin is the expression pandor', literally "root of birth."
[198] This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
[199] be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the
settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's
clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with
which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother,
[200] but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a
[201] settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to
visit, and more than once may /266/ Gilyak companions during
the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/360 cont./

[611] among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly
[612] imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal-
[613] zeymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations
[614] ago), was the social leader of all the kinship group. His suc-
[615] cessor was the khal'-zeymar next to him in years. The inter-
[616] vention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the
island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But
[617] the khal'-zeymary never played the role of patriarchs with un-
limited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among
the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time
the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in
religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions con-
cerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions
where they play a special role in the composition of the judgment.

[618] 11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from
one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to
[619] visit one another, to visit one another, and to show hospitality
another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from
the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed pro-
tection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak
become poor or an unlucky year [illegible] and he will go to
spend some time with clansmen still matters improve. On the
eastern coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which
the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more
than five or six such settlements (Pranovo, Tangi, Tykh, and two
or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of
cases there are two or three clans in one settlement. This partly
arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon
his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fish-
ing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the
Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. More-
over, the custom of many non-it-law to emigrate to the clan
of their side-aids greatly aids the mixing of clans. This
[620] latter custom, possibly, a survival of the archaic clan mode of
life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands
[621] [illegible] the clan of the wife, and see consequently, it is done at

/361 cont./

[611] present: frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-
[612] law, the son-in-law moves to live in the house of the former for joint
[613] work with him (more detail about this below).

[614] 12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those
[615] of other clans. It is known to all the Sakhalin Gilyak, who have
[616] the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation
invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only
an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance
of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained
[617] in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the
remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed
on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of
bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away,
they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an ashin
[618] yaqara, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of
the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a
woman), and other trifles. That there arises a whole row of yurt-
[619] tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements,
they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak
[620] may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If
a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate
the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for
[621] cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the
summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime,
when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if
/362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien
territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie
it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they
[622] make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death
of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their
braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness
of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning
throughout their lives.

/376 cont./

[611] inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
[612] have a deeper interest, for they inherit the property of the former to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
[613] to his daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers
[614] determined by the form of acquiring the means of existence.
[615] For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[616] existence of large family households is not necessary. Likewise,
the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[617] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal-
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary aruels, whose composition is
completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
[618] family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
[619] any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[620] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equip-
ment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

[621] We shall say more later concerning the economic relations
of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual
aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between mem-
bers of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among
these barbarians than in a civilized family.

/636 cont./

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded
as concluded, and the man may take his young wife home to
his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier
[560] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding
of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers
and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various
foods, fish, mosj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the de-
parting married couple, so that the young wife, having reached
the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the
relatives, there, as well as members of the household and
village.

[561] At a rule the young couple moves to the place where the
husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live,
and take up residence with one or the other of them, according
to circumstances, since the Gilyak practice of the patriarchal
described above, are of the type that can accommodate several
families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited
only by relatives, but often also by other Gilyak who perhaps
helped in building it or have some other connection with its
owner. The members of the household remain together until,
through the increase in the families, the space becomes too
crowded and some of them are forced to build another house
for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides
[562] the central room used by all the members of the household, with
[563] the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog kennel in the winter house
[564] built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of
the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has
his designated place on them; but these individual sections are
never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains,
or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the
impression of a room used by everyone in common.

[565] At the same time, living together by all members of the
household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally
speaking. I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in
this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally
[566] austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi,
[567] Aino, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

116, 558, 591

"A young man on marrying may make his home with his father; but if he be still in the single state and desire a hut of his own, he must marry, for it is more than infra dig. for him to do domestic work. For a Gilyak to take in his hand the woman's fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho) is considered a disgrace."

116, 422, 435, 583, 591

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husban
thirteen years old to assist his ageing spou
keeping, is in possession of wealth enough
fronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have
to live on in the paternal home, or, if [269
friends and comrades to help him build a h
required, and this is a very expensive iten
forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have ev
was the difficulty with our Vanka, who was
his own estimate, but according to our noti
desirous of marrying, and offered to take
summer to the 'end of the world,' with the
rate charge of forty rubles apiece. With th
and he had already saved sufficient for the

d—not the old man who buys a second wife
ıse—but the youth who aspires to set up house-
to pay the price demanded, he is still con-
a separate establishment. He may be content
] not, he will probably be able to get his
ut; but this is not enough, a cauldron is
n. He may have to pay in skins the value of
en heard of them costing sixty rubles. This
a capable young man of fifteen, according to
ions about twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was
me and my interpreter during the following
aid of three of his companions, for the mode-
is sum he would be able to buy a cauldron,
purchase of a wife."

592

592 HOUSEHOLD--typical composition (e.g., nuclear or polygamous family, joint or extended family, clan); range, types, and incidence of variations; extent of inclusion of servants, retainers, and dependent relatives (e.g., aged grandparents, parents-in-law); physical seat (e.g., a single small or large dwelling, a cluster of adjacent huts, a compound); functions and cooperative activities of the household unit as such (i.e., irrespective of variations in family composition); locus of authority; rule of succession; mechanism for adjusting disputes within the household; ownership of dwelling, food stores, and household possessions; etc. Functions associated with particular forms of the family rather than with the household as such will be found in separate categories.

See also:

Property	42	Cooperative labor	476
Type of dwelling	342	Slaves	567
Servants	357	Care of aged	737, 888

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

Aleut

/245 cont./

The peculiarities of the Aleut marriage norms did not remain isolated on the Aleutian Islands. On the northwest shore of the American continent, right up to the Columbia River itself, which was regarded by Morgan as the point of departure of the Ganowanian system, observers note them in terms almost analogous to those used by Veniaminov. We find them among the Eskimo tribe of the Koniag, the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, about whom Davydov writes: "Some women have two husbands each: the first is the actual husband, who selects the other one with the consent of the wife. This one at the same time becomes a servant i.e., he carries firewood and does a number of other chores. He can sleep with the wife only in the absence of her actual husband, and upon his return he is deprived of this right. /246/ The Russians call such husbands partners" (1). This

1. Davydov, Dvukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova /Two Voyages to America by the Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, Part II, pp. 50-51.

This description, which almost seems to have been copied from Mamio Rinso and Veniaminov and travelers to Tibet, fails like the others to note the kinship relations between the spouses, but, on the other hand, there is the valuable report of the right of the second husband to exercise his marital rights only in the absence of the first husband, as among the Gilyak, and the obvious subservient position of this second husband. This subservient position is justly noted and strikes the eye also among the Gilyak, but it obtains, not by virtue of a marital agreement, but by virtue of the fact that the brother always plays the role of the head of the house and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master

/277 cont./

harpoons, the stringers beside a yurt, fishes, little seals, bears (owl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of seines for sable.

/278/ Unity in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his brothers and classmates, sometimes with his father-in-law, more rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding at times up to 50 people, frequently all classmates. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consist in the fact that the yurt, which consumes a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the stoves, is used as rarely for such individual taboo separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women. The summer yurts are built smaller and probably house from one to three families. The winter yurt are built through the joint efforts of several brothers or classmates; the summer one's - through the efforts of one person. But all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent sikhalintsev, classmates or members of other clans who are temporarily helping, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, and it is doubtful whether the latter ever expect any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, there will always be found a pair of people who are so uncomfortable will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves will move, or they will remain in dwellers. Thus the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of movable property among them are boats, fishing nets, tackle, arms, dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happen that a boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

/280 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or son, and therefore "household" are counted separately, and, secondly, wives and widowers and their children, and also persons (husbands and sinsem) who live as a single household.

The total population is 1,041, of which 541 are male and 500 female, the corresponding enumeration number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 22 male persons (husbands of these married persons each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals over who have only one wife. The average number of children who

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be included among those who are married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, there are only two polygamists, in this regard, we have not met on the Chihoni dune a single man who had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur Gilyak have three or four wives

/281/ The house was established in 515, while the number of houses was first used at Nivh in 547, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 106 (%) the

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was determined by asking each married man the question: (1) how many of his children were present at the time of each child was called out and written down one by one; and how many were absent; (2) how

/283 cont./

many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the time of the survey, and, finally, he estimated an exact number of the children in a given family, and, in the above description. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

/284/ The fertility rate - 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of children we have included only those, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, those who died immediately after their birth. There is an average of 15 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several families and clansmen, for example, one yurt in the settlement of Symivo accommodates 40 people, in the settlement of Ulyl

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Ulyl (settlement of Symivo, 40 persons each), Vidrov (116); Nivgu (110), Arkyyov (87), Tal'vutgrov and Tengi (64 each), Kimlevo and Pustu (59 each), Nyaivo (58); the smallest settlements are Ulyl (Ulyl, 15 persons), Ul'ya (Ulyl, 16). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tal'vutgrov (116), the smallest - Ul'ya (Ulyl, 16 persons). Of the total population 1,126, taboo lived in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 208 - in the settlements of the Tym' River, and 707 - on the Amur.

5. The number of for animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from, and, finally, on the average per year, on average family has /289/ four to five members: there are 11 married

1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

/285 cont./

settlements the settlement of Sim'vuo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven were from the settlement of Ul'ya, in connection with this settlement of Sim'vuo, the author has received from the above description, a winter yurt of the Gilyak, built following the Chinese pattern with an fire-place using Chinese bricks, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 people living in the Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, at the most three families, and, on the other hand, there are yurts some across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire year. Thus, in the winter settlement of Sim'vuo, as has been mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of visiting or return to the winter, or, finally, and, finally, and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family seems too low, and, in reality, it is, no doubt, larger. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 people living in each winter yurt. As to the summer-settlements, of, had people, these are 160 families and 130 people, average family - 3; 332 children survived birth; 189 died. Cons - 64 (of these 38 are on the Chihoni coast and the remainder on the Tym'); 121 men, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. In the length the season 688 seals killed, 588 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

From this one can draw the following conclusions: here are three sex, on the average of the sex per yurt, on average family has /289/ four to five members: there are 11 married

/286/ There are 193 boats, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money

/286 cont./

principal points, Tachi and Fate, exceed that number. Along the Lintan, Lengr in the north and Tachinsk in the south are in common possession with the clansmen, the exchange takes place between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin. The author has received information with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tym' and Tro Gilyaks, and, with an fine long spring boat, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 people living in the Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, at the most three families, and, on the other hand, there are yurts some across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire year. Thus, in the winter settlement of Sim'vuo, as has been mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of visiting or return to the winter, or, finally, and, finally, and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family seems too low, and, in reality, it is, no doubt, larger. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 people living in each winter yurt. As to the summer-settlements, of, had people, these are 160 families and 130 people, average family - 3; 332 children survived birth; 189 died. Cons - 64 (of these 38 are on the Chihoni coast and the remainder on the Tym'); 121 men, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. In the length the season 688 seals killed, 588 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

/287/ Gilyak houses are not erected by individuals, but rather are erected jointly by several families, and, in general, the Gilyak dwelling is an object of collective property, and, in the above description, the Gilyak, as a people, is also a tribe, in contrast to other tribes, the Gilyak are characterized by a very small number of people, which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends who /287/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various food, fish, game, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and villagers.

As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband lives, that is, to the place of his parents or brothers and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances. Thus, in the above description, the author has described above, one of the types that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inherited by only one family, but, in the above description, the author has helped in building it we have some other connection with its owner. The author has helped, in the above description, at, in addition to all that there are still the maternal dative, the cow-house, the sheep-house, and the. The Gilyak, husband and wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it. Children are very fond of their parents, and, in the above description, they feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, but even in the presence of strangers, husband and wife sometimes, in the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place in them... But these individual sections are never separated from another by any partition, curtain, curtain, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always give the impression of a single, undivided, room.

As little as such living together by all the members of the household contributes to mutual disturbance, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a model family men, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, Aino, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic people. There is

/288 cont./

would than that for the men, thus, for the men, there could never be any lack of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made everywhere and, in general, in the Gilyak, they are only a few pieces by expert craftsmen and are, for the most part (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above, are made by the Orochi, who live along the Choh and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and leaves the iron to it in order to produce the complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bow, arrows, and, in general, all hunting implements, specifically or chiefly by the male. The domestic activities of the men among the Gilyak, it, therefore, are very limited and, in general, limited to a few minor tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, fish, animal, trap, and other implements of wood or bone, and to only a few tasks, such as, for example, the cutting of the pelts. The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, are very numerous, and, in the above description, are, in addition to all that there are still the maternal dative, the cow-house, the sheep-house, and the. The Gilyak, husband and wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it. Children are very fond of their parents, and, in the above description, they feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, but even in the presence of strangers, husband and wife sometimes, in the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place in them... But these individual sections are never separated from another by any partition, curtain, curtain, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always give the impression of a single, undivided, room.

/289 cont./

It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Matsuda Rinsh', author of the above description, has described, and especially the position of the eleven among the Gilyak, or also unfortunately [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak,

/644 cont./

case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the wager mentioned by Sternberg, which can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the Sternerian (Gilyakat Cape Siotente for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tlaxen (or Sakhalin Island), which had been unsuccessful the year before, /645/ and without [illegible] provisions, Hamada found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the home where he had taken refuge. For a time, however, he entered the trade of petroleum collection (petroleum derivative service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "real" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the order of the woman in charge of the household and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polygamy nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of the Gilyak people, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the unsatisfactory and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Sternerian, and prompted him to describe the situation to a more favorable light at the alleged request of the Gilyak people. He also forgot the fate of the Sternerian in an island light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and sensitive to the sun." Actually, however, actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still darker than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dirty, and sooty earth huts.

Even though Mamia Rinsō avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subordinate position among the Sternerian, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Sin. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Karfo (Jima) that in their trade with the Santouse, that is, Gilyak, Oroka, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

/684 cont./

mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1030, above.

people, members of one and the same hall may marry each other. From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it becomes evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brother, and then, as a widow, to the brother-in-law of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for her own fate. The only thing left for her is to remain for herself, as wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

a. Law of inheritance very similar to the one among the Gilyak is found in the case of neither Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possession consist of their reindeer herds. According to Dittmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Beitr. de la c.l. hist.-philol. de l'acad. imp. des sc. de St. Petersb. VIII, XIII, p. 126; Matériaux russes de Bull., VII, III, p. 36.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of a deceased husband, the widow is given to the brother-in-law. The reverse sit on low-rear seats, against the walls, which are raised and a mat is set up. The latter consists of fish skin or sail-cloth. These boats go to Sakhalin and Kamchatka.

The Omoschka is a small wooden canoe made of birch bark; [illegible] used for a number of years, and is shaped of the same material, which rind cries—roar. Usually only one person sits in this canoe-boat rows with a double oar, both right and left.

513 heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a [illegible] sail-cloth.

512 The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. [illegible] have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a low-lying open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the house is so smoke full of smoke, [illegible]

514 A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder [illegible] of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go off on hunting, live in mere huts [illegible] Thus [illegible] and stands on poles in order to protect it [illegible] 515 The interpretation the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them the only thing left for them in the "sea" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the order of the woman in charge of the household and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polygamy nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of the Gilyak people, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the unsatisfactory and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Sternerian, and prompted him to describe the situation to a more favorable light at the alleged request of the Gilyak people. He also forgot the fate of the Sternerian in an island light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and sensitive to the sun." Actually, however, actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still darker than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dirty, and sooty earth huts.

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A GILYAK VILLAGE.

[illegible] inges with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are [illegible] on the banks of the Amur from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and out of the reach of all inundations. Distance leads exclusively to the view of the houses, which are built on the spot for inspection.

Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of [illegible] people, and were well adapted to the climate. While we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

to visit the aborigines. The village contained a dozen dwellings. Each consisted of a big hallway, the buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thick layer of earth. The hallway consist of a long open space, the floor of the dwelling houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

Along the hallway were ranged the posts like those of an American 'corn barn,' and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each enclosed hand a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage. and. although they could not influenced one another. they basically belong. genetically in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to state that in the Gilyak the actual consummation of the marriage of individuals of accepting generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother. while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives. who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of the children of the Gilyak. Adultery is punished by the husband and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father. he endeavor to another part. Thus the children belong to the clan of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses the family of the Gilyak. Family relationships are the foundation of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation. and marriage is exogamous.

The clan has more than one hearth. the entire territory of the Gilyak. live in their yurts. and observe their family life for a long time. and have permanent residence in the clan. Gilyak. Gilyak. live in large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families. each living in relation to its own particular interests.

Family relationships—patterns of behavior between spouses. between parents and children. between siblings. rights. privileges. and duties of husband. wife. father. mother. son. daughter. brother. and sister; family law; [illegible] of the family; [illegible] of establishment. etc. See also:

- Division of labor by sex
- Marriage
- Adultery
- Divorce
- Polygyny
- Polyandry
- Polygynandry
- Levirate
- Sororate
- Bridewealth
- Dowry
- Bride service
- Premarital sex
- Premarital pregnancy
- Premarital contraception
- Premarital abortion
- Premarital infanticide
- Premarital adoption
- Premarital marriage
- Premarital cohabitation
- Premarital sex play
- Premarital masturbation
- Premarital homosexuality
- Premarital heterosexuality
- Premarital bestiality
- Premarital fantasy
- Premarital dreams
- Premarital nudity
- Premarital dancing
- Premarital singing
- Premarital music
- Premarital art
- Premarital literature
- Premarital poetry
- Premarital prose
- Premarital drama
- Premarital theater
- Premarital film
- Premarital television
- Premarital radio
- Premarital internet
- Premarital computer
- Premarital software
- Premarital hardware
- Premarital peripherals
- Premarital accessories
- Premarital clothing
- Premarital jewelry
- Premarital cosmetics
- Premarital perfume
- Premarital hygiene
- Premarital medicine
- Premarital health
- Premarital illness
- Premarital disease
- Premarital injury
- Premarital death
- Premarital burial
- Premarital cremation
- Premarital funeral
- Premarital mourning
- Premarital grief
- Premarital joy
- Premarital happiness
- Premarital sadness
- Premarital anger
- Premarital fear
- Premarital love
- Premarital hate
- Premarital jealousy
- Premarital envy
- Premarital greed
- Premarital generosity
- Premarital kindness
- Premarital cruelty
- Premarital violence
- Premarital peace
- Premarital war
- Premarital religion
- Premarital god
- Premarital goddess
- Premarital spirit
- Premarital ghost
- Premarital demon
- Premarital angel
- Premarital devil
- Premarital hell
- Premarital heaven
- Premarital soul
- Premarital body
- Premarital mind
- Premarital brain
- Premarital heart
- Premarital liver
- Premarital kidney
- Premarital lung
- Premarital blood
- Premarital bone
- Premarital skin
- Premarital hair
- Premarital nail
- Premarital tooth
- Premarital eye
- Premarital ear
- Premarital nose
- Premarital mouth
- Premarital tongue
- Premarital lip
- Premarital face
- Premarital head
- Premarital neck
- Premarital shoulder
- Premarital arm
- Premarital hand
- Premarital finger
- Premarital leg
- Premarital foot
- Premarital toe
- Premarital penis
- Premarital vagina
- Premarital testicle
- Premarital ovary
- Premarital uterus
- Premarital fetus
- Premarital infant
- Premarital child
- Premarital adolescent
- Premarital adult
- Premarital elder
- Premarital male
- Premarital female
- Premarital man
- Premarital woman
- Premarital boy
- Premarital girl
- Premarital husband
- Premarital wife
- Premarital father
- Premarital mother
- Premarital son
- Premarital daughter
- Premarital brother
- Premarital sister
- Premarital uncle
- Premarital aunt
- Premarital nephew
- Premarital niece
- Premarital cousin
- Premarital grandfather
- Premarital grandmother
- Premarital grandchild
- Premarital great-grandfather
- Premarital great-grandmother
- Premarital great-grandchild
- Premarital great-great-grandfather
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- Premarital great-great-great-great-great-great-grandchild
- Premarital great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandfather
- Premarital great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandmother
- Premarital great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandchild

/32 cont./

who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of the Gilyak. With regard to this group, she is pirjan and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another. In the Samoyeds pumpa and in the Hawaiian islands. Gilyak fall [illegible] between the institution of Gilyak marriage.

The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that. while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pa" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto. or. at best. to a cruel duel and ransom. for the persons of the performed engage in a duel to the death. Sexual intercourse causing only some irritation. and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. Thus. the sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

Thus. we have since I observed even cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife. and full harmony prevailed between the brothers. Instead of the husband. the Gilyak women receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationship are very gentle. Husband and wife are equal. and the older ones even participate in the council and assemblies of the classmen.

There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point. it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The senior and most honored elders listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they show to adults. Children are treated with the same respect and with a difference of years or social status. Thus. the children of the Gilyak are not beaten. Children are never punished. Children are never punished. Children are never punished

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wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights just as heartily as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between *gy* and *ofg* is largely determined by the conditions of habitation. Under the conditions of living in different villages, the relations between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses have each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a *gy* or *ofg*ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch her breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together" in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of a kiss.

In a place where the individual bachelor *gy* and their spouses, *ofg*ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathie and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the women from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her husband — husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official spouse of the woman is considered to be only the eldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual wife, /177/ but the real consort of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, but only respected, and is in the children's eyes. Such situations are sometimes even extremely odd in the Gilyak mind and most respected relations.

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such situations also in the richest and most respected families. My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, the famous scholarly interpreter of the Amur-Tugir, the chief of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, *ifnyg*, who, being considered to be an inferior person than his elder brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his elder brother. He had evidently come about in this way: as a youth, he had enjoyed the wife of Gilbel'ka with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attraction had arisen between them, and he preferred, instead of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his older brother, which he loved. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Gilbel'ka himself, regarded this as entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gilbel'ka himself with a question about this, a slight shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how that human regarded such relations, but in general my question did not produce any particular impression on him.

In other relations, the Gilyak family life is ruled not by relations of the type of the Tungus, but by deep sympathie and /179/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the women from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her husband — husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official spouse of the woman is considered to be only the eldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual wife, /177/ but the real consort of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, but only respected, and is in the children's eyes. Such situations are sometimes even extremely odd in the Gilyak mind and most respected relations.

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word signifying "my man, my woman," — *ŋ'ar'mych*, *ŋ'ar'ych*. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which, incidentally, is very transitory. The Gilyak view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a young man, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, O my mother!")

Parents, however, never reproach their children for their amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of the elders, /181/ it most often happens in the form of chaff, — As on my own mother do I gaze... / If thou leaver me, only of thee shall I think, where thou dabb walk, there shall I walk. Even the most passionate of the Gilyak, the well-known Gilbel'ka, shows no sign of disapproval. If the father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but, on the contrary, is obliged to treat him as a kind, he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amour between young people and children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances against the choice of a bride, are encountered only in the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to commit suicide. Always play the role of the head of the house, and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and slave.

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childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an unloved man. But these are exceptional cases

In its context, love among the Gilyak does not differ in any way from love among the Tungus. Its people are also completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive people we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lower-sorrow to the rearmost outbursts of heroic passion, which neither habit nor any obstacle /183/ nor shrinks before a manly resolution to part with one's life.

In any poetic tale or song, love is very well reflected in love songs, especially in the songs of women.

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching songs. Here, for example, is a most other beautiful song: — As on my own mother do I gaze... / If thou leaver me, only of thee shall I think, where thou dabb walk, there shall I walk. Even the most passionate of the Gilyak, the well-known Gilbel'ka, shows no sign of disapproval. If the father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but, on the contrary, is obliged to treat him as a kind, he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amour between young people and children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly, address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances against the choice of a bride, are encountered only in the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to commit suicide. Always play the role of the head of the house, and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and slave.

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such marriages, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. The alternative which, according to the epos, faced the Gilyak maiden: either to marry the man she loved (*ŋ'ar'ych*), who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal or marriage as a special form of the union, proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /185/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the present the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying his wife, that is, marriage by abduction, or marriage as a vow's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure," and people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity, or to speak more correctly, of the law, all the categories of *ar'ych* the most desirable marriage is with the *ŋ'ar'ych*, the man's own, legitimate, and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then leaves for his own settlement, leaving a young man his, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression *pandar'*, literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, not the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her brother. The maternal uncle is a very important settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and every Gilyak /186/ feels his conjugal obligations during the time of my travels amazed me by the extent of his travels with threads of sentic and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/186 cont.

The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of long material. Not only Gilyak of both sexes, but even children, in many cases know love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak life. Not only do people sing in leisure time, but improvisations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed at her, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the number of songs devoted to love and love encounters inseparable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment to love are, as a rule, of a most other nature than those presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /189/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is unlawfully entered into the Gilyak family, which frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the case of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such character-istic song which I noted down on the Amur, which was given in marriage against her will. Soon the run away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself. There have been numerous cases of suicide by women, loving their unloved husband, has slain the children that she had by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Instances of elopement are very common, and the parents before everyone that each error and each leg of the flaccid with threads of sentic and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/187 cont.

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/188 cont.

such marriages, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. The alternative which, according to the epos, faced the Gilyak maiden: either to marry the man she loved (*ŋ'ar'ych*), who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal or marriage as a special form of the union, proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /189/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the present the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying his wife, that is, marriage by abduction, or marriage as a vow's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure," and people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity, or to speak more correctly, of the law, all the categories of *ar'ych* the most desirable marriage is with the *ŋ'ar'ych*, the man's own, legitimate, and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then leaves for his own native settlement, leaving a young man his, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression *pandar'*, literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, not the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her brother. The maternal uncle is a very important settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and every Gilyak /190/ feels his conjugal obligations during the time of my travels amazed me by the extent of his travels

/190 cont.

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox /191/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term *ŋ'ar'ych*, literally "mutual consent" (*ŋ'ar'ych*) Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom the participants are the groom himself, his father and his mother; the father: 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the groom. The role of the groom's father is expressed most apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father-in-law and the father of the bride-groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the father of the bride-groom, the father-in-law and the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his sister-in-law and his nephew. The role of the bride-groom's father is expressed most apparently by the norms of Gilyak marriage. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the uncles *nyvish* (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, these frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the bride-groom's father is dead, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and before the end of the ceremonial, they immediately take the bride-groom's father to the place where the bride-groom's father and young women were there. He sat down between them, having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, he took, the smoked. He then gave to the older sister, the took the smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All drew sex together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they some early, see, our Gilyak /192/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go." Having spent the day, on the next day they set a bride-price, and the ceremony

/192 cont.

we find one and the same picture of concluding marriage without any formalities. It is merely necessary for a man, even though he is a Gilyak, to have a wife, and the wife is only by hearsay considered a candidate for being a son-in-law, to state the reason for his coming, and he immediately receives the consent of the father-in-law and the father of the bride. The role of the father-in-law is expressed most apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father-in-law and the father of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the father of the groom, the father-in-law and the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his sister-in-law and his nephew. The role of the groom's father is expressed most apparently by the norms of Gilyak marriage. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the uncles *nyvish* (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, these frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the groom's father is dead, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and before the end of the ceremonial, they immediately take the groom's father to the place where the groom's father and young women were there. He sat down between them, having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, he took, the smoked. He then gave to the older sister, the took the smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All drew sex together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they some early, see, our Gilyak /193/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go." Having spent the day, on the next day they set a bride-price, and the ceremony

/193 cont.

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a marriage of a man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the place of his first wife, but often the latter herself goes to her own clan or to another one of their sons and the day may set a bride-price, and the ceremony

583 /271 cont./
584 and
585 mother, but for the final decision the attendance of repre-
586 sentatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those
587 of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations,
588 but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the
589 question, aside from the consent of the father and mother,
590 the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes
591 of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality,
592 in the epoc the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief.
593 In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son in-
594 forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, re-
595 plies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the
596 counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also,
597 that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women
598 generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is
599 so smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father.
600 This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur
601 the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the
602 negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who
603 sits silently in her accustomed place among the maids with
604 her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate.
605 Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been
606 decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she
607 does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and
608 if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she
609 ordinarily noted off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish that,
610 it is for me to contradict" But it may happen that the maiden,
611 upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom,
612 immediately runs away and does not return until the departure
613 of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in
614 naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

[91]

1. It is interesting to note that among the Negdas, whose customs, as a result of intermarriage with them, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, conjugal differences were noticed by me.

583 /283 cont./
584 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
585 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Ayaqka," who since
586 ancient times have contracted marriages with the Gilyak, from
587 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.
588 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
589 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
590 and when they again depart they once more go through the cere-
591 mony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of
592 kettles, they use cups.
593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
594 are not always happy, since the consent of the suitor to the
595 marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey
596 the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to
597 the protests of their daughters, despite the fact that women
598 generally enjoy a great deal of freedom in the choice of the
599 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
600 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
601 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the
602 husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and
603 sometimes he succeeds in obtaining the return of the bride price. Since no
604 one has a desire to part with something once it has become his
605 own property, litigation to recover the bride price are endless.
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607 does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and
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/274 cont./
562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
563 nate. Thus, an aged and blind husband, purchased a young wife, and, though she is
564 nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
565 eats at the same table with her husband and children, the particu-
566 pates in the common work, and she is treated with respect as a wife
567 and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
568 to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
569 her with the same solemnity as her husband, as a sign of mourn-
570 ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
571 occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
572 out of grief for his wife. Although married, he does not sever her
573 bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
574 husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
575 misfortune the husband and children will lend assistance and
576 and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
577 without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
578 and protection: they will return the bride price and take her
579 back.
580 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The cause of
581 polygamy lies, first and last, in the unremitting conjugal rights of
582 brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
583 among the Gilyak. /275/ frequently without special reason, such
584 as poverty, or ill health, barren wives, as well as the de-
585 sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
586 Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, or to take a grade-
587 ily acquaintance. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to
588 the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
589 Arkyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.
590 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
591 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
592 husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
593 wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
594 the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.
595 Two words concerning sexual morality. In this talk the
596 Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
597 selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

Ye T

831 /375 cont./
832 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less
833 virtuous, from our point of view. Despite the unremitting conjugal
834 of husbands, the sim of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
835 the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
836 to cohabit (moe, one spouse) with individuals of those categories
837 of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already
838 stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I
839 add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic
840 propensities which not only impel young people to make long
841 journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive
842 them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a
843 woman by force of arms.
844 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large
845 complex families in which the aged father lives in a separate
846 household with all his children and their children. The master's
847 brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess
848 enough of their own frequently enter into the composition of
849 the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of
850 their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother in
851 early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with
852 her son-in-law and sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
853 cially when the latter have no sons. We shall note other peculiari-
854 ties in the make-up of the family farther on, for the present we
855 shall say that the normal composition of the family, its frame-
856 work, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
857 daughters go into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
858 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resem-
859 bling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman
860 family /276/ the sons show respect for the father, but the latter
861 does not wield over them that power which is known under the
862 appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
863 the family of the father and live in separate households. Living
864 with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
865 The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and,
866 on the contrary, the younger sons, as those who live with the
867 father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
868 INHERITANCE.

/276 cont./
869 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughter does the father
870 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding the marriage and dowry of
871 husbands, the sim of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
872 the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
873 to cohabit (moe, one spouse) with individuals of those categories
874 of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already
875 stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I
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893 work, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
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899 appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
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901 with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
902 The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and,
903 on the contrary, the younger sons, as those who live with the
904 father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
905 INHERITANCE.

/638 cont./
934 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
935 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
936 and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with
937 them in their yurtas never sees indecent or immoral actions,
938 such as occurs so frequently among the Aina (2), or from
939 the Ainos.

(18) 2. N. Busse, Otv. Sakhalin" i Eisped.
1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 50, 56, 70.

940 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
941 married women, are, of course, not impossible, but are
942 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
943 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
944 the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother meet out
945 corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
946 to eliminate the scandal by killing the born child and
947 secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
948 is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
949 stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.
950 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
951 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
952 of the Gilyak are usually take a happy or at least satisfactory
953 course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
954 jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
955 she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
956 her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
957 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
958 the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
959 if he earn out his wife for any reason and return her to her
960 parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
961 fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
962 he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
963 own account. In this case the may by no means count on a
964 friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/640 cont./
967 would think that for the men, too, there could never be any lack
968 of amusements. But these objects are by no means made every-
969 where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
970 Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in trade form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten them to it in order to produce the
complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
for the men. The domestic activities of the women are left to
Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited
to a few minimal tasks with the knife or the drill to produce steds,
etc., animal traps, and other implements of women's work, and he
still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.
The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
figure far from exhausted by what has been particular, for in
addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care
and tending of the children. The mother loves her children, and
the great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it,
though they are generally very reserved about expressing their
feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, but even
when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak
of the woman, tender, sentimally caress and kiss small children. Every
married Gilyak wants at large a swarm of children at possible,
and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Kyi was
boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my ques-
tion as to how many he had, he could only answer: tarumik,
tarumik, that is, many, many. Mates in with this joy, however,
there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in the growing
sons he will soon have helpers as his lucrative hunting, fishing,
and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from
the bride price they will be his household & the bride price.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--265 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 533, 558, 562, 593

"All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old, old s
lyrics it is otherwise, for they are very nume
are composed by the maidens of the tribe, wh
again to the Gilyak world. It may not be know
considered a want of modesty. Sometimes one
woman who made songs in her youth; ' but it is
ménage. The Gilyak's notions of modesty are
age of childhood brothers and sisters are not
former attempted it, the latter would turn awa

ongs, the epics of their race, but with the
rous, and always being added to. These
o tell them to their girl friends, and they
n who the authoress is, for that would be
may be heard to say, 'There goes an old
s not 'good form.' Woman's mission is the
very strict. After they have passed the
allowed to speak to one another. If the
ay in injured modesty."

ONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/641 cont./

593 842 [595] [586] the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition [825] [789] gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to 844 114 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. [132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 343 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/645 cont./
and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not completely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

9: Hawes--242 I-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 593, 775, 764, 784

"In talking of their departed, they never called them by their name. That would be uich, i.e. unlucky, ill-omened. Filial piety as among the Chinese is a cardinal virtue, and the elder before us was no exception to the rule. He had killed no less than ten dogs at his father's funeral pyre, his father being a well-to-do man, and therefore it was necessary for his spirit to travel with an honourable cortège in the next world."

62 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
87 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close
relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a
matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she
may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also
does not take part in the more important councils. On the
other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected
position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may
have her own money and inherit, although usually less than
her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any
more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but
even wins respect thereby.

84 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
57 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
62 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not
particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable
consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated
she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary
affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her
sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council
her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

32 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
76 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
93 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and hand-
shaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall
speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when
the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no
embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are
exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there
are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval.
In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's
hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth.
Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his
lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing
each other's face with saliva.

78 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
86 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer sud-
denly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the
sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some
men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the
abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once
more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek
revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this
is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from
some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

594 NUCLEAR FAMILY--degree of emphasis on the social group consisting of a married couple and their children; exclusiveness with which this group is associated with economic, sexual, reproductive, child-rearing, and educational functions; other family relations (e.g., religious, recreational); domicile (e.g., single dwelling, apartment); family authority (e.g., matripotestal, patripotestal); family possessions, etc. See also:

Reproduction	56	Family budgets	511
Education	57	Primary groups	571
Size of families	152	Collective liability	672
Inheritance	618	Child care	866

/375 cont./

831 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less
frivolous, from our point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy
of husbands, the sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
to cohabit (true, not openly) with individuals of those categories
of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already
stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I
shall add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic
propensities which not only impel young people to make long
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brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess
equipment of their own frequently enter into the composition of
the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of
their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother at an
early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives
with her son-in-law and sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
cially when the latter have no sons. We note other peculiari-
ties in the make-up of the family farther on, for the present we
shall say that the normal composition of the family, its frame-
work, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
ones pass into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
543 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resem-
594 bling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman
family. /376/ The sons show respect for their father, but the latter
does not wield over them that power which is known under the
appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
the family of the father and live in separate households. Living
with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
[428] The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and,
on the contrary, the youngest son, as those who live with the
father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
inheritance.

/376 cont./

543 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
[427] For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[426] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[366] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[221] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[224] require collectivity, neither in the spring and fall seasons of seal
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
[427] such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
[426] division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
593 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[368] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equip-
ment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations
of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual
aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between mem-
bers of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among
these barbarians than in a civilized family.

/378 cont./

422 clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately.
422 And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
594 together and eating together, individual members, such as, for
example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs,
boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with
their father obtain in good time property for their future inde-
pendence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
[431] Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
[224] as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
[465] success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the re-
[221] ward for services performed in the family. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
[224] the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his
[224] fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family; but
[465] he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
[226] same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for him-
[427] self a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
[426] of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain
a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
422 tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
556 the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
"wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and
[454] does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable
fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with
silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches
pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only
at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the
storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son,
when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, depart-
ing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its com-
mon efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when
he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and
whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of
sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
556 brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward
rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

595 POLYGAMY--relative prevalence of monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, and group marriage; patterning of plural marriages (e.g., prohibited on principle, unpatterned and exceptional, disfavored for economic reasons, confined to persons of wealth or high status, preferential, numerical limitations); prevalence of and preferences for sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry; distinctive procedures for secondary polygamous marriages; concubinage; organization and activities of polygamous families; relations between co-spouses (e.g., economic cooperation, supremacy of first wife); residential arrangements (e.g., common dwelling, separate quarters for each plural spouse); sexual adjustment (e.g., jealousy, sexual rotation); relations between half siblings and between stepparents and stepchildren in polygamous families; etc. See also:

Lineage and minimal lineages	587	Clubhouse	837

1: Shternberg--20 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/xxv cont./

* 112 and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov" now appearing in print for
113 the first time. In the first of the works listed. we find. in embryo.
as it were. all that is given by him later in a more profound and
exhaustive form in the remainder of the works listed.

* 112 One must note, in particular, that in the first sketch.
113 written in 1891. i.e., as a result of a comparatively brief period
* 594 of observation. there is already a completely clear description of
the group marriage and classificatory system of kinship discovered
by him. and of the basic features of their clan structure. etc.
Shternberg succeeded in sending the manuscript of this work to
Moscow at the time. where it was first read in the form of a paper
for the Society for the Study of Natural Science. Anthropology.
and Ethnography (the tenth of October. 1892) by the secretary of
the society. N. IA. IAnchuk. Just a few days after the paper. an
account with a rather detailed exposition of Chapters I and II of the
manuscript appeared in Russkie vedomosti. The novelty and the
great theoretical significance of the material attracted widespread
attention in scientific circles interested in the history of primitive
society. /xxvi/ Friedrick Engels took an interest in this work as
well; he was closely following Russian political and socio-scientific
literature. and he published in Die Neue Zeit (XI Jahrgang. B.I.
1893) a complete translation of the newspaper account of the work
of Shternberg. with his own introductory comments. under the title
"Ein neuentdeckter Fall in der Geschichte der Ehe /A Newly Dis-
covered Case in the History of Marriage/" (1). F. Engels attributed

1. This article by Engels did not appear in Russian until 1922 in the appendix to Engels' book. Proiskhozhdenie semi i. chastnoi sobstvennosti i gosudarstvo /The Origin of the Family. Private Property. and the State/. pp. 123-125. published by "Moskovskii rabochii" /The Moscow Worker/ in "Biblioteka Kommunista" /The Library of the Communist/.

/xxvi cont./

*114 especially great significance to the confirmation of the existence
595 of group marriage in the Gilyak material. In view of the tremen-
[113] dous methodological significance, we present these remarks by
Engels in full. "In recent times," he writes, "among certain
rationalistic ethnographers, it has once again become fashionable
to reject the existence of group marriage. Therefore the following
account, which I translate from Russkie vedomosti (Moscow, the
fourteenth of October, 1892, Old Style), is of great interest. It
not only explicitly confirms the existence of group marriage, i.e.,
the right to mutual sexual intercourse between a certain group of
men and group of women, but it gives an example of a form of it
*114 which closely borders upon the punalua marriage of the Hawaiians,
i.e., the most developed classical form of group marriage. While
the typical punalua family consists of a number of brothers (uterine
or more distantly related) who are in marital cohabitation with a
certain number of uterine or more distantly related sisters, we see
on Sakhalin Island that a man is married to all the wives of his
brothers and all the sisters of his wife, and this means, if we
examine this phenomenon from the female point of view, that
his wife has the right to sexual intercourse with the brothers of her
husband and the husbands of her sisters. The distinction from the
typical form of the punalua marriage is therefore only that the
brothers of the husband and the husands of the sisters are not
necessarily the same people. I must note that this case confirms
what I wrote in Proiskhozhdenie sem'i /The Origin of the Family/,
4th ed., pp. 28-29: "This group marriage hardly looks as terrible
as the imagination of our Philistines, accustomed to prostitution
and brothels, pictures it. "The savages living in group marriage
certainly do not lead the dissipated life that these Philistines lead
under the cover of secrecy.

/xxvii/ "This form of marriage (at least in the cases still
met in practice) differs from a free pair-marriage or polygamy
only in that sexual intercourse is permitted by morals in a number
of cases which, under different conditions, involve stern punishment.
[118] The fact that the exercise of these rights is dying out in practice
proves only that this form of marriage itself was long ago condemned
to die out, as is confirmed by the infrequency of the traces of its
existence."

/xxvi cont./

*114 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it once
595 again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such
primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in
their basic features. A large part of what is related in this account
on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, the
inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their dis-
covery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the news-
paper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material un-
covered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA.
Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversation.
Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archives
[113] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie gilliaki"
appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie
for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engels'
book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstva
is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the
psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie gilliaki"
is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriage
*114 and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, pre-
601 served certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly con-
595 firmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an
explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the
classificatory system as a true indicator of such a norm that
formerly existed. The classificatory system of kinship among the
[171] Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the
Turano-Ganowanian type. Furthermore, "it is the best example
of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being
*114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian
System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific
literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

/xxvii cont./

*114 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly
582 assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the
595 history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed
by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from
group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes
an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To ac-
cept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage
logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded
cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the
transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin
marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage
of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established
the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably,
the conclusion of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin
marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution
*114 of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having
602 mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations,
595 and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming
[194] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this
institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage
of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the
614 clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their com-
mon law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress
the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite
of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the
Australians.

*114 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh
614 and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi
556 (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the
question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the
appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the
fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-
called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has
been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg
was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention
to it.

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym')
the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hun-
dred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only
to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
517 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
[1464] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in
society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness,
which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. In any case, it must leave
the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its in-
ternal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly
to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence
191 on the Family-Clan Structure.
194

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so
characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nation-
alities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that
regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the
Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu,
and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the
only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[617] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[214] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group
marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the
Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison
of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak
leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

601 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
191 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
194 the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
[595] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
[835] individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with
the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak
this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
595 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
581 rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are re-
[583] garded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[611] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
[551] is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
[584] of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
[214] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
[582] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
tion, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
593 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and
601 not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
[590] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
[352] families, each living in relation to its own particular interests.
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband,
wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
[16.5] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses.
When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself
or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing
with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal.
Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a
whole group of men their husbands (pu-lin), and the latter call
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call
a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their
fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/39 cont./

582 So far we have considered, as it were, the statics of the ques-
614 tion; now let us turn to its dynamics. Let us see how from some
very simple beginning, with inevitable necessity, as a mighty tree
develops from a single seed, the controversial, confusing fabric
of the Gilyak marriage and clan grew up.

The essence of the entire complex system of regulation of
Gilyak marriage and the clan, and furthermore the key to under-
standing it, is a unique fact, namely, the principle established
in its day that men must marry the daughters of their mother's
brother, in other words, the daughters in each family belong
from birth to the sons of their father's sister. We have already
said something about the motives that could have given rise to
this principle. In any case, its universal incumbency was
guaranteed, no doubt, as the categorical imperative of the
primitive religion.

This simple rule leads logically to the followings

1) Once every mother has the right to take for her sons
the daughters of her brother, her daughters by the same right ab-
solutely must enter the family of her husband's sister, in other
words, /40/ every woman belongs to her first cousins, the sons
of her father's sister. Therefore, a woman cannot marry the
sons of her mother's brother. And a man cannot marry the
daughters of a sister of his father: they cannot exchange the
women of the family of a brother and of a sister. It is clear
that this prohibition does not have anything to do with a fear
of marriages within close degrees of kinship, because the daughter
of the sister of my father is related to me in the same degree of
kinship as the daughter of the brother of my mother, whereas
marriage is prohibited with the first and obligatory with the
second, a fact that is extremely important for the genesis
of prohibitions within close degrees of kinship.

2) Once marriages between the daughters of a brother
582 and the sons of a sister are obligatory, once the former
595 necessarily belong to the latter, certain situations naturally
arise in view of the normal quantitative inequality between
persons of different sexes, in view of such possibilities, for
example, as that a brother has one daughter while his sister
has several sons, or, conversely, the brother has several

/40 cont./

582 daughters while his sister has only one or two sons, or that a
595 long interval of time elapses between the birth of the first son a
614 the ones that follow, or that, which even further complicates
the question, several sisters have but one brother or one sister h
several brothers, or the first case several brothers have a com-
mon wife; in the second, either one possesses several sisters, or
two brothers live in common marriage with a group of sisters
in the third case, the younger brother, who reaches puberty
when the elder brother has managed to take all his cousins,
must of necessity have marital rights to the wives of his elder
brothers; finally, in the last two cases, either several first
cousins will have an common wife, or several sisters of the broth
of their mothers, or several brothers will have as common wive
several of their first cousins. We have given only the simplest
cases; in reality, the matter is, of course, much more compli-
cated. Thus, in one way or another, there absolutely inevitabl
arises a group marriage of brothers (own and further) with a grou
of sisters (own and further), and in any case the unconditional
reciprocal conjugal rights of members of all degrees of kinship.
Of course, these group rights consequently embraced more and
more people of more distant degrees of kinship, for a mother d
not always have brothers, or the latter daughters, and it was
inevitably necessary to take wives from among the /41/ first,
second, etc. cousins of the mother, and hence the union of
people and groups of people of a group marriage grew.

No vicissitudes of tribal life destroyed this group principle,
even up to the present time. When in the course of time, as a
result of depopulation, the dispersion of kindred families, wars
and other such reasons, there arose the necessity of resorting to
marriages from alien families, these customs, inconvenient in
themselves, led to the situation that we see at the present time,
that a man is the officially recognized husband of one or severa
women and is required to share this right either with all his
brothers (in some clans) or (in others) only with the younger
ones, and, moreover, not only with his own, but with all the
agnate brothers as well.

/195 cont./

Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession; the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves over to another. As for the children, either they are not distinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

3. The same situation in a new variant. the first brother has reached marriageable age before the second. The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his father /sic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother remains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

4. At a given moment a brother has several adult daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son. The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the sister of the brother /sic/. Thus it is at the present time among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his individual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood. The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder brother is not in indisputable.

An analogous development takes place if the elder brother-polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up; then each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but at the same time each of the younger brethren will have

/203 cont./ The custom of brothers' living together with one wife became ever rarer. In the words of the epos, such passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.

Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clans C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

Aleut NAG

Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

/244 cont./

3. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen /Ethnographic Observations/," Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 162-163, Berlin.

not indicate either the kinship relations between the common husbands or their relationship in the case of the marriage of the second participant. But this in no way allows us to conclude that marriage among the Aleut is confined to the details related above. As we have already stated earlier, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described Gilyak marriage in the same terms as Veniaminov used to describe that of the Aleut, whereas we have seen that the Gilyak have the typical group marriage. The description of group marriage as given by Veniaminov and Rinso is quite natural for non-specialist observers, for with group marriage one is most easily struck by that case in which the second husband is not individually married himself, as it is described in Gilyak fairy tales: "two brothers maintained one wife." A non-specialist, however, generally leaves unnoticed group marriages which include several married men. One can therefore say with a great degree of assurance -- especially if one takes into consideration data about the preferred marriage to cousins -- that the polyandry of the Aleut that Veniaminov tells us about was in reality a form of group marriage. In confirmation of my hypothesis I shall permit myself to cite the following example from the life of the Toda, a tribe that lives in the Nilgiri Hills.

The old writer Marshall describes marriage among the Toda in the following way (4):

4. W.E.Marshall, A phrenologist among the Todas, London, 1873, p. 213.

"If a husband has brothers or very close kinsmen who all live together, each one of them may, with the consent

Aleut NAG

/245 cont./

The peculiarities of the Aleut marriage norms did not remain isolated on the Aleutian Islands. On the northwestern shore of the American continent, right up to the Columbia River itself, which was regarded by Morgan as the point of departure of the Ganowanian system, observers note them in terms almost analogous to those used by Veniaminov. We find them among the Eskimo tribe of the Koniag, the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, about whom Davydov writes: "Some women have two husbands each: the first is the actual husband, who selects the other one with the consent of the wife. This one at the same time becomes a servant, i.e., he carries firewood and does a number of other chores. He can sleep with the wife only in the absence of her actual husband, and upon his return he is deprived of this right. /246/ The Russians call such husbands partners" (1). This

1. Davydov, Dyukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova /Two Voyages to America by the Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, Part II, pp. 50-51.

description, which almost seems to have been copied from Mamio Rinso and Veniaminov and travelers to Tibet, fails like the others to note the kinship relations between the spouses, but, on the other hand, there is the valuable report of the right of the second husband to exercise his marital rights only in the absence of the first husband, as among the Gilyak, and the obvious subservient position of this second husband. This subservient position is justly noted and strikes the eye also among the Gilyak, but it obtains, not by virtue of a marital agreement, but by virtue of the fact that the elder brother always plays the role of the head of the house and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and worker.

/246 cont./

Among the Tlingit (the Koloth) the institution is described in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

/270 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term tkhagunl (eastern dialect tygnydz).

Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his closest ashmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla a'ivuikh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and frequently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and renowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/281 cont./

583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, neverthe-
less, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may be-
come necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the
negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very
important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must
be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the
wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride
will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
614 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and
the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[586] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her
parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the
part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half).
It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask
for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely
forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the
one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want
a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you,
then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat,
if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask
for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom,
together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on
sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[576] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come
on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time
the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for
the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are
spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women
look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/301 cont./

567 They would journey back to Sansin with their wives and
slaves; there each was given a one -- or many-masted boat,
which was loaded with provisions for ten years, with garments,
silks, and so forth, for the entire family. Upon their return the
purchased wives would already be pregnant. If a daughter was
born, they gave her a slave for her dowry. Those who came to
Sansin only to pay their yassak /tribute paid in furs/ (one sable)
received two combs, a piece of drel', ten bottles of khanshin,
and so forth. Ainu women were bought in this way; they went
hunting, brought sables and so forth, and also Chinese goods, and
bought wives on the way.

A woman who married into the Jusk'in clan received as a
dowry from her father a female slave -- akh, who was provided
with a Japanese sword for cleaning her mistress' soles. Then a
Gilyak bought her in exchange for his own daughter. Poor fathers
(generally) sold their daughters into slavery.

VI.

The Family and the Clan

● 595 Marriage norms and totemic clans. Clansmen-brothers may sup-
port one wife, but only one of them is regarded as the master,
even though both together bought the wife; the second one enjoys
marital rights only in the absence of the first.

If they have lived together for one year after another, a
husband consults his elder wife as to whom else he should take.
And she herself may travel to select a helper from her own khal
or from an alien one, and the wives call each other sisters. A
man sleeps separately, and each wife separately, or the man in
the middle. The elder wife takes care of all the children. The
younger cannot give orders to her, and she commands. It some-
times happens that they are jealous and fight. The following go
to do the betrothing: 1) father and mother, 2) elder brother,
3) father's brother, 4) husband of father's sister.

/302/

● 595 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take
58 widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from
the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for
nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case.
In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan
of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between
clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's
brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's
sister down to the fourth generation.

In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan
614 who have entered into a union k:khal n'akhr: with the Khydzyr'
173 in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality
and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan
which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the
Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

[114] 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by
note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po
izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
/Materials on the Study of the Gilyak
Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake
in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a
839 Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to
the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes.
Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks
in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she
resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the
Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and
brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did
he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of
Mago).

/374 cont./ Yet

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
nate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she partici-
pates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife
and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of moun-
ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance
and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her
back.

● 595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of
[589] polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such
as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the de-
sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradu-
ally acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to
the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
197 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the
Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

[The Western Coast]

162 /385 cont./
592
128

or adolescent, living apart from their
parents or not, and therefore "house-
holds" are counted separately, and,
secondly, widows and widowers and their
children, and also orphans (brothers and
sisters) who live as a single household.

The total population is 1,041, of whom
162
595 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[167] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32
male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the
others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals
who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[597] 3. Under the rubric of "married we have
also included widowed persons, since, in
order to have accurate percentage figures
for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed
persons must be considered along with the
married persons. The terms "polygamist"
[128] and "bigamist" are used interchangeably,
[184] since, though there are no prohibitions in
this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk
shore a single case where a native had more
than two wives; on the western shore and on
the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives
each.

The number of children who
163
165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth
is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[128] 4. For lack of a better method, the number
of children was ascertained by asking each
married man the questions: (1) how many of
his children were present (the name of each
child was called out and written down one by
one) and how many were absent; (2) how

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III. Ethnographic Part

Second Half: Basic Features of Family Life, Social Life, and the Inner Life

Section 11

Family relations: marriage, wife purchase, and wife capture
Morality. Domestic tasks and occupations of husband and wif
Childbirth, the feeding, treatment, and rearing of children.
Position of the male and female slaves in the household. The
family law of inheritance. Blood revenge.

121 If in the discussion of the basic conditions and elements
the external life of the Amur peoples I deemed it necessary to
dwell more or less exhaustively only on the peoples of the low
Amur region, but, with regard to those on the upper course of
river, to point out only in a general way the particularly typi
and characteristic differences in contrast to them, this will be
case to an even greater extent in the following considerations
turning more and more to the inner life. In fact, I must here
limit myself almost exclusively to the Gilyak and to the Olch
who, except in language and some ideas and customs which a
in part perhaps rooted in tribal peculiarities, have been perm
by the Gilyak spirit and almost completely Gilyakized, and e
the adjacent tribes on the lower Amur will only be touched u
for comparison, for it was only with the former that I had int
course long enough to obtain some, albeit superficial, insight
into the problems to be discussed here. Hence the discussion
the Amur peoples, which up to now has been kept comparati
as much as possible, will in this last part take on more of the
character of a monograph and will center almost exclusively
the people that has been the focus and point of departure for a
of our previous discussions.

● 595 The Gilyak are not bound by custom or religion to any
definite form of marriage. Actually, however, by far the ma
of them live in monogamy. In fact, it prevails /632/ amon
them to such an extent that one may designate it as the gener
rule, but polygamy, on the other hand, occurring only under

/129 cont./ This appeared so obvious to him that he explains the opposing view of Siebold, too categorically affirmed, it is true, based on the report of the eighteenth century Japanese traveler Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/, that "the northwestern shore of Sakhalin (i.e., the territory of the Gilyak) is the only country in the world where polyandry, by force of law or custom, is practiced" (1), not

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169.

by the inaccuracy of the observations of Mamio Rinso, whom he considers an excellent observer, but by his personal bitterness against the Gilyak because the Gilyak women compelled him to perform manual labor like all the other men (2). "Among

2. "Not wishing to accuse Mamio Rinso of pure fictionalizing," says Schrenck, "we cannot refrain from assuming that he was motivated by personal reasons, which, muddling his testimony, gave ground for various interpretations... Vanity and the fear of lowering himself in the eyes of the government (on account of his servile position) impelled the traveler to explain his humiliating position among the Gilyak by the custom of their country" (i.e., polyandry and the domination of women). Schrenck, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskago kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, 1903, Vol. III, p. 19.

the Gilyak," says Schrenck in conclusion, "neither on Sakhalin nor on the continent, nor anywhere else, does polyandry exist."

/129 cont./

114 595 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamio Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

58 [595] To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak marriage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife [591] is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

/167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, according to generations, are considered an'g:ej -- his wives and the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations pu and an'g:ej have played and still play an enormous role, symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan structure gives to each of its participants.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of this institution of the right to marriage at the present time. For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty. First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the censuses that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785 females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is 694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant percentage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals, keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the settlement of Arkyvo, for every nine monogamous men there was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every 11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of women was, /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

/175 cont./

* 835 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights
837 just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.
* 835 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the rela-
832 tions between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

* 835 In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their
[593] wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official
● [595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but
[184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters
[556] such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

/176 cont./

000 such situations also in the richest and most respected families.
159 My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, the
* 835 aforementioned resident of the settlement Tangi, the richest Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, Pleun. The latter was himself a no less capable person than his older brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his older brother. It had evidently come about in this way: as a youth, he had enjoyed the wife of Gibel'ka with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attraction had arisen between them, and he preferred, instead of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his older brother, whom in fact, he loved. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Gibel'ka himself, regarded this as an entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gibel'ka himself with a question about this, a slight shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how the Russians regarded such relations, but in general my question did not produce any particular impression on him.

[593] He spoke enthusiastically about his own wife, loved his children tenderly, although he could not have any confidence whatsoever that they were his, and his son, a boy of 14, felt a greater affection for the younger brother of his father than for him himself. It goes without saying that nothing prevented
● [595] Gibel' from removing his younger brother from his house, or
[583] him together with his wife, and buying himself another, and not one but several, of the most beautiful and distinguished wives. With his extreme ambition, with his excessive love of popularity, he would not have failed to undertake the most drastic steps for the /177/ restoration of his marital reputation, if he had felt anything shocking in the regular and well-known cohabiting of this brother with his wife. As luck would have it, Gibel' outlived his younger brother, who perished tragically in solitude in his hunting balagan
[164] during the time of the winter hunting. When the dead man's

/177 cont./

159 body was laid on the funeral platform amidst a huge and
764 solemn crowd of Gilyak who had assembled from all direction
* 835 a few minutes before the cremation the wife of the older brother, with her hair undone as a sign of mourning, climbed up on it, seated herself beside the deceased, and in everyone hearing began to mourn for her "younger husband" and "beloved" in the same pathetic and tender terms as if she had been his individual wife.

* 835 This public act is better evidence than any description as to how the Gilyak understand relations between men and the wives of their brothers.

The custom of the common, continual cohabitation of brothers with a common wife is not always easy to notice. In the first place, sexual relations are carefully guarded from publicity; furthermore, the Gilyak usually live in large yurts, with several brothers with families together, and for a strange it is very difficult to figure out their secret relations, the more so because they are very unwilling to speak about such things; finally, any young Gilyak rarely has the desire to attach himself to the wife of an own brother; he prefers irregular relations with the wives of many of his tuvn.

● 595 Besides the group-marriage relations between brothers and
* 835 their wives, however, other purely communal forms are also encountered among the Gilyak -- true, not often -- namely, when two or several brothers are quite openly and admittedly married to one woman. I encountered such cases in 1910 eve on the Amur, where the Gilyak distinguish themselves by a particular individualism. Two or three brothers formally seek in marriage a common wife from the akhmalk clan or buy an alien woman and then continue to live with her in a communa marriage. Of course, at the same time both the husbands and their wives are joined in group-marriage relations with a larg number of their class pu and an'g:ej.

[538] In olden times such cases were evidently common phenomena. The so-called n'astund (heroic tales) and fairy

● 595 /177 cont./
* 835 tales again and again begin with the words: "n'ig:yvyn tenun'
538 ruvn an'g:ej n'ena aivynd" -- "two Gilyak brothers had a wife," and later on the content itself of this idea is disclosed. In one /178/ such tale (1), in which they are talking about the

1. L. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, II, 21, p. 171.

abduction of the common wife of two brothers by a mountain man, we find a passage depicting the forms of sexual relations and the relationship of the woman to both brothers: "That same evening she made the...sacrificial cups, six of them, in order that her husbands might take them with them (on the hunt); then that night, having slept a little (i.e., under one cover with the elder brother), she made her way to her younger husband (beloved), lying on the middle plank-bed, and, having copulated, she slept with him. On the next day, her husbands set out." The finale of this story is curious. After a long search for the abducted woman, the older brother (nowadays her individual husband), having despaired of the success of the search, returned home, while the younger brother, on the other hand, zealously continued the search, and when he finally found his way to the home of his beloved, the narrator says that the woman ran to her husband "pivner:kntokh" (actually, to the brother of her individual husband) (line 58) ... They not only speak in such language
595 in fairy tales, but every day. When a man speaks of his wife
* 835 or a woman of her husband, they by no means imply their in-
601 dividual spouse, but one or another of their "husbands" without distinction. In just the same way, when a married man speaks of his wives (in the plural), or a married woman of her husbands, they always imply the individual husband and his brothers, and, conversely, the individual wife and the wives of the brothers.

/181/
* 835 Such are the relations between the categories of group pu and an'g:ej. Within his own clan, the Gilyak has at his disposal the dozens of wives of his "brothers." In the clan of his akhmalk (and there may be many of these) dozens of daughters of the "brothers" of his mother are at his disposal, and finally, outside of these clans the sisters of the wives of his most distant tuvn, and the wives of the sons of his "mother's" sisters, belong to him. And since, in addition, due to the contemporary conditions of life, his own clansmen and the members of the clans of his akhmalk are scattered throughout the most remote settlements, there is hardly a place where a visiting Gilyak could not find his lawful an'g:ej. One may say the same thing about the Gilyak that is said, mutatis mutandis, about "kumi" and "kroki," who throughout the whole extent of their territory find everywhere a lawful wife for themselves.

* 835 Thus, every Gilyak usually is joined in a dual marriage:
● 595 1) in the customary individual marriage with one or more
58 women either from the class of his an'g:ej (in this case mainly with the daughters of his mother's brother) or with women of alien groups; this form of marriage among brothers sometimes takes on the form of purely communal polyandry; 2) in a group marriage with all the women of the class an'g:ej, where sexual intercourse with some of them is accompanied by joint cohabitation, a common economy with their individual husbands, and takes place more or less regularly (most often within a common economy of brothers); or else this right of sexual intercourse is potential and is exercised only insofar as is possible and not regularly.

* 835 Thus, we have to do here with the typical group marriage,
171 examples of which are known to all among the most diverse peoples of the earth. An extremely curious, typical analogue in the life of other peoples is the marriage system of the Australian Dieri tribe (1), among whom both aspects of sexual

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology

/194 cont./
* 194 Thus there was created that type of individual-group
581 marriage which we see among the Gilyak, and among all
582 other peoples where marriage is founded on this principle of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This system of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /195/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest one is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, however, men and women simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But a la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost completely impossible, because the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother expand into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants at any given moment will be equal to the number of women in another group of descendants.

171 2. Let us take the same instance: one brother and one
* 194 sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one
581 daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal
582 marriage, as it is described among many peoples and appears
● 595 so typically in all the descriptions of the Tibetans, becomes inevitable. This is the situation described in the Gilyak epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the communal wife in the absence of the other: "in Tibet, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (1). Among the

1. Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

567, 595

"In olden times the Amur Gilyak bought sl
h these practices of polygamy and slaver
em as to have sufficient domestic help.
old age a young and strong assistant."

aves, who were mostly Ainu women, but in
y the desire was not so much to possess a
In one case it was to give the loved wife of

/632 cont./

certain conditions, as, on the whole, a rare exception. According to the statements of the Gilyak, the latter is practically not found at all on Sakhalin, along the Liman, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, whereas among the Amur Gilyak it occurs more frequently. An explanation for this will appear from the information in the following. In polygamous marriage the number of wives is usually limited to two. Among the Amur Gilyak I discovered several such marriages (1). Marriages with three

1. For example, the Gilyak Ssogin in Kuĭk (Mão) had two wives, Keŭguk and Malguk; similarly, the Gilyak Tschjegun had two, Chumsisk and Tyisuk, etc.

to five wives are very rare, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there are none at all among them with more than five wives. In addition to voluntary polygamy, however, there is among the Gilyak a form of polygamy brought about by the law of inheritance or, more accurately, by hereditary obligations, which will be discussed later.

The chief motive which impels the Gilyak toward monogamy is the custom of buying their wives which prevails among them, as among most primitive peoples and in particular among all the indigenous peoples of Siberia (2). The Gilyak expression for "to

2. As, for instance, among the Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Tatars, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyak, and others (cf. note 1 on p.1030). The same custom also prevails among the Chinese (Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. II, p. 261. Bazin, Chine moderne, 2nd Part, Paris, 1843, p. 482). Even among the ancient Germans, marriage was originally a purchase, as in Iceland, Norway, and among the Anglo-Saxons (Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 237).

3 cont./

1. (cont.)
money, one horse, a cow, and an ox, 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparations for the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Siberien's /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Assja-Samoyed women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Cheremis, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

ires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In of the circumspect and thrifty nature of this people, con- ly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addi- to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his th duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain spe- esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, gamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur ak living together more densely than it is among their country- along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the of Okhotsk.

/641 cont./

the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/645 cont./

524 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really 357 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to 868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not com- 593) pletely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

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596 EXTENDED FAMILIES--incidence of extended families; prevailing type or types (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, and bilocal extended families, fraternal joint families); size and composition; domicile (e.g., compound, single large dwelling); locus of authority; rule of succession (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal, succession by a younger sibling); collective or individual ownership of dwelling, land, food stores, and household equipment; economic cooperation; routine activities; collective responsibility; cohesive and fissive tendencies; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance 42
Kin relationships 602
Lineages 613
Clans 618
Collective liability 672
Ancestor worship 769

/113 cont./

561 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.
855 but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreov
86 to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the c customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his trib and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life th constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of hi own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduc himself in society.

561 All these qualities, however, would have no significance i
596 the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples
855 of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purpo train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult me bers. The sons are completely free to separate from their fath obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion

596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfath father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free asso

[422] tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he

[434] participant in such an economic union, every member can hav his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arm enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his person merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flo rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

presence of several women around one man in the same room and in a common household is, in the long run, scarcely conceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by vanity to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the work for their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be able to favor one or another of them. This means is to keep slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex, for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house. These, however, are by no means to be thought of as lone Gilyak men or women who attach themselves to a family and, in exchange for free food and lodging, assume the obligation to perform the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water, felling and splitting firewood, etc. There are such domestic persons, who are hired, so to speak, among the Gilyak, but the situation that they are in is entered into by them voluntarily, it can be dissolved at will, and it in no way deprives them of the esteem of their countrymen, nor does it injure their social position with equal rights among them.

The situation is entirely different, however, with regard to the slaves. The Gilyak have a special term for them: kryghryss, or, with a statement of the sex, kryghryss-umgu -- female slave, and kr.-utgu -- slave of the male sex. It is to be stressed, first of all, that they are never and under no circumstances Gilyak, but are always individuals bought from the neighboring tribes, Ainu or Goldi. The Ainu (Kughi) supply the most slaves, and especially female slaves, to the Gilyak, the Goldi supply them in smaller numbers, and, to be sure, the "Jant" as well as the "Tscholdok," that is, the lower as well as the upper Goldi. The Gilyak were unable to name for me any other tribes furnishing them with slaves. Thus, significantly enough, the shameful sale of girls and boys of their own tribe into slavery is practiced only by the two peoples of the Amur region who are the immediate neighbors of the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Japanese and Chinese, and who are the most dominated and oppressed by them. It is certainly no mere accident that the

567 435 purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less handy and are lazier and therefore less useful in the house than the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no rights: they are nothing more than domestic animals in human shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of course, all the heavy work in the house, such as felling and splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, so hard among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an intention to marry her. The use of a female slave as a concubine is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak: if anyone did so, he would not only lose completely all the respect that the possession of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very useful for the household, for in their position they cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners and thus, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house, as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

[595] [558] [556]

567 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has, will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryss-umgu (female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of his marital situation.

567 595 192

As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother and likewise, as kryghryss, becomes the property of her owner, who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up, sells it as kryghryss. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not unhappily permits a marriage between his male and female kryghryss; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children they might have will be his kryghryss and, as such, can be turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

[836] [851] [848] [847] [563]

114 of this statement by Rinsô, could express the conjecture that the 171 kojektschutsch or kojachtschitsch of the Kamchadal known 175 through Steller and Krascheninnikof (4), that is, men being used 569 592

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's conjecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from the same statement by Rinsô, that polyandry exists among the Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accurate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinsô, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

114 595 175

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./

114 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came
175 into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which
595 can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the
114 Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to
175 carry out his planned trip to Tôtats (on the opposite mainland),
592 which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without
595 any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time, then, he entered the ranks of persons obligated to perform do-
[359] mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to
[567] accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged
[515] custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in re-
175 ferring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is
567 well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)
435

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[108] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
561 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvaling clan, for instance, were for a long time
[556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
648 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
622 and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
175 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
178 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used
[567] the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

"A greater witness to the wealth of this 'Lord Mayor' was the possession of two wives. Very few Gilyaks on Sakhalin, perhaps two or three others, were wealthy enough to have bought more than one wife. Polygamy is no longer as common as it was, and this probably for two reasons—the decline in the number of women, and the growing poverty of the people. There are no adequate statistics to which I can appeal in support of the first, but evidence of the latter is met with at every turn. The only censuses (informal) ever taken were the inquiries of Mr. Sternberg in 1891 and 1895, among certain villages on the west coast of Sakhalin; where he found that the population had increased from 1041 to 1049 in 3 1/3 years, of which the increase of females was two and of males six."

"The Gilyaks treat their children rem
wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding price,
fish-winner, is naturally of more accou
course, very high. In the villages on the
gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 130, o
88 deaths among the older persons), i.e
chief reason, however, of the decline in
A wife has to be bought, and she is a mo
unremunerative investment, but few Gil
expenditure."

arkably well, and though a girl is potential
the boy as an early bread-winner, or rather
nt. The death-rate among young children is, of
west coast, north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg
ut of which there were 34 deaths (in addition to
. an average of more than 26 per cent. The
polygamy is more probably growing poverty.
oderately expensive article. Not that she is an
yaks are in a position to make the capital

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity,
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually settles with the husband for the payment of kalym. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves. Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

G 602 /190 cont./ As a result of this
191 institution, the prohibitions between a woman and the older
B brothers of her husband are very strict, and, on the other
602 hand, with respect to the younger brothers of her husband
582 prohibitions are absent. The content of the prohibition (forbidding
174 the man to sit on the bed of his khadym, to see her naked, etc.)
835 is evidence that this prohibition had the exclusive aim of preventing sexual intercourse.

V.

The Genesis of the Gilyak Marriage Norms and the Kinship Terminology

G We have examined the norms of sexual intercourse and
*174 have seen that they completely correspond to the kinship
● 60 terminology. Now it is necessary for us to proceed to a consideration of how this complicated system of kinship and marriage was formed, what sort of psychic substratum gave rise to the system. Obviously, such a complicated system could not arise artificially. It must have developed, without a doubt, out of one simple principle, a clear /191/ categorical imperative for the primitive man, out of which there must have grown, as from a seed, that complicated organism of Gilyak institutions which has been examined by us in such great detail. Along with the genesis of this system, however, it is necessary for us to explain also the long evolution of this system, without an understanding of which a whole series of peculiarities of the kinship nomenclature will seem completely inexplicable and, as it were, out of keeping with the general system.

/191 cont./

*174 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tu
● 60 although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-la although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's bro and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, fro that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the un married ones, become my mothers, and no one from her cl can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a m can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothe fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him hav

*174 come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be
58 explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and
60 logically consistent system of marriage, like every religiou
[183] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. On the other hand, under th
[198] influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was disti guished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certa places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norm marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminolo In other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminol is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage

[198] tem. This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all cha

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc. 291 237

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids. 302

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State"). 114

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs. 614

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage. [60]

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

601

601 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY--lists and application of kinship terms; genes
kinship charts; use of kinship terms relative to personal names and tek
differentiation of vocative and referential forms; morphological typolog
elementary, derivative, and descriptive terms); number of elementary
incidence of denotative and classificatory terms; classificatory distinct
served and overridden (e.g., generation, sex, affinity, collaterality, b
tion, polarity, relative age, speaker's sex, decedence); classification
avuncular and nepotic terms (e.g., bifurcate collateral, bifurcate merg
lineal, generation); classification of cousin terminology (e.g., Eskimo
Hawaiian, Iroquois, Crow, Sudanese, Omaha); correlation between ter
and patterns of behavior; historical and functional interpretations of kin
systems; etc. See also:

Dynastic genealogies . . . . . 173 Personal names and teknonymy . . . . . .
Linguistic relationships 197

/113 cont./

Finally -- and this is particularly necessary to note -- it is not at all obligatory that at the head of large families with a common economy there should be elders in years; most frequently, on the contrary, they are young people who have distinguished themselves by their activity, resourcefulness, and zeal, in a word, by their personal talents. Old men enjoy /114/ authority only with regard to special questions, as the preservers of traditions, as experts in the rituals and history of the family-clan relations. They are consulted on confusing questions of kinship and in the giving of names; it is they who must supervise the ritual aspect of festivals, but this does not give them any power or advantages.

And that which is absent in the family -- the despotism of the eldest, the head -- is also lacking in the clan. It knows neither despotic elders-patriarchs nor any permanent authorities in general, collective or individual, neither elected ones nor any by right of birth and inheritance.

The clan is not a fiction, however; it is a complicated institution, surrounding the Gilyak with a thick net of regulations, prohibitions, and obligations, but at the same time providing him with all the benefits, material and spiritual, of a firm social union.

We thus return to the question that we raised at the end of the preceding section. Where are the driving forces of the mechanism of this almighty institution -- the clan, where is the secret of the amazing combination of the closest community with a complete absence of despotism, of all-embracing wardship and regulation with the absence of compulsion and the maintenance of individual freedom?

This secret is contained in two conditions: 1) the simplicity of economic conditions and relations, which offers a broad scope to the comprehensive development of the powers and abilities of the individual and their free application to the wide-open gifts of nature equally free to all; and, secondly, the entire socio-religious world-outlook, which quite spontaneously, without any external pressure, directs the will and activity of each toward the harmony of the common interest, substituting for external compulsion the force of the inner consciousness of each.

/375 cont./

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[428] The elder son doe
on the contrary,
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inheritance

on. In their actions the Gilyak are no less
ur point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy
sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
not openly) with individuals of those categories
above. But within the clan, as I have already
s not to be met with, even as an exception. I
Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic
h not only impel young people to make long
dezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive
nable enterprises, such as the abduction of a
f arms.

he Gilyak family. One often encounters large
in which the aged father lives in a common
l his children and their children. The master's
either incapacitated for work or do not possess
r own frequently enter into the composition of
infrequently the family accepts the orphans of
specially orphans left without a mother at an
metimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with
d sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
atter have no sons. We shall note other peculiari-
up of the family farther on; for the present we
normal composition of the family, its frame-
ts, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
clan of the husband). In the relations of the
amily among themselves there is nothing resem-
hal relations of, for example, the old Roman
e sons show respect for the father, but the latter
er them that power which is known under the
ria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
father and live in separate households. Living
he son can acquire for himself his own property.
s not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and,
he youngest sons, as those who live with the
ath, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
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597

597 ADOPTION--extent to which children are adopted or exchanged; motives an
procedure; status of adopted children; reciprocal relations of adoptive pare
and adopted children; relations between adoptive siblings; special types of
adoption (e.g., adoption of adults, posthumous adoption; ceremonial adoptio
etc. See also:

Guardianship	429	Care of orphans	7
Adoption of slaves	567	Posterage	8
Artificial kin relationships	608	Status of children	8
Adoption of captives	727		

/xxvii cont./

*114 595 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it one again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in their basic features. A large part of what is related in this accou on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, th inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their discovery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the ne paper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material un covered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA. Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversatio Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archiv [13] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie giliak appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozreni for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engel book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstv is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie giliaki" is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

*114 ● 601 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriag and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, preserved certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly confirmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the classificatory system as a true indicator of the sexual norms that formerly existed. The classificatory system of kinship among the [171] Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the Turano-Ganowanian in type. Furthermore, "it is the best examp of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being *114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the T
the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several
dred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting,
to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their nat
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arran
[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transforme
society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociablene
which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social fram
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must
the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its in
ternal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend ma
to acquaint my readers.

III.

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

601 171 174

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothi
characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding na
alities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules
regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect
Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the A
and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu ar
only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved feat
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although t
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of
marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among
Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful compa
of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gi
leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite differe

/85 cont./

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[927]

This took place in various ways. It might happen that an epidemic depopulated the clan and put a handful of people face to face with all the vicissitudes to which unions weak in numbers were subject. The clan might be depopulated after a severe war, leaving a small number of men and a mass of widows spared by the victorious foe by virtue of the international law of the Gilyak. And if under these conditions there existed remnants of some other clan that found itself in a similarly helpless position and not standing in the relation of akhmal'k and vmgi with respect to the first clan, then a fusion was effected to their mutual satisfaction. The adopted individuals ordinarily married the widows of clansmen and thereby united themselves with the clan fire and the clan union. But these are more or less extraordinary cases. The most common case of adoption is that where the person adopted by the clan is a member of another clan, fleeing for some reason from his own clan and settling down in the midst of an alien clan. Long residence, habit, sympathy, assistance given at clan festivals, and, finally, marriage to a local widow lead to the final adoption. An extremely curious case of adoption is that where two persons of different clans are married to two sisters, which, according to the law, can only take place with members of one clan. The influence of the clan principle of a "common father-in-law" is so strong /86/ that the children of such persons are considered brothers and sisters, call their aunts mothers, and cannot marry each other. A fiction of clan relationships results. Under favorable conditions, when, for example, such persons live together in one village and one of them is completely severed from his clan, the result is that they help each other at clan festivals, or even arrange them together, lay the bones of the bear in one place, and, finally, in the second or third generation the union of the clans is completed.

/86 cont./

14 Adoption has played an enormous role in the life of
597 the Gilyak. I do not know a single clan whose legends do
173] not contain accounts of members of other tribes as the
founders of the clan. I have already discussed in the first
section how it happened that separate adopted individuals
instead of the established element came to be the first and
foremost founders of the clan, indicating that the new-
comers, as the more energetic element, brought with them
a greater endurance in the struggle for existence and a la
longue /in the long run/ survived the less staunch, en-
feebled aborigines who were gradually dying out. Such,
it may be, is the law of a fixed supply of racial energy,
which finally runs low under unfavorable conditions. The
descendants of the newcomers do not escape this fate, of
course; they in turn will be replaced by newcomers, if the
clan as a whole is able to preserve its existence that long.

14 Now I will add only the following to what I have
597 said earlier. It may seem strange that a clan formed out of
173 aborigines and the descendants of newcomers should never-
theless categorically consider its founders the former and
not the latter /sic/. But here is how the matter is explained.
Despite the fusion of the clan with the newcomer, the old
feeling of kinship continues in effect. The descendants of
both sides, while fulfilling their clan obligations, neverthe-
less do not incorporate, but continue to maintain them-
selves as separate groups, each keeping its own account of
kinship according to tradition. I observed this more than
once in those clans in which there were descendants of
aborigines and newcomers. In the settlement of Tangivo,
for example, settled by the representatives of a single clan,
one half (the most prosperous) traces its origin from an Ainu
newcomer, the others consider themselves aborigines.
When in the course of time the latter become extinct --
which is already noticeable -- it is natural that the former,
who will remain the only representatives of the clan, will

/86 cont./

*614 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is
● 597 everywhere.
173

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

*614 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of
372 clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan
776 deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there sits, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[171]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also plays the role of intermediary between human beings and the gods; he intercedes for human beings, he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/174 cont./

*835 In clans where a distinction is made between the wives of
614 younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for me still more boldly: "among clansmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ('good'), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his tuvn is invariably exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the woman and, as far
*835 as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse,
593 of course, is peremptory -- he can demand from his wife ful-
fillment of her marital and economic obligations and that she
● [597] follow him through /175/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that she bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tuvn of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group husbands in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the home), to enjoy their rights, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the
[484] greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the
512 river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at
[222] a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the
*835 taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor tuvn most of all
[837] fully enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group an'g:ei, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/200 cont./

614 clan to change residence and to withdraw more and more
178 from their kinsmen. Before my eyes, in the course of a few
166 years, whole clans -- family after family -- in search of
*174 more advantageous hunting and fishing sites, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tym' to Taraika (in the territory of the Ainu), to the Amur, etc. Discord between clansmen and wars play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we saw what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the Pilavo clan that we introduced; from /201/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyak territory, bordering on the Ainu, they migrated first to the northernmost part of the western shore, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they became completely Goldified. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any ties among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old phratral marital relations has been completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place even now. This is precisely the reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyak must travel hundreds of versts to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and willy-nilly there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is
● [597] obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and to marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old phratry.

If it is not just unmarried individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-nilly begin to enter into marital unions with the nearer clans.

/358 cont./

614 628 72 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each [342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the [501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 597 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came [729] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/359 cont./

614 597 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gather- [763] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/382 cont./

428 [768] inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one, the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged [768] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note

428 597 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age. With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It 428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the [606] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with his father up to the very time of his death, while the other brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the other brothers.

673 [674] Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety. In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one [422] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes tempted by the possessions of another, it is always in the field of

60

60 KINSHIP--general statements dealing with several specific aspect
eral characteristics and component terminology of kinship system
specific patterns of behavior prevailing between kinsmen who do n
the same nuclear or polygamous family. For kin relationships wi
of family structure see 593.

1: Shternberg

601

/For an intensive study of the Gilyak kinship classificati
see category 116, pp. 196-226./

RX2 Gilyak RX2

on system and its significance,

/84 cont./

614 587 768 his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the decision of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligations of husband and father, and even where the deceased has no younger brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the "elders." Such is the immutable law of the clan.

*614 848 Such are the advantages which the clan union offers by virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage norms which directly issue from it. It is completely natural that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who have a right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being born to a clansman is the only justus /85/ titulus to being counted in the clan. Ytk-khavrnd -- a man without a father, i.e., born out of wedlock, not knowing who his father is -- is a man without a clan, a pariah, a burden to himself and others. One who does not know the identity of his father and consequently does not know to which clan he belongs, therefore does not know which women can be his wives and which are forbidden and, unbeknownst to himself and others, may violate the sacred sexual norms, incurring incalculable disasters upon all. Fortunately, there are in fact no persons who do not know their fathers. If a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock, they compel her to name the father of the future child. Having learned who he is, they compel him to marry the seduced girl, which he is only too glad to do, because in such a situation there are fewer difficulties about paying the bride price. In the event of disavowal on the girl's part, they slay the newborn child, and the clan is saved from sin and unhappiness.

*614 597 The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation and reconcile itself with the institution of adoption, with the acceptance into its bosom from time to time of individuals from other clans.

nt to which children are adopted or ex
of adopted children; reciprocal relat
ren; relations between adoptive siblin
doption of adults, posthumous adoptio

. . . . . 429 Care of orphans . .
. . . . . 567 Fosterage . . . .
hips . . . . . 608 Status of children .
. 727

changed; motives and
tions of adoptive parents
gs; special types of
n; ceremonial adoption);

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/32 cont./

regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage. Being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, often complete strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their genealogical information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course. This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Australian kroki and kumiti, who will find a marital bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husbands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are kroki.

In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms noa and piruari (1). Among them each

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 f.

woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men,

/44 cont./
614 mother. but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
616 ship. and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of
the second degree. to which the prohibition was limited. But
with the appearance of this prohibition. the tri-clan phratry
ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclu-
sive marriage within three clans became impossible. because
in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S in the akhmal'k of
the first degree for V and of the second degree for A: con-
sequently. the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It
was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri.
Dar'ya). let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry
consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be
Dmitri's (clan D) sister. while the latter would have as his wife
a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times. the
prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant
degrees. the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever
greater number of clans. At the present time. when. due to
the reasons mentioned above. it is necessary in the selection
of wives to resort to completely alien clans. the phratry has
naturally lost its former. strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated. confused system. in order to correctly decide. in each given case. on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And. actually. this constitutes a whole science. to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

171 Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage.
260
582

I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples
[170] in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/45 cont./
174 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the development of the institution which I sketched are capable. I think.
582 of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage
601 which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 1) First of all. the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
174 completely clear to us why among many peoples. as. for example. among the Batak on Sumatra. a wife or a mistress is
582 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datangi or
601 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpūras in central
614 India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are. therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus. quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and. conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak). while Köhler. presenting this fact. and the author of the article on Köhler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms. even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler. "Das Recht der Hottentots." in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft. Vol. XVI. No. 3. pp. 341-342. and L'Année Sociologique. 11th year. p. 306.

/46 cont./
615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's). in
616 turn. from birth. as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V)
582 would be called Vasil'eva. but. the daughter of this last. i.e.,
Varvara's great-granddaughter. would have to be the wife of one of the Andreev (of clan A) /47/ and thus. in the third generation. she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen. Gilyak marriage to a considerable ex-
601 tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature. For in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of relations. which at first sight appear completely independent. are in fact identical. such as. for example. wives of brothers. sisters of the wife. and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons. just like mothers. wives of the father's brothers. sisters of the father-in-law. sisters of the mother. etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage. we have seen that from the simple. single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother. there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage. the clan. the phratry. and finally marriage prohibitions.

171 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the
582 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particu-
614 lar. on the strange institution of mock abduction. an institution
616 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Aus-
[171] tralians and the Eskimo. and. furthermore. in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction. as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives. the violation of

/81 cont./
*614 First of all. the very term that the Gilyak use to express
[192] the concept "clan" is of interest. It is khal', which literally means: scabbard. sheath -- a felicitous symbol for a single womb. for unity of origin. As concerns the features of their clan union. the Gilyak formulate them with surprising terseness. vividly /82/ illustrating their fully conscious attitude toward the basic institution of their social life (1).

[191] 1. It is extremely interesting that the
601 similar term khala /see the transliterat-
[190] ion system for Tungus-Manchu words. p. 36/ also exists among the neighboring Tungus tribes -- the Orok. Orochi. Goldi. Negda. with whom the Gilyak have certain common kinship designations. as. for example. aki (elder brother) = aga (among the Tungus tribes). in spite of the complete dissimilarity of the languages of these peoples lexically and grammatically.

601 If you ask any Gilyak why he considers some persons
(NN) his kinsmen. you will invariably get one answer: "Of course. we have akhmal'k (father-in-law) -- one (i.e., in common). ymgi /see ymgi. p. 82/ (son-in-law /zyat'/) -- one. fire -- one. mountain man. sea man. heavenly man. earth man. etc. -- one. bear -- one. devil -- one. tkhusind (blood money) -- one. sin -- one."

An analysis of this formula will also lead us to an elucidation of the content of the clan union.

1. Akhmal'k -- one. ymgi -- one; a common father-in-law. a common son-in-law (zyat'). The father-in-law of one clansman is father-in-law to the whole clan. Each clan in principle takes its women from one certain clan and in turn gives its women strictly to another certain clan. A common

/163 cont./
*614 from its lair). sable hunting. and especially the hunting of
615 sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these
616 instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation.
[192] not of his clansmen. but of the ymgi. and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter. but ymgi in general. i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he does with his own /164/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them. while he may not do this. as we know. with all of his clansmen. In turn. in the akhmal'k clan the ymgi feel like a fish in water. all the women of their generation are their an'yej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male population. they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i. where they meet the same reception from their "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between
*614 the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1). as a result of
615
608
601 1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings. not to mention relationship by marriage. the most touching relations are established. It is in these surroundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange of presents. mutual aid in misfortune. and other such services. But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example. especially surprising to me. which I chanced to observe in the
601 settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both friends. "navkh'i." lived in one yurt; they had everything in common. went about together like lovers. almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both.

/160 cont./
582 individual wife always lives in one house with her husband.
121 works with him. raises children with him. and is obliged to follow him wherever he wishes. but at the same time she has the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has sanctioned such individual alliances. the more so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection. the individual inclination of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason. along with irregular marital relations. individual unions appear. also sanctioned by society. An arrangement appears whereby a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage. Persons who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation. but also by a common economy and common offspring. At the same time. however. to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly. often demands conditions of secrecy. and usually presupposes the consent of both parties to each act of intercourse. nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized. lawful. that it does not provoke any reaction. either social or religious. and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations as marital relations. This is not only theoretically true; it coincides also with the juridical views of those peoples among whom these institutions exist. /161/ First of all.
601 the very kinship nomenclature itself. according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellation. is evidence of this. Further. these relations usually impose on the participants in a group marriage the same obligations as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus. for
[587] example. when an individual husband dies. one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow. even though she may no longer be capable of sexual

/161 cont./
582 intercourse; he must support her and her children. who usually
587 are also considered the children of all the members of the group.
121
835 Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'gej" become understandable to us. and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "an'gej." We have already said that for the Gilyak. at least at the present time. it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one. except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males. and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are. namely. those women whom by the kinship
601 nomenclature. either from birth or from another specifically defined moment. he calls an'yej (wife). and he calls all
602 their agnates akhmak'i (fathers-in-law). We already know who these women are. They are. first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki. i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking. without distinctions of age (in certain places).

601 Each woman. in turn. as we know. gives the name of husband. in addition to her own Gilyak husband. to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them). and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

/161 cont./

835 All these categories of "wives" and "husbands" are far
601 from nominal /162/ categories. Behind these class terms
(pu and aṅ̄ǵej) there are hidden two important real rights:
1) the right to individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual
intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular.
The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categories
pu and aṅ̄ǵej are bound by the right to marry, in other words,
out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinship
terms, only these alone have the right to join in individual
marriage with each other; all the other categories of kinship
groups are prohibited from marrying each other. But this
right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature -- the
absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly in
the eyes of the Gilyak the mnemonic significance of these
terms is of great importance in itself, for in view of the ex-
treme complexity of kinship relations a firm knowledge of
the marriageable classes is the only guarantee against viola-
tions of the very strict taboos on marriage in the prohibited
degrees of kinship. Nevertheless the mnemonic-permissive
significance of these terms does not at all exhaust their legal
content. Prohibitions against marriage, as we have seen, are
absent also among persons who are complete strangers to
each other in the kinship relation, and nevertheless, for
persons of these categories to call each other pu and aṅ̄ǵej
before marriage is not tolerated. The right to individual
marriage between persons in the pu and aṅ̄ǵej categories
is not a naked nudum jus; this right is simultaneously
an obligation, is a debt for both parties concerned. This ob-
ligation is seen first of all in the category of "brothers" and
their individual wives, who are, as we know, joined mutually
in the relationship of pu and aṅ̄ǵej. By the general rule the
580 widows of "brothers" (own and collateral) cannot leave the
614 clan, and they become, according to the disposition of the
clansmen, the wives of the brothers who have survived their
husbands, completely independently of the wishes of these
brothers; none of them can decline the widow assigned to him.

/163 cont./

835 are the aṅ̄ǵej of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the
538 killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against
whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was
unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow
into his house; and in the presence of the assembled members
of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has
killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out
my wish for any reason." Such is the force of the ancient
categorical imperative of marriages between the categories
of pu and aṅ̄ǵej. This imperative is also active nowadays.

Let us return for a moment to the kinship terminology.
● 601 We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connec-
582 tion with the bases of marriage later on. For our purposes
614 now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the
wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each
other either "sister" or "aunt" and "my husband" (n̄ǵej, nfu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at
which time they become actual spouses, without any of the
ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in con-
cluding marriage with outsiders. This custom generally ex-
plains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yrɨkh"
and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age
when most of us are only preparing to get married the young
Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anni-
versary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call
themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth
of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old.
The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the
latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than
her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further
emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly
zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually
are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all
the ancient customs and rites.

/165 cont./

582 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative
584 to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed
soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any
possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this
important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after
the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to
585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the
ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up
the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the
hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a com-
mon economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing: they fashion
● [601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is
concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more,
approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually
moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with
him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem
to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband"
584 (n̄ǵej, nfu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at
162 which time they become actual spouses, without any of the
595 ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in con-
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[582] unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call
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The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the
latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than
her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further
emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
[556] riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly
zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually
are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all
the ancient customs and rites.

/167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans
606 of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, ac-
602 cording to generations, are considered aṅ̄ǵej -- his wives and
614 the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology,
● [601] and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how
this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to
see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations
pu and aṅ̄ǵej have played and still play an enormous role,
symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the
right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan
structure gives to each of its participants.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of
this institution of the right to marriage at the present time.
For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most
difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also
in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty.
First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among
the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the
census that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785
females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is
694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there
are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant per-
centage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals,
keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my
census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the
settlement of Arkyvo, for every nine monogamous men there
was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to
women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every
11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married
men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of
women was, /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set
[583] of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a
considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride
price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term
service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

/173 cont./

*835 by chance taken a wife secretly,
614 rather than from the clan from
582 which all the kinsmen usually
take a wife.

● 601 In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the
*835 terminology as well, are not the same. Among the majority
184 of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women
614 is legitimate, the participants call each other pu and aṅ̄ǵej,
and their children call each other tuvn and the sisters of their
mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and
"fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who
are neighbors of the Ainu, the arrangement is different. If
the sister of a man's wife marries his akhmalk, then sexual
intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an akhmalk,
is absolutely prohibited, and, instead of aṅ̄ǵej, the man
calls her achk (mother-in-law). But if she marries a com-
pletely alien man, then the relations between them are as
between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a
*835 sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, how-
ever, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases,
even in such /174/ relations, considered to be tuvn (brothers) (1)

*835 601
601 184
*835 614

1. I shall give an example which
depicts very well both the rela-
tions of such tuvn (i.e., the chil-
dren of sisters whose husbands are
aliens to each other) among them-
selves and their mutual relations
towards their wives.
Wremgin and Hibl are individuals
of two different clans (kkhal), one
from the clan Fanǵi, the other
from the clan Khoi, but their
mothers were tuvn, i.e., sisters from
one and the same clan. And

/174 cont./

*835 nevertheless, notwithstanding the
601 fact that their fathers and they
themselves are persons of alien
clans, they call each other tuvn,
because their fathers were married
to sisters and had the right to
sexual intercourse, and, as tuvn,
they do not dare to converse or
joke with each other (see below, the
prohibitions); their wives are
considered ymk (mothers) to their
children, and Hibl, as the younger,
has the right to sexual intercourse
with the wife of Wremgin.

*835 down to the third generation, and this shows best of all that the
old order dictated that the sisters of Gilyak's wife be the wives
of his brothers.

Thus, the question of the relations between a Gilyak and
his married aṅ̄ǵej in practice comes, in the main, to the same
thing as relations with the wives of his "brothers" (tuvn).

601 As we have said, and as is evident from the kinship
184 terminology, some clans strictly differentiate between the
*835 wives of older and of younger tuvn, and others make no dis-
614 tinction at all between these categories; in some -- only the
wives of the older tuvn, in others -- all the wives of tuvn with-
out distinction, are considered aṅ̄ǵej of each of the tuvn, but
in both cases the right of these pu and aṅ̄ǵej to sexual inter-
course is indisputable.

Among the western Gilyak, who make no distinction be-
tween the wives of brothers, they formulated this right for me
repeatedly in the following, more clear expressions:
"With the wife of a younger brother (his) older brother is allowed
to have sexual intercourse" ("good"); a younger (brother) is
allowed to have sexual intercourse with the wife of an older
(brother) ("good").

/177 cont./
595 tales again and again begin with the words: "ǵaɣuvyn temu
*835 ruvn aṅ̄ǵej n'ena alvynd" -- "two Gilyak brothers had a wi
538 and later on the content itself of this idea is disclosed. In
/178/ such tale (1), in which they are talking about the

1. L. Shternberg, Materialy
/Materials/, II, 21, p. 171.

abduction of the common wife of two brothers by a mountai
man, we find a passage depicting the forms of sexual relati
and the relationship of the woman to both brothers: "That
same evening the made the...sacrificial cups, six of them,
in order that her husbands might take them with them (on th
hunt); then that night, having slept a little (i.e., under one
cover with the elder brother), she made her way to her youn
husband (beloved), lying on the middle plank-bed, and,
having copulated, she slept with him. On the next day, he
husbands set out." The finale of this story is curious. After
a long search for the abducted woman, the older brother
(nowadays her individual husband), having despaired of the
success of the search, returned home, while the younger
brother, on the other hand, zealously continued the search,
and when he finally found his way to the home of his be-
loved, the narrator says that the woman ran to her husband
"pivner:kntokh" (actually, to the brother of her individual
husband) (line 58) ... They not only speak in such language
595 in fairy tales, but every day. When a man speaks of his wi
*835 or a woman of her husband, they by no means imply their in
601 dividual spouse, but one or another of their "husbands" with
out distinction. In just the same way, when a married man
speaks of his wives (in the plural), or a married woman of h
husbands, they always imply the individual husband and his
brothers, and, conversely, the individual wife and the wives
of the brothers.

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/31 cont./

601 In particular, among many primitive tribes, the Gilyak calls not only his own wife, but also the wives of his elder brothers of all degrees of kinship, as well as all the sisters of his wife of all degrees of kinship, his wife (an'gej), while they, in turn, call him their husband (pu, ivn). Their children call one another brothers and sisters (tuvn, ruf). In addition the Gilyak calls all his female cousins on his mother's side /32/(the daughters of the brothers of his own mother and of the brothers of all the women whom he calls ymk -- mother) his wives from the time of their birth. The Gilyak calls not only his own mother, but also all the wives of the brothers of his father, own and agnate, as well as the sisters of these women, mother (ymk), while they call him their son. Consistent with this, he calls not only his own father, but also the brothers of his father, his father (ytk), while in certain clans the term father is applied to all elder and younger brothers (own and agnate) of the father, and in others (among most of the Sakhalin Gilyak) -- only to the brothers younger than the father. The children of brothers in relationship to the latter are considered sons and daughters. Seemingly even stranger is the rule by which women call their husband's brothers' wives sister, while men call their father-in-law's sisters mother. A European hears with astonishment a small Gilyak boy call the wife of his elder brother an'gej (wife), while she calls him -- little husband (ychikh, pu, ivn), or as the Gilyak very often says: "I shall go to see my fathers and mothers," i.e., the brothers of his father or the sisters of his mother, but after long observation one becomes so accustomed to this strange phenomenon that he begins to consider
601 it completely natural. In spite of the views expressed in recent
835 times that a classificatory system of kinship represents only the nomenclature of ages, I can testify after long years of observation that among the Gilyak this nomenclature, based on a strict calculation of degrees of kinship, fully corresponds to their norms of sexual intercourse. Age plays no role; frequently very old men and young adolescents are included in one and the same category. All persons bound together by the names an'gej and pu (husband and wife) actually have conjugal rights to one another, i.e., they not only have the right to enter into regular marriages with each other or to have sexual intercourse before entering into a

/35 cont./

The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons, naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kinship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.

First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature according to which I, a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law mother (ymk), while my father calls them his wives, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

174 601 835 582 614 my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej), but simply navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

582 60 614 In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came, i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

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1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting; it is composed of pi (ones own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mother), and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

835 wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriage with a

582 601

/37 cont./

582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is

582 584 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual,

582 614 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how-

[125] [601] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 178 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/188 cont./

02 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands
on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology,
51] the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibi-
tory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by
daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other.
2 Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited
4 categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted,
although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among
some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the
Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other
places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversa-
tion are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse
does not exist between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law.

02 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to
be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic
2] forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the
terms: indynd (to look, khernd (to converse, to talk), lerund
(to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute,
revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally
between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the
father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with
his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and
all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in
the face" -- indynd -- on the contrary, are in effect only
between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor
between all categories. There remains the prohibition khernd.
This term embraces two concepts: conversation and dis-
cussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely for-
bidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and
besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter
with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely im-
possible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the
elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in re-
lation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid
having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the
younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/191 cont./

*174 60 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tuyn, although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's brother," and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-law the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the unmarried ones, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him have *174 58 60 come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious [183] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. [178] On the other hand, under the influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was distinguished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certain places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now we must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norms of marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown that these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminology; in other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminology is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage system. [178] This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all change,

/208 cont./

*614 615 ●601 178 then all these five clans and their five clans of akhmalk'i will be akhmalk'i to the whole of clan of A and will be prohibited for the women of A (only up to the third generation, it is true). But if we also add to these ten clans those two clans of original akhmalk'i of the first and second degree, then clan A will have 12 clans of akhmalk'i of the first and second degree to which it may not give its women. This tendency toward extension could lead to extreme difficulties in arranging a marriage, for with every new free marriage the number of clans which are available for marriage is reduced, but in practice the consequences of this extended regulation are allayed by the still firm tendency of the clan and of its separate members to depart from the old norm of taking wives from one particular clan, the clan of the mother, only in the most extreme cases.

This extended regulation introduced still greater confusion into the kinship terminology and into the norms of group marriage. Earlier, the classificatory system extended, in addition to the clan of the speaker, also to two other clans -- the clan of the fathers-in-law and the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and the designations corresponded to the sexual relations. If, for example, I, a man, called the sisters of my fathers-in-law mothers, then this corresponded to reality, for the sisters of my "fathers-in-law" were group wives of my "fathers" and one of them was actually my mother. Or, if I, a man, called each "father-in-law" in that same clan of "fathers-in-law" the brother of my mother, and his daughter (the daughter of my mother's brother) my wife, then this corresponded to the actual kinship relations. Now that, due to /209/ occasional free marriages, the classificatory terminology has been extended to a whole set of clans which are completely alien to all the clansmen, the designations "fathers-in-law," "mothers," "daughters of the mother's brother," and so forth are extended to persons who are not such in actuality, and nevertheless in this new circle of persons all the old norms of group marriage between

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*614 615 ●601 178 corresponding persons are obligatory. And it is entirely natural that the number of persons drawn into the circle of classificatory kinship is ever larger, and the knowledge of this kinship, so simple before, becomes a real science, into which a person is initiated during childhood and in which he becomes proficient only when he reaches maturity. It is natural, therefore, that the classificatory system gives the European an impression of complete confusion and inexplicability. In reality, all the terms of kinship and the sexual norms which now appear so confused and illogical are explained quite simply -- the intrusion of the new practice of free marriage into the old staunchly persistent system of the old imperative, according to which marriage was a blood-kinship union and was obligatory from the clan of the mother.

VII.

The Phratry and Its Genesis

*614 615 We have seen how, owing to the primordial norms of marriage, the principle aim of which was to provide the progeny of an ancestor with wives from a group of persons in a distinct category of blood kinship, there automatically arose exogamous groups, clans. The essential significance of the clan consisted in the common right and obligation to supply its members with women outside of their own number. In other strictly defined groups-clans. Thus, in its basic function, each clan taken separately is by no means a self-sufficient organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound to the existence of at least two other clans related to the first by blood, one the clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, the other the clan of the sisters of its ancestor, to which it is obliged to give its own women, and, furthermore, these two clans, as we have seen, may not coincide, since the exchange of women between two clans is not allowed.

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IX.

The Gilyak Kinship System and Morgan's Hypothesis

●601 *835 The Gilyak system of kinship and marriage fully confirms the basic hypothesis of L. Morgan that the terms of kinship are the result of corresponding sexual norms and norms of marriage. What for Morgan was only a deduction, we actually see to the fullest degree in Gilyak life. If a Gilyak calls a group of women by the term "wife," then those women are actually wives for him in the proper sense. If a Gilyak calls a certain group of men -- fathers, then these are actually persons who have sexual rights to his mother. If he calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law," then it is because, according to primordial law, he is actually obliged to marry the daughter of this uncle, who will then be his father-in-law. In the Gilyak system one finds the explanation of even such universal classificatory terms as elder and younger brother and elder and younger sister, which are very important, especially in marriage norms. First of all, these terms regulate individual marriage in the [582] clan of the mother. An elder brother is obliged to marry an elder sister, and a younger brother a younger sister. [587] These terms are important in the levirate, since a widow passes to a younger "tuvn." Finally, among half of the Gilyak, only the younger brothers have sexual rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

How clearly individualized this correspondence between a kinship term and the marriage rights is in the Gilyak terminology is seen especially clearly in the relations of the brothers to their wives. Among half of the Gilyak, as we have seen, all the brothers without exception have mutual rights to one another's wives. And among them the terms actually correspond to this: a man designates with the term "wife" all the wives of his brothers without exception, and therefore all the children of brothers without exception call

1; Sutenberg--330 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/223 cont./

●601 *835 these latter by the term "father." But among the other half of the Gilyak only the younger brothers have rights to the wives of the older brothers. And once again this is indicated in the terminology. I call the wife of my younger brother, with whom I do not have the right of intercourse, by the prohibitive term jokh, /224/ but I call the wife of an elder brother by the same term as I call my own wife; corresponding to this, the children of brothers call only the younger brothers of the father, as well as this latter, by the term ytk (father), but the father's older brothers -- atk.

114 601 *835 The objections which have been raised against Morgan's hypothesis are in this sense objections of a purely abstract character. Thus, for example, the well-known objection repeated by all the opponents of Morgan with regard to the inexplicability of the class of mothers, since a person's mother, they say, is always well-known, is quite simply explained by the norms of sexual relations among the Gilyak. A Gilyak calls by the name of mother any woman with whom a person of the class of his fathers has the right to sexual relations. The degree to which the Gilyak realize the significance of this term is seen from the following. We have just seen that among that half of the Gilyak where only the younger brothers have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of the elder, the children of brothers distinguish the elder brothers of their father from the younger brothers, and these latter they call by the term "father," but they do not distinguish the wives of the brothers of their father, calling them mothers. Why? For this reason. I call the wives of my father's younger brothers mothers because their husbands are my fathers (they have the right to sexual intercourse with my mother), and the wives of the older ones because my father has the right of sexual intercourse with them, and they are his wives.

/224 cont./

●601 *835 A Gilyak also calls the sisters of his father-in-law mothers, but this is entirely correct, because, as we have seen, father and son take wives from the same clan; the father takes a man's sister, while the son takes a daughter of this latter, so that the sister of one's father-in-law is [114] really his mother. The objection of Kunov that the classificatory terms designate only age classes is likewise completely unfounded. In Gilyak life, age plays no part in the kinship terms. My class "father" can be younger than I, and nevertheless he cannot marry a woman of the class of my wives, but, on the other hand, is obliged to marry a woman from the class of wives of my actual father, and on attaining maturity he will in fact be a husband of my mother.

*194 *835 [114] The Gilyak system and the punalua family. In the light of the Gilyak system, not only is Morgan's general hypothesis concerning the origin of the classificatory system of kinship from the system of marriage confirmed and explained, but also his more particular hypothesis concerning the origin of the Turanian kinship system from the punalua family. The Gilyak kinship system is /225/ Turanian in its basic indications, while the marriage system presents a most complete form of the punalua family. In actuality, according to Morgan, the basis of the punalua family is "group marriage, either of several own /α/ collateral sisters with their spouses, where the common husbands were not necessarily kinsmen, or a group marriage of several own or collateral brothers with their wives, where these wives were likewise not necessarily kinswomen, although in both cases this was often encountered." The old Gilyak family with its obligatory marriage from one particular clan was a group marriage of all the brothers (own and collateral) with all the sisters of a particular generation, so that the groups of husbands were brothers, while their wives were always sisters. This is evi- [601] dent from the kinship terminology -- the wives of brothers call each other sisters.

/225 cont./

835 601 At the present time, when it is permitted to take wives from different clans, all the brothers (own and collateral) are still the group husbands of their wives, who often turn out to be sisters. And we have seen that even when sisters marry persons of different clans all the consequences of group-marriage are still preserved, and their children are considered brothers and sisters.

[114] The structure of the Gilyak family thus affords us the opportunity to establish the very genesis of the Hawaiian family, from which Morgan constructed the punalua family. This family originally did not consist of a group of several brothers who were married to their wives in a group marriage, or, on the other hand, of several sisters in a group marriage with their husbands, who might be non-kin to each other. Such a family could not have created the Turanian classificatory system of kinship, for it presupposes the possibility of several groups of brothers or sisters, each group participating completely independently in a group marriage in which the other groups did not share; consequently, common designations for all the brothers according to their marital relations could not have been formed.

835 614 194 The Gilyak family in its pure, original form gives us an actual picture of this family. The family is an intraclan organization. Therefore, each group-family represents a generation of all the brothers of a given clan (own and collateral) joined in a group marriage with a whole generation of women from another clan. These women are necessarily sisters, for the daughters of clansmen-brothers, as we have seen, are necessarily the wives of the sons of the sisters of their fathers. Now when, as we have seen, by virtue of [108] /226/ the causes that we have mentioned, this marital obligation became weakened, and brothers began to take wives from different clans and women began to marry into different clans, sisters might turn out to be members of a group marriage with husbands who were not kin to each other, and brothers in the same kind of marriage with wives

/226 cont./

835 194 614 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans, would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since 835 601 the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the punalua 194 family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the [114] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

835 601 194 171 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed under conditions where brothers had common wives, and sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 601 171 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil, a man calls his wife en mainavi, the wife of his brother enanni, en maittuni, the sister of his wife en korlunti, en maittuini; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

/226 cont./

601 835 114 Among the Gilyak the terms "husband" and "wife" -- pu and an'g:ej -- embrace all persons united by group marriage, which thus still more confirms the truth of Morgan's interpretation of the kinship terms.

114 601 171 /227/ Elucidation of several terms of the Turano-Ganowanian system which appeared inexplicable to Morgan. In the light of cousin marriage, several terms of kinship in the Turano-Ganowanian system become understandable to us. For example, Morgan was very confused by, and even regarded as inexplicable, why, among the Tamil, I, a man, call the children of my male cousins (considering as such the children of the sister of my father and of the brother of my mother without distinction) nephews and nieces, but I call the children of my female cousins sons and daughters. At the same time, among the Seneca-Iroquois exactly the reverse of this rule prevails. In his Consanguinity and Affinity he considers this fact inexplicable: "The discrimination of degrees of the cousin relationship," he says "is a remarkable fact in the Tamilian system. It is now found only in some systems of the Turanian family. From the structure and principles of the Turanian system, as I have already shown earlier with regard to the Ganowanian system, it follows inevitably that in its further development this relationship would be applied and restricted to the children of a brother and sister. It was probably unknown in the primitive system... It is the only particular in which it differs materially from the form of the family among the Seneca-Iroquois. In this respect, this last logically agrees more with the principles of the Turanian system than the Tamilian system. It is difficult to find any explanation for this difference" (1).

[113] 1. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871 p. 391.

/227 cont./

114 601 171 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an explanation for this fact.

"This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

[113] 2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 601 194 171 835 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, however, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also developed. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage); the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

/228 cont./

114 171 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister" (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms 194 is met if "I" am a woman.

601 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian 835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although th examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of t system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a co 194 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the 601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to 835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children 615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's siste [171] son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my [114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins c the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of gro marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children fo both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we sl see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian 194 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera 835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of 615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

601 /191 cont./
174 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system
[58] of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.
[178]

But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are
[602] called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates,
[611] for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation
601 the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral
582 brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that
+174 is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/192 cont./

"sisters" (for they are such in reality), their mothers-in-law -- aunts on their fathers' side, and husbands call the sisters of their fathers-in-law mothers. We shall not speak here of the group character of these marriage unions and of the classes of "mothers," "fathers," "brothers," "fathers-in-law" /wives' fathers/ which arise from this, for we have already explained it in detail earlier.

Thus to the first principle -- the obligation of marriage with one's blood kinsmen -- is added another principle -- the wives of clansmen must of necessity be taken from one common clan, i.e., two clans are bound to each other by a mutual obligation: one must take wives from the other clan, and the latter /193/ must give its wives to the former. All men of the latter, according to generation, are considered from birth to be the husbands of the women of the corresponding generation of the other clan, and, as we have seen, these classes in actuality call each other pu and an'g:ej.

But from the kinship terminology we know that the reverse is not allowed, i.e., men of the second clan and women of the first are not joined in the class of husbands and wives. Thus, an exchange marriage between the two aforementioned clans is not allowed. All these principles which have been deduced by us above a priori from the kinship terminology completely correspond to contemporary reality. We have seen that even now there exists the right of marriage, that even now a marriage from the class akhmalk is alone considered "pure," that marriages of clansmen are usually made from one common clan and that exchange marriage between clans is not allowed. Now we can with confidence continue our analysis.

But what is this clan from which clansmen are obliged to take wives? The answer to this is that detail of nomenclature whereby the mother of every man is the sister of his wife's father; in other words, all wives of clansmen are taken from that clan from which their ancestress came. The members of the clan are thus, both on the father's side and

/193 cont./

614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
601 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
602 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
582 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link
*174 from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, we shall see below. Now let us look at the consequences
*174 this principle had in its practical application.
582 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
591 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the
581 future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /sic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriages, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves
[602] to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Terminology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

/197 cont./

*174 The natural result of this system was the classificatory
582 system of kinship, according to which a man gives the name
●601 of wife not only to his individual wife, but also to all her sisters, and to the wives of all of his own brothers and to the sisters of these wives, both own and collateral; on the same basis he gives the name of mother to all the wives of the brothers of his father, both own and collateral, while he calls their husbands his fathers, and he calls their children his brothers and sisters; in exactly the same way he calls the brother of his mother father-in-law, her sister -- mother, while he calls the daughters of the brothers of the mother his wives.

The classificatory system, which appears to be so complicated, becomes completely clear and simple; it is logically developed out of a basic principle -- the female offspring of a brother belong to all the male offspring of his sister. At first it may seem strange and extremely complicated that, for example, a man's wives include not only the wives of his brothers, but also their sisters. In actuality, this is explained very simply -- the wives of the brothers cannot be other than sisters, and they all belong to the whole group of "brothers" -- cousins of these sisters. Or, a man calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law"; this is because his father-in-law can only be the brother of his mother, no one else.

The only variation possible in this system is connected with the differences in the rights of group marriage of younger and elder brothers. Among some peoples all the brothers are equally the group husbands of their mutual spouses; among others only the younger brothers enjoy group rights with respect to the wives of elder brothers. Among the Gilyak, as we have seen, we find both systems, and correspondingly two terminologies with respect to the brothers of the father and the wives of the brothers. Among some only the elder brothers of the father are called fathers, while

/197 cont./

*174 among others only the younger brothers; similarly among s
582 a man only calls the wives of his elder "brothers" his wives,
● 601 while among others all the wives of the brothers equally.

Now we shall continue our analysis of the Gilyak norms

*174 6. Once every mother by right takes the daughters of h
614 brother /198/ for her sons, then by the same right her daug must belong to the sons of the sister of her husband; this sister, moreover, cannot be married to her brother, because as we have seen, the exchange of women between the descendants of sister and brother is not permitted. Thus, si by side with the two groups, the descendants of the brother and the descendants of the sister, there is formed a third group -- the offspring of the sisters of the husbands of the latter group.

7. Since in each of these groups the men draw their wives from the group of the brothers of the mother, while the women marry into the third group of the sister of the father, each group forms a completely exogamous unit, i.e clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or, vice versa, the women into the clan of the husband, there resulted either a maternal or a paternal clan. Among the Gilyak the clan has been paternal from remote times. The strength and unity of such a clan union rested not only on the negative bond of exogamy (exogamy or prohibitions against certain degrees of kinship can exist even without a clan union), but on the precious positive ties, on the common right of marriage, on the common right of the clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, on the mutual rights of group marriage, on the privilege of having for one's sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ one's blood kinsmen -- the children of the sisters of one's fathers, the members of that clan which from time immemorial has married its ancestresses. The strength of this union was doubled by the peculiarity of its composition. Within the clan there was not a single non-blood element: if the clan was maternal and the sons-in-law moved to the

/198 cont./

614 home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
*174 together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the same clan -- the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the sisters of their fathers. In the agnatic clan the imported
602 women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and
614 nieces (and blood kinswomen -- female cousins of their
*174 husbands), the daughters of the brothers of their mothers. This common blood kinship of the representatives of both sexes of both the native and the imported elements of the clan is a still more important cement of the clan union, a religious cement binding together all the elements with the highest ties of the common cult of the ancestors. The
●601 terminology has perpetuated this arrangement by the fact that
614 the wives in each generation call each other sister and their
*174 husbands' mothers -- aunts, and a man calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife, while a woman calls the son of her father's sister husband.

614 8. Since marriage is obligatory into the group of the
587 sisters of the father exclusively, once the daughters of a man
*174 belong from birth /199/ to the sons of his sister, and this rule, naturally, became a religious imperative, then under no circumstances can either the men or the women marry out-
[171] side of the indicated groups. Hence a twofold levirate, so often encountered, by the way, among the American Indians. If the individual husband of a woman should die, she cannot under any circumstances leave the group of her husband. Whether young or old, she passes to one of the class of "brothers" of her deceased husband. Conversely, if a man's wife dies, he cannot look for a wife anywhere except in the class of her sisters.

614 9. Under this arrangement, as long as it maintains its
583 complete purity, within the marriage groups there can be
*174 no question either of abductions or of bride price.

/204 cont./

178 In just this way, under exceptional conditions, it is true,
*614 the foundation of the marital-clan system was breached, but
615 once it was breached in this way, it had to spread more and more and lead to the condition where marriages of different persons outside of the old phratry became, if not lawful, at least a completely acceptable phenomenon.

Now we shall consider the second case, where clan A does not die out completely, but has only become considerably thinned out in people. On account of the shortage of women in clan A, a part of the men of clan C were obliged to take their wives, as in the first case, from the closest lawful clan, namely, from B, but in the case where, as in the first instance, C does not have a right to give its women to D, and therefore to the phratry, in order to guarantee D women, a fifth clan, E, will have to be added, giving women to D and taking them from C. But, besides this, there is still another consequence, which confuses matters still more.

Since both the members of clan A and some of the members of clan C take /205/ women from clan B, then the first and second in each generation will be married to sisters, and, although they are members of different clans, they will be members of a group marriage with a group of sisters (1) and their children, as the terminology shows (see

● [601]

1. By a curious coincidence in this case the group husbands call each other navkh -- a term signifying the same thing as the famous term punalua, comrade, participator.

above), will be tuvn, i.e., brothers and sisters, and, consequently, forbidden for each other, so that in the following generation the women from clan A will not have the possibility of marrying into clan C and will be obliged every second generation to seek their husbands entirely outside their phratry, which still more destroys the strength and

/206 cont./

*614 marry, according to the old norm, the daughter of the
615 mother's brother. Finally, in some cases the descendants
178 of this man take wives /207/ either from the old or from the new clan of the father-in-law, depending on circumstances, and both clans begin to be considered lawful clans. It may happen that not merely two, but many more of these lawful clans are accumulated in the course of time, both for the individual person and for the whole clan, but nevertheless each man as an individual strives to observe the old norm in arranging a marriage, seeking his wife above all from the clan of his mother, preferably always the daughter of the brother of this last.

Such is the power of the old norm. But its role is not limited to this. Compelled to make a retreat in one direction, it develops the strength of its age-old inertia with still greater intensity in other directions. Having out of necessity allowed marriages outside the phratry, having allowed the possibility for members of one clan to take wives from different clans, it has extended the whole system of regulations both to the free marriages and to all the clans which even sporadically enter into marriage relations with this or that clan.

*614 This amalgamation of the old institution with the new
615 one and the extension to it of all the regulations of the old
●601 norms and prohibitions have made not only the kinship
178 terminology, but also the character of the group marriage unusually complicated and confused. Under the old system, when marriages were arranged from one particular clan, the picture of the group marriage appeared entirely clear and simple: in each generation all the "brothers" of one clan participated in a group marriage with all the sisters of the same generation in the other clan. For this reason the wives of brothers called each other sisters, and the husbands of sisters called each other brothers, for both groups were such in reality.

/207 cont./

614 With the appearance of the institution of free marriage,
615 the clansmen-brothers may be married to women from dif-
601 ferent clans, i.e., complete strangers to each other, and
178 nevertheless, by the old presumption, these women call each other sisters and become the group wives of their husbands-brothers. In exactly the same way, clanswomen-sisters may be married to men from different clans, and nevertheless these latter, although they are complete strangers to one another, will have group rights to their wives, and their offspring will call each other tuvn (German Geschwister /siblings/) and will not have the right to marry each other.

And, finally, we have seen that even "brothers-in-law" /zyat'ya/, i.e., persons of whom one is a member of a group marriage with the sister of another, may be married to sisters from a third clan. And in this case, although these persons have lost their rights of group marriage with /208/ respect to their sisters-wives, nevertheless all their children are considered tuvn and may not marry each other.

Furthermore, formerly, under the pure intraphratral marriage, the clan did not have the right to give women either to that clan from which it itself took women or to the clan from which this other clan took wives, i.e., to the clans of fathers-in-law of the first and second degrees of kinship. This, as we have seen, was an automatic consequence of the rule under which a clan was obligated to give women to one of the other three clans of the phratry, namely, to that clan into which was married the sister of the father of their ancestor, and accordingly the other two clans of fathers-in-law became eo ipso prohibited for women of the given clan. Now, when individual members of a clan may take wives even outside the clan of the mother, the designation of akhmalk of the first and second degree is extended to all the clans from which even one clansman has taken his wife. Thus there may be a situation in which, if five men from clan A marry freely with persons from five separate clans,

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X.

Features of the Classificatory System Among Other Peoples of Northeast Asia

174 601 As early as forty years ago L. Morgan in his Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity gave special attention to the question of the relationship between the Turanian and the Ganowanian kinship systems and after a long analysis, came to the definite conclusion that the relationship between these systems could occur only because of common blood, and that the present bearers of the Ganowanian system, i.e., the American peoples, brought it from their ancient homeland, from Asia. Morgan at that time was in a position to trace the Turanian system among the Dravidian peoples of India up to the southern boundaries of Central Asia. He was unable to get any information about the Mongol, the Tungus, or even the Turkic peoples. And it was all the more difficult for him to obtain any data about the peoples /236/ of the Amur region and the Pacific shore of northeast Asia. At the same time, it was the Amur River that he regarded as the point of departure for the crossing of the Turanian system from Asia to America, just as, with greater justification, he regarded the Columbia River as the point of departure for the spread of the Ganowanian system throughout the continent of North America. Whatever we may think of Morgan's hypothesis, from this point of view, his conviction that definite traces of the Turanian system should be discovered from the banks of the Amur throughout the northeast of Asia, including the Aleutian Islands, is now beginning to be justified, in some cases in the kinship systems and in others in survivals of cousin marriage. It is particularly strengthened by the system of kinship and marriage discovered by me among the Gilyak. Morgan's great hypothesis, which has such a direct bearing on the problem of the interaction of the peoples of Asia and America, deserves our making at least a brief survey of the marriage norms among these peoples.

Ainu AB6

G /236 cont./

*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

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Gi /237 cont./

114 835 I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are p dominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to t shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples the Amur region.

G Gi 601 835 171 433 In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationali differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen an dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essential similar in their classificatory system and norms of marria

G Gi 614 601 835 As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /paterniteta/. In each generation of a given clan, the men women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The c dren of these classes are common sons and daughters and brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"broth own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obliga

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who

Gi 601 835 married to members of another clan, but, by analogy wi the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage inclu only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects grou

G [601] [835] marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right no only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wi of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely

Gi [582] aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of ni is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
[693] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/266 cont./

177 To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the
58 matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who,
[173] judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the mass of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of
[171] religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of
[601] marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

/267/ XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

582 We have already had occasion to introduce in another
538 place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the an'g:ej the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

58 Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the
[538] maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

[191] [192] [193] [194] [195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] [203] [204] [205] [206] [207] [208] [209] [210] [211] [212] [213] [214] [215] [216] [217] [218] [219] [220] [221] [222] [223] [224] [225] [226] [227] [228] [229] [230] [231] [232] [233] [234] [235] [236] [237] [238] [239] [240] [241] [242] [243] [244] [245] [246] [247] [248] [249] [250] [251] [252] [253] [254] [255] [256] [257] [258] [259] [260] [261] [262] [263] [264] [265] [266] [267] [268] [269] [270] [271] [272] [273] [274] [275] [276] [277] [278] [279] [280] [281] [282] [283] [284] [285] [286] [287] [288] [289] [290] [291] [292] [293] [294] [295] [296] [297] [298] [299] [300] [301] [302] [303] [304] [305] [306] [307] [308] [309] [310] [311] [312] [313] [314] [315] [316] [317] [318] [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324] [325] [326] [327] [328] [329] [330] [331] [332] [333] [334] [335] [336] [337] [338] [339] [340] [341] [342] [343] [344] [345] [346] [347] [348] [349] [350] [351] [352] [353] [354] [355] [356] [357] [358] [359] [360] [361] [362] [363] [364] [365] [366] [367] [368] [369] [370] [371] [372] [373] [374] [375] [376] [377] [378] [379] [380] [381] [382] [383] [384] [385] [386] [387] [388] [389] [390] [391] [392] [393] [394] [395] [396] [397] [398] [399] [400] [401] [402] [403] [404] [405] [406] [407] [408] [409] [410] [411] [412] [413] [414] [415] [416] [417] [418] [419] [420] [421] [422] [423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446] [447] [448] [449] [450] [451] [452] [453] [454] [455] [456] [457] [458] [459] [460] [461] [462] [463] [464] [465] [466] [467] [468] [469] [470] [471] [472] [473] [474] [475] [476] [477] [478] [479] [480] [481] [482] [483] [484] [485] [486] [487] [488] [489] [490] [491] [492] [493] [494] [495] [496] [497] [498] [499] [500] [501] [502] [503] [504] [505] [506] [507] [508] [509] [510] [511] [512] [513] [514] [515] [516] [517] [518] [519] [520] [521] [522] [523] [524] [525] [526] [527] [528] [529] [530] [531] [532] [533] [534] [535] [536] [537] [538] [539] [540] [541] [542] [543] [544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566] [567] [568] [569] [570] [571] [572] [573] [574] [575] [576] [577] [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594] [595] [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602] [603] [604] [605] [606] [607] [608] [609] [610] [611] [612] [613] [614]

When one observes the family among the Gilyak, one at first does not notice anything particular about it. As among many of our other natives, the Gilyak buys one or two concubines, slaves, who are all socially recognized wives, as are his children who were with him, are supported by him, and to whom his property passes after his death. The concubine's fidelity or a wife is guarded with an armed hand, as we shall see below. In a word, the form of marriage is, to all appearance, completely individual. Individual marriage is opposed to group marriage/. But on closer acquaintance with the inner life of Gilyak life /354/ one encounters a whole series of phenomena which are at variance with the form of marriage. First of all, it becomes apparent that Gilyak call the father of the father (ytk) not only his socially recognized (one) father, but also all the brothers of his father, not only one, but, in the first degree of kinship, but also of all the more distant degrees, also the wives of these brothers of his father is also mother (ymk), but not only mother. In the same way, a Gilyak calls all the sisters of his mother by the name of mother (ymk), and their husbands father (ytk). The children of brothers, as well as the children of sisters, of all degrees of kinship call one another "nvr" (= brother and sister). Hence the known word "Geschwister" = brothers and sisters). Thus, we see what seems to be a strange phenomenon, that a person may have a very considerable number of fathers and mothers, not to speak of brothers and sisters, and such fathers and mothers are often younger than their children. But, at the same time, a Gilyak does not call the sister of his father and the brothers of his mother "ymk" and "ymk," but "ykk" and "ykk."

Two other forms of kinship relations, the Gilyak have a whole series of names, which proves that it is not poverty of language. Such is the name of child, in, a strange kinship terminology. A similar terminology exists among Sioux Iroquois and other Indian tribes of North America, and also among certain tribes of India,

but among them it has long since ceased to correspond to reality. Among the Gilyak, however, although the terminology does not fully correspond to reality, it does to all but fully. Even now, every Gilyak has marital rights (it is not considered a sin) to the wives of his brothers of all degrees of kinship and to all the sisters of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with regard to the wives of his younger brothers. This limitation is of recent origin, and its very existence seems to emphasize the legality of the collective marital rights of the younger brothers to the wives of their elder brothers and to all the sisters of their wives. Even at the present time these rights are not always exercised by the Gilyak, and in many cases it is not without displeasure and even forcible protests that the interested parties look upon the realization of these rights, as we shall eventually see; but legally, so to speak, they exist, the realization of these rights is not considered adultery, is not punishable, and often is even carried on openly with the consent of the brothers and of the husbands of the wife's sisters. Thus, the contemporary individual form of marriage is a new phenomenon among the Gilyak, and the powerful remnants of the old /355/ order of clan marriage preserved up to the present time are similar to the famous so-called "punalua family," which still existed in the first half of our century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, such mutual rights to the wives of brothers and to the wife's sisters existed without limitations. And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another punalua (companion, one's half, comrade, Fotsch), -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "nevih" (the word signifying literally what punalua means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

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This form of family-kin relationship serves as the basis for the social organization of the Gilyak and is the basis of their clan organization ("khal" = clan, also clansmen).

From what has been said of the primitive family of the Gilyak, it is obvious who constitutes the clan. All of the brothers (of all degrees of kinship) of the father of some Gilyak NN and their sisters (ytk), their fathers are his grandfathers (ate), their children are his brothers ("nvr"), their grandchildren are his children ("ola"), and mutually. In this huge family of grandfathers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that constitutes the clan of the Gilyak. It is understandable that a clan so constituted may be compared of a great number of people. In one clan in northern Sakhalin, I counted 150 people, and this is only a branch of a clan which lives on the mainland.

But the clan of the Gilyak is organized on the male basis. Even though the children of a sister of NN's wife are his children (ola) and they are considered brothers of his own children, if these sisters of the wife are married to Gilyak of a different khal, then they, i.e., the children of these sisters, will be alien to the clan of NN. Similarly, only the sisters of clansmen and their unmarried daughters belong to the clan, and, consequently, a woman passes over to the clan of her husband, while the dissolution of the marriage brings her back into her father's clan. Here are the principles which regulate the life of a clan:

1. The clan has only four degrees of kinship: grandfather and grandmother (ate and ytk), father and mothers (ytk and ymk), brothers and sisters (nvrn), and children (ola). Clansmen call one another "khal" in contrast to aliens. To distinguish own brothers from own kinsmen of the first degree of kinship, the word khal is added, so that clan brothers are /354/ khal'-nvrn, clan fathers -- khal'-ytk, etc. The elder of the clan, whose role will be described below, is called "khal'-geymar," clansmen as thinking and acting social units bear the name of "khal'-nivukh."

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wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, that is, brother and sister and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "amchek" mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger cousin on the father's side, and "ayak" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that, the membership of both partners in the same patronal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other communities by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapps Tylor /Tylor/, Fotsch, Über die Urgesch. der Ehe, and die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 389).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Fauthier,

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Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, as it does in Kamchatka, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one that exists between the Gilyak in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but not even regarded as objects of the estate. The first and, if there are any, only heir of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (yhkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atachek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, because of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from the unmarried sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers dies and he was married and leaves a "and a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

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pertire to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was fought between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the clan, represented by its representatives, gave spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkh had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tungusic-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to groups of men, rather than different generations. As Shirokogorov showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. The Nivkhi existed until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were prohibited only for persons of same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

The term of kinship in the Nivkhi distinguished four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (ymyk), husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the mother (ymyk); 3) brothers and sisters (nvrng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of hunting into economic activities directed by commercial and simulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi, who had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to Sin-hsing, and followed furs and other goods, including luxuries for his, tobacco, tobacco and metal utensils. They also bartered with the Aina, the Japanese and with other neighbors of the Nivkhi. Merchants of the Tyilung clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Aina. Thus, long before the Russian colonization, the Nivkh began to be drawn into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 2-5 slaves. The rich man's brideprice always exceeded large quantities of imported valuables; but commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The means of the Nivkh continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves had only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. In the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 19th and the 19th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalaba -- clan elders, and gyasiangar -- village elders.

After the middle of the 19th century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy accelerated more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russian state organization, a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-shares." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used their own implements received two-thirds of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkh were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about Amur, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking always "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its pa'ga. The chief of these was Pal-yut'-ma, the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandu, or Tol'ya'-ma, the "master" of

602 KIN RELATIONSHIPS—conception of kinship, cultural definition of kinship
statuses, kinship symbolism and its extensions (e.g., to kings, to gods);
kinship and other social relations, aspects of culture (e.g., sequential analysis
of patterned kinship behavior; incidence and interpretations of
stereotyped patterns (e.g., joking, respect, avoidance); categories of kin not
classifiable elsewhere (e.g., patrikin and matrikin, general affinal relatives)
and relationships among them; etc. Data on relationships between specific
secondary and tertiary relatives will be found in separate categories. See also:
Age-grades 611 Political organization 1 1
Marriage . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Mortuary functions of kinsmen 1 1
Mutual aid . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Ceremonial exchanges 1 1
Naming and nicknames . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Feasts 1 1
Religious ceremonies . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Other ceremonies and rites 1 1
Clan . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Kinship 1 1
Clan exogamy . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Instruction of children in kinship behavior 1 1
Clan relationship versus conjugal families 1 1

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The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the history of marriage with valuable material, very thoroughly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage, logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having mutual relatives rights must avoid mutual glances, conversation, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunow, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vuqhakh and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yxi (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yxi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention to it.

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The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world: dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complicated and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which

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father-in-law signifies the common right of each generation of clansmen to the corresponding generation of women of the akhmak'k clan, while a common son-in-law = the obligation to give their women to the ymgi clan. Only the men are a constant element of the clan; the women are an element that either departs from the clan or comes in from outside. Hence the whole "physiological" construction of the clan -- exogamy, agnation, common rights and obligations regarding women, reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers, etc.

Thus the Gilyak clan is a union of kinsmen in the male line, agnates, taking their wives from another certain clan, giving their women to a third, and bound among themselves by a whole series of mutual rights and obligations in the realm of sexual norms.

But this is only the formal framework of this kinship union; in the flesh and blood of all the consequences that flow from it, it is much deeper, more intimate, and firmer than appears at first glance. First of all, it must be kept in mind that, despite the principle of agnation, the clansmen are bound by kinship ties, not only through the father, but also through the mother. This follows directly from the very thesis of a common father-in-law. For once each /37/ generation of clansmen ("brothers") marries a corresponding generation of women ("sisters") of one akhmak'k clan, then the mothers of these clansmen, in turn, are sisters to one another. Further, the wives of the clansmen, despite the fact that they, according to the agnatic principle of the clan, are, as it were, a completely alien element, in reality stand in a close cognate relationship with their husbands; accordingly, husband and wife, as we know, are usually the children of a sister and brother -- own or of more distant degrees -- and, consequently, they are in any case cognate brothers and sisters. Thus, the male and female elements are not only not alien to each other, elements bound only by marriage, but on the contrary are intimately bound together, aside from marriage, by blood kinship. Moreover,

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by virtue of that same proposition concerning the unity of the "physical sex" all these women who are not the clan are agnate kinswomen to one another, either sisters or aunts and nieces, so that both elements -- male and female -- each separately and both together, are cemented together by the firm intimate bonds of kinship, which, of course, are profoundly reflected in all the social relations of the members of the clan among themselves.

No influence has been exerted upon these relations by those circumstances that we mentioned, at the time, by the union of which it sometimes becomes necessary for individual members of the clan to take their wives outside the confines of one original akhmak'k clan; the general spirit and the general norms have remained the same.

But the cement which strengthens the union of kinsmen in the indestructible organization of the clan does not rest only on the formal consciousness of a common origin and kinship, and not only on the fact that the clansmen, for by themselves they are not so strong as to hold people from generation to generation in a closed hereditary union. The reasons go far deeper. First of all, there is the religious sanction, which plays such an important role in the eyes of primitive man, originally not the sanction of the clan union itself, but of those marriage norms which created the clan. The principle that each man must take wives from the clan of the mother, that the wife must be a blood relative of the husband, is a religious principle, intimately bound up with the cult of the ancestors, in particular with the cult of the mother. The seizure of a married woman is a religious offense against the clan of the abducted woman equal to the slaying of a clansman; the struggle for her return, or at least the demand for a ransom, is obligatory, as in matters of vengeance, to the third generation

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1. One sin. Although the norms and customs of religion and conduct are almost the same for the whole tribe, nevertheless each clan has its own complex of obligations and prohibitions, obligatory only for its own members. The first extensive category of prohibitions relates to sexual norms. For the members of each clan certain categories of women are prohibited for marriage and sexual relations, for example, all the women, without exception, born in the given clan. Further, the wives of one's younger brothers, all women who are called ymk and ran; all women who come from the clan of the "son-in-law"/ gvat'ya/, etc., /107/ so that to know what women are prohibited for one or another person is enough to infallibly saying to which clan he belongs. In this category the prohibitions of speech may also apply. For the members of each clan there are certain classes of persons with whom it is prohibited to speak: such classes are the tuvn (brothers and sisters of all degrees of kinship), the ashk (mother and aunts of the wife), and others. A third category of prohibitions deals with religious norms in the narrow sense. Each clan, as we have seen, has its own clan gods and sacrifices; its own sacred objects; its beliefs, and, consequently, its own ritual of the clan cult. common to all the clansmen but having no religious significance whatever for members of other clans. These numerous rites and objects of the cult constitute a fine greater respect. The whole clan, on whom is vested the wrath of the offended deities, answers and therefore each member of the clan is not only obliged himself to avoid infractions of his taboos, but to defend them against infractions by outsiders. For each such infraction it is necessary to exact tshusind. Hence the customary difficulties with members of other clans over an accidental defiling of the enclosure of the beach, over the taking of fire from the yurt, a bear bone dropped during the festival banquet, the infraction of the inviolability of all the appurtenances of the bear festival -- the posts to which the bears are tied, the poles with their heads, the storehouses for festival utensils and bear bones, etc.

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Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obligation to carry out certain rites, that is, the "common sin" becomes a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general. The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, ethical, and legal obligations; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as still. Hence the great importance of the principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence, on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring immense self-control, are observed out, not through compulsion, but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, have complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. A adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibitions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

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important form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin is common" explain to us the most amazing phenomenon of the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It enfolds a man from birth to death, giving life all its contents. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and compels him to seek a wife outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan defends his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the sacred rights of a clansman and to answer for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

/109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

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Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak society, relationship is determined by the clan organization of kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which the women -- agnates of a given clan -- belong by birth; the second embraces the clan or clans from which a given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united under the common name "khlai-ni-vuqhakh" or simply "khlai" the people of the clan, clansmen (from khlai -- clan, vuqhakh -- person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their wives from the khlai-vuqhakh, these latter and the whole clan are united under the common designation of akhmak'k (father-in-law) and, conversely, ymgi (son-in-law /gvat'ya/ "son-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian). On the other hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., those clan or those clans from which they themselves take women, they are ymgi (son-in-law) and, conversely, akhmak'k. Both cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among themselves are /137/ the characteristic designation ymgi (from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously asserts that kinsmen on the father's side, i.e., agnates, members of one and the same clan, call each other ngali, and that kinsmen on the mother's side call each other amal'. Inequality, both terms, on

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the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

Thus, relationship by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us proceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.

Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

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all in the fact that it embraces persons of both sexes alike; it equally signifies brother and sister. Another peculiarity -- still more important -- consists in the fact that under tuvn are understood not only own brothers and sisters, i.e., the children of one father, but also the children of all brothers of the father, own and collateral of all degrees of kinship, i.e., male and female first cousins, second cousins, etc. in the male line. Thus, within the clan, all the male and female agnates of the same generation are brothers and sisters; male and female cousins in the male line and likewise a married woman and the wives of the brothers /138/ of her husband are tuvn in relation to each other. But a man, as we shall see, can have tuvn outside his clan as well, namely, the children of those persons outside his clan whom he calls father and mother (see the class of fathers and mothers). Within this class there is one large and important subdivision that plays a leading role in both terminology and sexual norms, namely, the one for those persons who are older than the speaker or person referred to and persons younger than he, namely, "akand, aki" -- elder brother or sister (tuvn) and "as'khand, as'kh" -- younger brother or sister (tuvn). For the designation of the elder sister, in view of the peculiarity of her position in sexual rights, there is in addition the term "nanakhand, nanakh, nankh" -- identically used in reference to her by both men and women. Certain special terms for separate categories of this class, however, have been developed. Thus, there is a general term to designate the concept of "sister" in the class sense, namely, ranr: (same root as rankh -- sister). One meets (very rarely, however, and only in poetry) the term "kivung, kiun" -- brother (1). Descriptive forms are

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1. "Chikhys' kivung khendra" -- "I considered you a brother," says the heroine to her beloved in one song. "Kiun" could also be formed from the rare form akikhun.

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*601 likewise used to distinguish own from collateral tuvn, namely:
●602 "os'kyr: tuvn" -- own brother or sister, "tukor: tuvn" -- male cousin, female cousin in the male line. But all these designations do not constitute links in the general kinship terminology and the norms of sexual intercourse bound up with it. If you ask any two agnates of one generation, no matter how distantly related, how they address each other, you receive the answer: either simply tuvn, or aki (elder tuvn), or as'kh, depending on the person answering.

Concerning the question of seniority between collateral brothers, this is defined, not by seniority in the ascending line, but by the actual seniority of the cousins themselves, while in doubtful cases the question is decided by the old men.

*601 Ascending line. Within this line there are only two gradations for each sex: 1) fathers and grandfathers, 2) mothers and grandmothers.

Grandfathers and grandmothers. The term "atk," more rarely "app, appyk," designates all the males in the ascending line of the father, i.e., not only grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc., but also their brothers, own and collateral i.e., their class of tuvn -- men. In precisely the same way the terms of the female category, achik, ytik, ychik, serve to designate the grandmothers, great-grandmothers, etc. and their sisters -- the wives of grandfathers and great-grandfathers and their "brothers" (tuvn). /139/ If a Gilyak in one instance or another has to designate a person of this category more precisely, he resorts, as we do, to a descriptive device; for instance, wishing to name the younger brother of his great-grandfather, he says: "n'i er: atk pilang" -- "the uncle (younger) of the grandfather of my father," etc., but such cases are rare, since such degrees of kinship play no role in marital questions.

The class of fathers and uncles in the father's line. It is necessary here to distinguish two forms, evidently reflecting two successive stages of marriage and sexual norms.

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*601 In addition to the stated normative cases, the term og:la is frequently applied outside of the rule as a term of endearment to other categories. Thus, a woman frequently applies this term to the son of the sister of her husband, while a man applies it to the son of the brother of his wife, although normally completely different designations are established for these persons.

We shall note two more special forms of designation in this class: one is a descriptive designation of a "kinsman" of the descending line -- os'kyr: og:la -- and one designates primogeniture, ykych, but neither of these terms play any role in either the general system of terminology or the sexual norms.

*601 Cognate kinship. Now we shall proceed to the kinship terms
●602 for persons outside the clan, to cognate kinship, which is the
614 key of this system. We have already said that in the Gilyak kinship system relationship by marriage and blood (cognate) - kinship are identical, that a special kinship through relationship by marriage is not known to the Gilyak classificatory system. For a better understanding of this strange fact, we begin our survey of kinship outside of the clan with kinship through the mother, that is, with kinship with members of the clan and the whole clan from which the mother of a person came.

First of all, it is noteworthy that all the sisters (tuvn) of my mother, not only own, but also of the class of "mothers," are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of my father and of his class of tuvn. Corresponding to this, all the "sisters" (tuvn) of my mother and of my class of "mothers" are also my "mothers" (ymk), while I and my "brothers and sisters" (tuvn) are their "children" (og:la). On the other hand, my relations to the brother of my mother and his tuvn are even more important. Just as my father calls all the "sisters" of my mother his "wives" (an'g:ej), so I (if "I am a man) from birth call all the daughters of the brother of my mother and their "sisters" (tuvn) -- an'g:ej -- my "wives," and, conversely, they call me their husband (pu); their children call me "father" (ytk), my official wife --

d) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.).
nynkh (W.D.)

II. Ymk,
Rarely: oma (northern
Sakhalin).

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III. Ytk, yt.
Other forms: er:

1: Shternberg--221 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*601
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/147 cont./

d) Elder sister; sister of the father; sister of the tuvn of the father; mother-in-law /husband's mother/; sister of the mother, if she is married to a non-clansman (in certain places, settlement of Viakhtu), in general in such cases she is ymk.

II. Own mother and stepmother; wives of all the tuvn of the father; the sisters of the wives of the brothers (tuvn) of the father; the sisters (tuvn) of the mother; the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn.

III. Father; stepfather; the tuvn of the father (1); husband of the "sister" of the mother; the brother (tuvn) of the husband of the mother's sister; the husbands of the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn; the brothers of the husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law.

1. Among the Gilyak of the continent and the northwestern shore of Sakhalin, especially

a) Ytk or pilang, pila
mig:yvyn (more frequently
the latter).

IV. Atk, app, appyk, apo,
edr:, etk.

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1: Shternberg--222 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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(footnote cont'd)
beginning with Tamlevo; to the south, only in the settlement of Yamy. Among the latter, pilang, n'vil-nivukh, corresponding to the Tungus a'ga, are also used for the younger tuvn of the father, in addition to the term ytk.

a) In all cases of III, when the reference is to the younger tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak with predominantly the eastern dialect.

IV. The elder tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect); grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. through the mother and the father; the tuvn of grandfathers, of great-grandfathers, etc. (from the maternal and paternal side); fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. of the husbands of the sister of the mother; fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers (and their tuvn) of the

(cont'd)

V. Achik, acik, achk (E.D.);
asi (Okhotsk shore);
ychik, ytik (W.D.).

VI. Og:lang, og:la, eg:lang,
o:la.

1: Shternberg--223 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*601
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/148 cont./

husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law /wife's father/; the elder brother of the husband (among the eastern Gilyak).

V. The wives of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn; the wives of fathers, grandfathers, etc. of the brother of the mother; the wives of the sons of the brothers of the mother; mother, grandmother, etc. of the wife; mother, grandmother, etc. of the sister of the wife and her tuvn in general; grandmother, great-grandmother (on the maternal and paternal side).

VI. Son or daughter -- children; the children of all the brothers -- tuvn (if "I" am a man); the children of the sisters (if "I" am a woman); the children of sisters (tuvn) of the wife; the children of the sisters of the wife of the brother; the children of daughters of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn.

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601 602 614 mother (ymk), while /142/ we call them our "children" (og:la). As for the remaining clansmen and kinsmen of the brother of my mother, the following terminology has been established. If "I" am a man, I and all my "brothers" -- tuvn and my descending line call the brother of my mother and all his male clansmen -- atk, akhmalk (uncle, father-in-law /wife's father/); the wife of the brother of my mother, her "sisters," and the wives of the tuvn of the brother of my mother, as well as the wives of the ascending line of the brother of my mother achk, ytik -- aunt, mother-in-law /wife's mother/, grandmother; the sons of the brother of my mother and his tuvn -- akhmalk, navkh; conversely, all these persons call me -- ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) navkh; my wives, as well as the wives of my clansmen, these persons, according to generation, call either "sisters" (tuvn) or "daughters" (og:la), but our sisters and daughters -- by the one term "niece," n'ern, and, finally, all my clansmen call all the male clansmen of the brother of my mother akhmalk (father-in-law /wife's father/), and, conversely, -- ymg:i -- son-in law -- a survival from the time when there was exchange marriage. This last term is very characteristic; it is from the same root as umgu -- woman, oma -- mother, and testifies to the fact that the term son-in-law /zyat'/ is associated with the idea of cognate kinship, with kinship through the mother.

But especially noteworthy is the fact that the kinship terminology established between me and the generation of the brother of my mother is not limited to the individuals of our common generation, but is correspondingly repeated as well between the persons of all our ascending and descending lines, so that if I, a man, call the daughter of the brother of my mother my an'g:ej, so does my father in turn call his sister, i.e., the daughter of the father of my mother's brother, "wife" -- an'g:ej. In the same way, my son calls the daughter of the son of my mother's brother his "wife," etc., in a word, it is as though every wife of a clansman were actually the daughter of the sister of his father /sic./

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* 601 ● 602 614 Thus, kinship through the mother establishes, not partial kinship of the family of her husband with her own family, but an indivisible kinship between both clans, extending to each member of each of them. If my clan is A, and the clan of the brother of my mother is B, the latter, as a whole, will be called the akhmalk of A, while A, in its turn, is the ymg:i of B. And, what is especially noteworthy, this relationship remains permanently between both clans. Clan B can no longer under any circumstances be converted into the ymg:i of A. This is evident from the reciprocal terminology of the clans. The designation "akhmalk" of clan B originated, as we have seen, from the fact that members of clan A have whole classes of "wives" (an'g:ej) in this clan; conversely, among the women of clan A the males of clan B only have either sisters (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or /143/ "nieces" (n'ern), but not "wives" (an'g:ej), and for this reason, clan B cannot become A's akhmalk.

The terminology for kinship through the mother defines another form of cognate kinship -- kinship through the sister of the father. As long as she remains in my clan, I call her by the agnate term nankh (elder sister, aunt), and she calls me as'kh (younger brother), but upon marriage she and the clan of her husband stand in the same relation to me and my clan as I and my clan stand in relation to the clan of the brother of my mother, i.e., the husband of the sister of my father and his "brothers" (tuvn) call all the sisters of my father "wives" (an'g:ej), and, conversely, they are called "husbands" (pu); my daughters and those of my tuvn are the an'g:ej of the sons of the sister of my father and their tuvn and are the jokh (daughters-in-law) of all the ascending line of the husband of the sister of my father; the men of my clan, according to the class of the ascending line, are either the atk, akhmalk, or the akhmalk, navkh of the clansmen of the husband of my father's sister, while they are our ymg:i, navkh, and the women of that clan are either our agnates -- "aunts" (nankh), "sisters" (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or "nieces" (n'ern); in a word, my clan is the akhmalk clan, while the clan of the sister of my father is the ymg:i clan to us.

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* 601 ● 602 614 The terminology of this group is the central point of whole kinship terminology, for it is according to its patter i.e., the pattern of the kinship relations between a man a the brother of his mother, that the entire kinship nomencl of the marriage relationship in general is constructed. W ever the Gilyak marries, between him and his clan on the one hand, and his wife and her clan on the other, the kins terminology established is the same as if his wife were rea the daughter of the brother of his mother. Conversely, wh ever a Gilyak may give his sister to in marriage, the entir kinship terminology established between the clans is the sa as if the brother-in-law /zyat'/ were truly the son of the s of his father. This is why Gilyak terminology does not rec nize kinship through relationship by marriage, for the fath in-law /wife's father/ in any case is the same as the son o the brother of the grandmother, a man's brother-in-law /z is the son of the sister of his father, the father of the broth in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of the grandfather, a so forth. And, consequently, all members of both clans a blood kinsmen.

Thus, keeping in mind the kinship nomenclature of th group of the brother of the mother and the sister of the fath we have a ready scheme for any marriage combination bet a husband and the clan of his wife, between a wife and the clan of her husband, between a man and the clan of his married sister, etc. According to this scheme, the relatio ship of a man toward the clan of his wife, whoever she ma de facto in origin, must, as a general rule, be the followin my father-in-law and /144/ his ascending line, as well as corresponding classes of their tuvn, are related to me as a and akhmalk, their wives -- achk, their descending line o male sex -- akhmalk and navkh; I am their ymg:i, navkh The sisters of my akhmalk'i are my mothers (ymk), their husbands -- my "fathers" (ytk), I am the son (og:la) of bot similarly the "sisters" (tuvn) of my wife are the "wives" (a of myself and my "brothers" (tuvn), their husbands are my "brothers" (tuvn). Their children call each of us "father"

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*601 and "mother" (ymk), and call each other "brothers" (tuvn).
● 602 On the other hand, my sisters and daughters are simply nieces
614 to the men of the clan of my father-in-law, and therefore no one from the clan of my father-in-law can become an ymg:i of my clan.

[178] At the present time in certain instances breaches have begun to appear in this well-shaped, though strange system of relationships between the son-in-law /zyat'/ and the clan of the father-in-law, specifically, when some clansman takes a wife who is not from the clan of his mother or is not even from the customary akhmalk clan; in the case of certain clans the terminology loses force in the third generation, but this is a deviation of the newest order.

*601 Now, before we finish with this system, we must underline
614 two more important peculiarities still further complicating this already complicated system. We have seen that the relationship between the akhmalk and ymg:i clans remains constant, so that the members of the first clan -- let us call it A (if A is the akhmalk of B, then B is the akhmalk of a third clan, C, and gives its daughters to the third clan) -- must, in turn, have their own akhmalk clan or even clans (let us call it C), while the second clan (let us call it B) must have its own ymg:i clan or even clans (D). Thus, the following kinship terminology is established between these four clans: Clan A gets new ymg:i clans (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/) in the person of the D clans, while clan B gets new akhmalk clans in the person of the C clans. These secondary clans, in distinction from the first, are called tujma (distant); for example, tujma akhmalk -- distant father-in-law, tujma ymg:i -- distant son-in-law /zyat'/.

Finally, in view of the fact that at the present time it is not prohibited for various persons of one clan to take wives from various clans, each such marriage establishes in relation to each new clan a whole complex fabric of akhmalk-ymg:i terminology, i.e., each clan as a whole can be the akhmalk and ymg:i of a whole series of clans.

/144 cont./

*601 In conclusion -- the most noteworthy peculiarity of cognate
● 602 kinship. In the akhmalk clans a man has not only cognates -- uncles, aunts, nieces, but also agnates, "sisters of fathers-in-law," whom /145/ he calls "mothers" (ymk), their children -- "brothers" (tuvn), the husbands of the sisters of his wives -- "brothers" (tuvn), their children -- og:la, while they call him ytk, and so forth.

Thus, by this terminology a man can have male and female agnates outside his own clan. We shall see during our examination of the sexual norms how this strange anomaly may arise.

Now let us look at several separate forms and peculiarities of the kinship terminology.

*601 The term pilang. In conversational speech, as well as in texts,
193 the adjective pilang is quite often used with this or that kinship term. Among other peoples, the addition of this adjective signifies a raising of the degree of kinship one step higher along the ascending line (for example, father and grandfather in English). Among the Gilyak, it evidently has only one meaning -- namely, to indicate the mature age of a given person. The fact is that in the Gilyak language, owing to the classificatory system, even such terms as father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, which in our languages sufficiently define the age of the person in relation to the speaker, have no relation whatever to age: not only a "father" and "mother," but even a "grandfather" and "grandmother" may be younger than their "son" or "grandson," and a "son" may be older than his "father" or "grandfather." Therefore, when they wish to indicate that they are referring to adult members of one or another class, or to a person older in years than the speaker, they add the adjective big, adult: n'vilan n'atk; n'vila n'ymka; n'bila nanko; pila n'ig:yvyn, etc. -- my adult elder "grandfather," "uncle," "father-in-law"; my elder "mother"; my adult "elder sister" or aunt, sister of my father; elderly man.

601 602 /147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other -- sweethearts. It seems that terms are often transferred into this area from the matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart [197] [184] o'kono (husband, in the western dialect), az'mych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), ivn (groom), navkh (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law [837] /zyat'/). It is very interesting that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term akhmalk, while the terms navkh and akhmalk in practical life have taken on the meaning of "comrade" or "participant in a common affair." Thus, the term "navkh" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes its name from this term.

601 As a result of our survey of the kinship termonology, we find among the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

I. Tuvn = ruvn (E.D.).
ruf (W.D.).
In poetry (rarely): kivung.

Separately:
a) akand, aki --
as'khand, as'kh (E.D.) (1).
ykind, yki -- as'kh (W.D.

1. In personal address these terms take the vocative form, for example: instead of akand -- aka; instead of as'kh -- as'kha.

b) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.).
nynkh (W.D.)

c) ranr: (W.D.)

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I. Brothers and sisters (Ger. Geschwister /siblings/): consanguineous and uterine children of own and collateral brothers of all degrees of kinship; the children of own and collateral sisters of all degrees of kinship.

a) Elder brother (tuvn), elder sister (tuvn); younger brother and younger sister (tuvn); wife of the younger tuvn (if "I" am a woman).

Seniority in the collateral lines is not determined by the seniority of the fathers, but by the age of the corresponding persons.

b) 1. Elder sister (tuvn).
2. Wife of the elder tuvn (if "I" am a woman).

c) Sister in general (own and collateral); tuvn of the female sex.

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XIII. N'em.

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The term o'kon, standing completely isolated, is marked by the fact that it is from the same root as jokh -- daughter-in-law /nevestka/ (daughter-in-law, wife of the younger brother), i.e., a term of forbidden character. Concerning the term navkh, it must be said that it is used most frequently in reference to the husband of the sister and their children of the male sex.

XIII. If "I" am a man: daughter of the sister (tuvn); the sister of the husband of the daughter and her daughters, and in general of all the women born in the clan whose members ever took wives from the clan of the speaker.

VII. An'g:ej, an'kh (to the north of the Amur), an'kh n'um-gu (Amur).
Other designations: shank, shankh, ran'kh.

VIII. Jokh, jokho.

IX. Pu, ivn (E.D.).
Pu, if, o'kono (W.D.).
Other designations:
ychikh, a'zmych, utgu.

1: Shternberg--224 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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/148 cont./

VII. Wife; sister of the wife; wife of the elder tuvn; wife of the son of the sister (tuvn) of the mother; daughter of the brother of the mother and all her tuvn; in certain places on the Amur they also call the wife of the elder tuvn, ivy.

VIII. Daughter-in-law /nevestka/; wife of the younger brother (tuvn).

IX. If "I" am a woman: husband; son of the sister of the father; tuvn of the son of the sister of the father; husband of the sister; elder tuvn of the husband.

Deviations: 1. On the continent to the north of the Amur, they call all the tuvn of the husband alike, pu, ivn.

2. Likewise on the western shore of Sakhalin in the settlement of Tamlevo and farther north, all tuvn of the husband -- o'kono, also jori; on the Amur -- o'kono, n'orej. Conversely, among the eastern Gilyak they always call the younger brother of the husband, as distinct from the elder, atk, edr:, even er: (see group IV).

X. Atk, atyk, akhmalk.
Synonyms: app, appyk, aryr, arir:, ychkh, arychkh, edr:, eryr: (E.D.).
Appak, appyk, app, appo, amal (W.D.).

/149/
XI. navkh, akhmalk (more frequently navkh).

XII. Ymg:i, emg:i, navkh (E.D.).
Synonyms (rare): ashkh, poshkhr: (W.D.).
Rak n'ivukh, rag-n'ivuk, ora (the last on the Amur in the neighborhood of the Olcha). As an exception -- o'kon.

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X. Brother of the mother; tuvn of the brother of the mother; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the brother of the mother and their tuvn; father of the wife, father of the sister (tuvn) of the wife; tuvn of the father of the wife; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the father of the wife and their tuvn; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the sister (tuvn) of the wife.

XI. Brother of the wife and his tuvn; the children of the brother of the wife and their tuvn.

XII. If "I" am a man and my wives: -- the son of my sister and of all my female tuvn; son of the sisters of my father and of his tuvn; son of the sisters of grandfathers, etc. and of their tuvn; son-in-law -- husband of my daughter and of her tuvn; the husband of any woman of my clan, of any female agnate; any man of that clan whose members (even if only one) took wives from the clan of the speaker.

/178 cont./

835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often and so persistently about these relations; they considered them so commonplace that they should not, according to their way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you? Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
* 835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
598 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns /179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirta-
[182] tions of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for the purchase of wives.

835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured
000 against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

G /186 cont./
• 602 Psychic prohibitions. But side by side with training and, I
688 would say, the hypnotic influence of the kinship terminology, a still mightier force acts on the development of the above-mentioned instincts -- prohibitions of a special kind, prohibitions on psychic intercourse: prohibitions on speech, glances, and familiar address (joking). Corresponding to the two different instincts necessary for the realization of the sexual norms, these prohibitions are of a dual character. Some are created for persons between whom it is necessary to weaken the instinct of jealousy to the last degree, others -- for those who must avoid having sexual relations with each other. Both factors, both the prohibitions of sexual intercourse and the prohibitions of psychic intercourse, act not only as factors of hypnosis and habit, but also as very strict taboos of religion. To violate one or another of these norms, in the eyes of primitive man,
G 602 s as dangerous as the most dangerous blasphemy. The strength
171 of the taboo on psychic intercourse in particular and what
688 instincts they can develop in the soul of primitive man can be seen even from Iokhel'son's /Jochelson/ tale about a Yukagir
Y 602 who by mistake allowed himself familiarities with respect to
171 his own brother, but when he realized his error, he passed
688 away on the spot out of horror.
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This is the way Iokhel'son tells this amazing story, entirely in keeping with Gilyak psychics.

"There were two brothers. With them lived the husband of an older sister, with whom it is permitted to talk. Therefore, both brothers frequently joked with him and played pranks... The brothers, as usual, had a non-speaking relationship. One time the older brother, upon returning from hunting, found the young people in the settlement playing games and dancing. His younger brother, who happened to be dressed in the fur clothing of his brother-in-law /zyat'/, was in the chain of dancers with his back to the new arrival. The latter took his younger brother to be his brother-in-law, and, wishing to scare him as a joke, he ran up behind him, put his hand between his legs, and touched his sexual organs.

G /186 cont./
• 602 The younger brother quickly turned around. The older brother
171 realized his error and fell dead then and there "from shame."
688 As usual, they performed an autopsy to /187/ learn the cause
Y 602 of his death, and his heart, according to the legend, was
538 found to be broken in two" (1).
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688
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1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, XIII.

G 602 Let us proceed now to the prohibitions themselves. The prohibitions of the first kind, i.e., prohibitions established between individuals of the same sex in order to weaken the instinct of jealousy, naturally cover persons who are joined in one class by group marriage: among the men, the pu classes, i.e., the classes of persons who have the right to sexual relations with a certain class of women; and, among women, the an'g:ej classes, i.e., women having common husbands. All these individuals, all these group husbands or group wives, among whom outbursts of jealousy might so easily flare up every day and every hour, are fenced off from one another by the impassable wall of the strictest prohibition on psychic intercourse, a prohibition beginning at the threshold of life and ending only with the grave, and creating an instinct of restraint which does not yield first place to the strongest instincts of nature.

The prohibitions of the second category, as we have said, have as their aim the hindrance of sexual relations between persons of different sexes of the forbidden categories. For this reason prohibitions between persons who are mutually in the classes of "husbands" and "wives" (pu and an'g:ej), even if not in a state of individual marriage, are superfluous; any man freely converses not only with his individual wives, but with his group wives, for example, with the wives of his brothers without distinction (in some clans) or only with the wives of his older "brothers" (in others), in a word, with those women whom he calls an'g:ej and with whom he has the right

/187 cont./
• 602 of sexual intercourse. This is not the case with the individuals of the forbidden categories. But even in this category there are groups who, in the view of the Gilyak, do not require prohibitory protection; these are, first of all, the mother and, in part, the father. Sons, not to speak of daughters, may both speak and joke with the mother without any restrictions. The same applies to the whole class of "mothers" and "sons," whose designation alone, assimilated from childhood, is a sufficient guarantee of sexual indifference between its members. The situation with regard to "fathers" is somewhat stricter. The father may carry on "business" conversations with his daughter, may revile her, but he may not joke with or caress (be familiar with) his daughters. The same is true of the whole class of "fathers" and "daughters" (uncles and nieces). There are absolutely no prohibitions with regard to grandfathers, great-grandfathers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers. But this is not the case with other persons of the forbidden categories. Particular strictness marks /188/ the prohibitions between the men and women of the same clan. Men not only do not converse or dare to joke with the class of "sisters," with the "sisters" of the fathers, whom they call nanakh (elder sister), but even "to glance with the eye" at them is strictly forbidden. This prohibition applies also beyond the confines of a given clan if -- as we shall see later -- these persons reciprocally regard each other as tuvn, for example, the children of sisters who married persons from different clans. In addition, since -- as we know from the kinship terminology -- for every woman her "brother" is the potential father of her daughter-in-law /nevestka/, while, on the other hand, for every man each "sister" is the potential mother of his "son-in-law" /zyat'/, it follows that the woman is forbidden to converse and so on with the father of her daughter-in-law (actual or potential) and with his class, while a man is forbidden to converse with the mother of his son-in-law (in those clans in which the elder brothers do not have sexual rights to the wives of younger brothers). Furthermore, prohibitions of the second category are in effect (in the majority of clans), between men and the wives of their younger tuvn, on one hand,

/188 cont./

602 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology, [601] the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibitory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other. 602 184 Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted, although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversation are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse does not exist between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law.

602 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic [192] forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the terms: indynd (to look, khernd (to converse, to talk), lerund (to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute, revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in the face" -- indynd -- on the contrary, are in effect only between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor between all categories. There remains the prohibition khernd. This term embraces two concepts: conversation and discussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely forbidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely impossible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in relation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/189 cont./

602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual, 602 who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the ad- 195 dress is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For 193 example: "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian, 602 Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural num- 193 ber, which is commonly used in addressing old people and [576] honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in ad- [554] dressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

/189 cont./

G 602 576 171 The prohibitions on speech have had another curious result. The Gilyak have no salutation for greeting or saying farewell. It may seem strange that the Gilyak, returning to his home after a long absence or leaving his family for the long months of hunting and of danger, utters no salutation. Yet the Gilyak are very ceremonious and /190/ always greet and escort their departing guests with solemn forms of address and expressions of good wishes. The neighbors of the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi, as well as the Ainu, have salutations for meeting and parting. Their absence among the Gilyak arises precisely from the fact that in the home and settlement of every Gilyak there is a mass of persons with whom speech is a sin, and therefore the customary greetings could easily lead to frequent involuntary violations of the psychic taboos. Prohibitions on conversation, as is well-known, are practiced among many peoples. We shall recall, for the sake of an example, one of the American peoples, the Arapaho, among whom conversations between brothers are forbidden. The prohibitions among the Yukagir are of special interest to us. Of the prohibitions which they have in common with the Gilyak, we find among the Yukagir prohibitions between "brothers" and "sisters," between the husband's father and mother and their daughter-in-law, between older brothers and the wives of younger brothers; and, as among the Gilyak, in cases of necessity, they address each other either in the third person, or in the impersonal form, or in the plural (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

G 602 191 B 602 582 194 835 The Buryat present examples of an interesting analogy with the Gilyak prohibitions. Among them at the present time marriage is exclusively individual, and "brothers" have no sexual rights whatever to each other's wives. Nevertheless, prohibitions with regard to the so-called khadym clearly reveal an earlier stage of group marriage. As a result of this

G 602 /190 cont./ As a result of th
191 institution, the prohibitions between a woman and the ol
B brothers of her husband are very strict, and, on the other
602 hand, with respect to the younger brothers of her husband
prohibitions are absent. The content of the prohibition (f
the man to sit on the bed of his khadym, to see her naked
835 is evidence that this prohibition had the exclusive aim of venting sexual intercourse.

V.

The Genesis of the Gilyak Marriage Norms and the Kinship Terminology

G We have examined the norms of sexual intercourse a
*194 have seen that they completely correspond to the kinship
60 terminology. Now it is necessary for us to proceed to a co
sideration of how this complicated system of kinship and m
riage was formed, what sort of psychic substratum gave ri
the system. Obviously, such a complicated system could
arise artificially. It must have developed, without a dou
out of one simple principle, a clear /191/ categorical im
perative for the primitive man, out of which there must h
grown, as from a seed, that complicated organism of Gily
institutions which has been examined by us in such great d
tail. Along with the genesis of this system, however, it i
necessary for us to explain also the long evolution of this
system, without an understanding of which a whole series
peculiarities of the kinship nomenclature will seem com-
pletely inexplicable and, as it were, out of keeping with
general system.

/161 cont./

581 587 121 intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

835 Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'g:ej" become understandable to us, and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "ang:ej." We have already said that for the Gilyak, at least at the present time, it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one, except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males, and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship [601] nomenclature, either from birth on from another specifically defined moment, he calls an'g:ej (wife), and he calls all ● [602] their agnates akhmalk'i (fathers-in-law). We already know who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

[601] Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

/165 cont./

582 583 Concerning the primary obligation of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, supporting evidence is offered by another extremely important peculiarity of this form of marriage, namely, the fact that the bride price, i.e., the payment which is received by the father or the brother of the bride and which in the contemporary marriage plays an enormous role in the question of giving a woman in marriage, is here completely lacking or at least plays an insignificant /166/ role. In cases of marriages between cousins of the first degree, not only is a bride price not demanded, but it is even forbidden to mention it during the betrothal.

582 583 174 The absence of the bride price in marriages between pu and an'g:ej is clear evidence that the marriage between these categories was at one time an obligatory marriage, and in the case of obligatoriness it goes without saying that there can be no question of any financial obligations.

There is no doubt that the bride price was a later institu- [538] tion. In the traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called n'astund, in which the procedure of betrothal is so often described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "fathers-in-law" usually fill the boat of the bride with all kinds of valuables.

583 174 Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays in the economic life of the Gilyak, sometimes representing the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature; the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be of a more compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the nature of these motives in more detail later on.

● 602 606 As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "fathers-in-law" and their legal "sons-in-law" /zyat'ya/. These relations are surprising

/166 cont./

● 602 606 by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward an ymg:i, though only potential, the "fathers-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

[594] [224] [431] For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily pass their time in the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," finding in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies; and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the [796] catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "sons-in-law" are in the foreground among those who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of [72] killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in wartime, the "fathers-in-law" and the "sons-in-law" are obliged to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

602 614 606 From the kinship terminology we know that the clan of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan from which a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which even one kinsman has chanced to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

606 /167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans
602 of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, ac-
614 cording to generations, are considered an'g:ej -- his wives and
[601] the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations pu and an'g:ej have played and still play an enormous role, symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan structure gives to each of its participants.

584 Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of
162 this institution of the right to marriage at the present time.
595 For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty. First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the censuses that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785 females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is 694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant percentage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals, keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the settlement of Arkyvo, for every nine monogamous men there was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every 11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of women was, /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set
[583] of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term
ooo service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

/172 cont./
*835 sweetheart, and, thanks to this polyandrous practice, they
836 hardly ever run the risk of pregnancy. As to what proportions these polyandrous habits of intercourse among maidens reach, it will be sufficient to offer an example intimately known to me. The wife of my friend Pigunayka from the settlement of Arkyvo, a likable woman and a splendid housekeeper and mother of children, before her marriage had in her home village alone 14 sweethearts at one time, who called each other, and she likewise called them, navkh, akhmalk -- comrade, fellow participator (it is curious that navkh literally means the very same thing as punalua in Morgan's well-known punalua family). Furthermore, Pigunayka's wife's sexual intercourse with her sweethearts quite often took place at one time. Her "husbands" told me quite good-naturedly how all 15 of them used to get together in a little clearing not far from the settlement, and one after the other they would exercise their rights. The most curious thing of all is that in this merry band was Pigunayka himself, who is now the happy husband of the
602 heroine. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the Gilyak
*835 youth in many respects feels much more at home and at ease
836 among his maiden an'g:ej than he does among his married an'g:ej, access to whom is surrounded with great difficulties in view of the preferential rights to them of their individual husbands. And, naturally, he is attracted thither most of all. But he does not find these maidens in his own clan, even among the most distant of his tuvn. With them he not only does not have a right to have sexual intercourse, but he does not even dare to converse with them. In his own clan he has only the married women for sexual intercourse. In fact, maiden an'g:ej very rarely live in the same settlement as their pu.
[614] The daughters of his mother's brother, the sisters of his brothers' wives, the daughters of his akhmalk, in other words, the clan of his "fathers-in-law" -- there is where all his sympathies
602 draw the Gilyak youth. In the yurts of his akhmalk'i nothing is hidden to him; here he is met with open arms, for, as we

/172 cont./
602 know, an ymg:i is the closest person to an akhmalk and to his wife. An ymg:i is a preferred hunting companion summer and winter. He is the dearest guest; they serve the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers the akhmalk'i /173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the ymg:i is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there
[836] are dozens of maidens -- his an'g:ej, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

*835 Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their
602 married an'g:ej.

[184] From the kinship terminology we know that a man's married an'g:ej include, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further -- all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the married sisters of the wives of his tuvn -- a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the
*835 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage, the sisters marry persons of the class tuvn alone, so that with regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers' wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers" operates. But, due to deviations from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmalk (1).

[582]
[614]

1. An accidental akhmalk is what I call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

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/192 cont./

614 "sister," (for they are such in reality), their mothers-in-law --
601 aunts on their fathers' side, and husbands call the sisters of
582 their fathers-in-law mothers. We shall not speak here of the
* 174 group character of these marriage unions and of the classes of "mothers," "fathers," "brothers," "fathers-in-law" /wives' fathers/ which arise from this, for we have already explained it in detail earlier.

Thus to the first principle -- the obligation of marriage with one's blood kinsmen -- is added another principle -- the wives of clansmen must of necessity be taken from one common clan, i.e., two clans are bound to each other by a mutual obligation: one must take wives from the other clan, and the latter /193/ must give its wives to the former. All men of the latter, according to generation, are considered from birth to be the husbands of the women of the corresponding generation of the other clan, and, as we have seen, these classes in actuality call each other pu and an'g:ej.

But from the kinship terminology we know that the reverse is not allowed, i.e., men of the second clan and women of the first are not joined in the class of husbands and wives. Thus, an exchange marriage between the two aforementioned clans is not allowed. All these principles which have been deduced by us above a priori from the kinship terminology completely correspond to contemporary reality. We have seen that even now there exists the right of marriage, that even now a marriage from the class akhmalk is alone considered "pure," that marriages of clansmen are usually made from one common clan and that exchange marriage between clans is not allowed. Now we can with confidence continue our analysis.

614 But what is this clan from which clansmen are obliged
601 to take wives? The answer to this is that detail of nomencla-
602 ture whereby the mother of every man is the sister of his
582 wife's father; in other words, all wives of clansmen are
* 174 taken from that clan from which their ancestress came. The members of the clan are thus, both on the father's side and

/193 cont./

614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individ-
601 ual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
● 602 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
582 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
* 174 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, we shall see below. Now let us look at the consequences
* 174 this principle had in its practical application.
582
591 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
581 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /sic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriages, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Termi-
[602] nology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

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* 174 /194 cont./
582 relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).
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● 602
[114]
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1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

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2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

/198 cont./

614 home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
*174 together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the same clan -- the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the sisters of their fathers. In the agnatic clan the imported
● 602 women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and
614 nieces (and blood kinswomen -- female cousins of their
*174 husbands), the daughters of the brothers of their mothers. This common blood kinship of the representatives of both sexes of both the native and the imported elements of the clan is a still more important cement of the clan union, a religious cement binding together all the elements with the highest ties of the common cult of the ancestors. The
601 terminology has perpetuated this arrangement by the fact that
614 the wives in each generation call each other sister and their
*174 husbands' mothers -- aunts, and a man calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife, while a woman calls the son of her father's sister husband.

614 8. Since marriage is obligatory into the group of the
587 sisters of the father exclusively, once the daughters of a man
*174 belong from birth /199/ to the sons of his sister, and this rule, naturally, became a religious imperative, then under no circumstances can either the men or the women marry out-
[171] side of the indicated groups. Hence a twofold levirate, so often encountered, by the way, among the American Indians. If the individual husband of a woman should die, she cannot under any circumstances leave the group of her husband. Whether young or old, she passes to one of the class of "brothers" of her deceased husband. Conversely, if a man's wife dies, he cannot look for a wife anywhere except in the class of her sisters.

614 9. Under this arrangement, as long as it maintains its
583 complete purity, within the marriage groups there can be
*174 no question either of abductions or of bride price.

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Schematic Table No. 1 of the Three-clan Cognate Phratry.

Clan A (Andrey)	Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)
Ancestors: Andrey, Vera. Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S. Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.	Ancestors: Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.	Ancestors: Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.
Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy of clan V. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna of clan S.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera from clan A.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey from clan A. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Sof'ya from clan V.

Table No. 2 (cont.)

2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna in clan S.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera in clan A.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Mariya in clan D.

1: Shternberg--312 E-5 (1860-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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615 /211cont./
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2) Daughters
marry the sons
of the sisters
of their father,
of Sof'ya
in clan V.

Schematic Table No.

Clan A (Andrey)	Clan V (Vasiliy)
Ancestors:	Ancestors:
Andrey, Vera. Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S. Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.	Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Dem'yan from clan D.
Their children:	Their children:
1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy from clan V.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Dem'yan from clan D.

Clan S (Stepan)	Clan D (Dem'yan)
Ancestors:	Ancestors:
Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Mariya, who is married into clan D. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.	Dem'yan, Mariya. Dem'yan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Mariya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.
Their children:	Their children:
1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey, from clan A.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S.

(Cont.)

/211 cont./

1: Shternberg--311 E-5 (1890-1927, 1929) 1929 Gilak 225

/213 cont./

614 615 602 my mother, while my mother-in-law is the sister of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother; that is to say, husband and wife are kin on both their fathers' and their mothers' sides. On the side of their fathers, on the one hand, and on the side of their mothers, on the other, they are alike cousins of the second degree; on the side of the father of the wife and of the mother of the husband, they are cousins of the first degree, while on the side of the father of the husband and of the mother of the wife, they are cousins of the third degree.

4) The kinship relations between the clans work out in the following way: a) clan A is the akhmalk (father-in-law in the first degree) of clan S; it is also the tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree) of clan D, and, finally, the ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) of clan V (although at the same time it is formally the father-in-law of the third degree of the latter, because D is the father-in-law of V); b) clan V stands in exactly the same relationship toward clans A, S, and D, as does clan S toward clans D, V and A, and, finally, clan D toward clans V, A and S. All the clans stand in the relation of pandf (people of a common origin) to each other. From this relationship between the clans it follows that an ymg:i is the father-in-law of the third degree in relation to his genuine father-in-law, from which it appears, in turn, that a father-in-law of the third degree is a degree of kinship completely unnecessary for the regulation of marriage. And, in fact, it does not exist in the terminology, which has only two forms of kinship with the father-in-law: akhmalk (father-in-law of the first degree), and tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree).

5) From the above it follows that the tujma akhmalk assumes a reciprocal relationship: A is the tujma akhmalk of D, while D, in turn, is the tujma akhmalk of A, and since, as we know from the contemporary marriage rights of the Gilyak, women cannot be given to the tujma akhmalk

/213 cont./

* 614 615 ● 602 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

582 * 174 121 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

582 * 174 121 114 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

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583 538 Such catastrophes, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. This alternative which, according to the epos, faced the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful an'g:ej, who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage -- proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /261/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

582 584 Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the present the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying a woman of the an'g:ej category, a woman who is regarded as one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the categories of an'g:ej the most desirable marriage is with the daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most orthodox is considered the cousin marriage between the daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a marriage is so highly valued that even before the future spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother give each other their word to unite the children in marriage. After the birth of the children, when they have reached the age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the clansmen of one side or the other a formal act of agreement [593] or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not ● [602] with the father of the bride (for she is his sister and conversation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with 584 585 his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to this: the matchmaker /svat/ (father or mother of the groom) before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancés with threads of nettle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

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196 195 58 [171] [174] [591] /paterniteta/, with the wife moving into the house of her husband. At the present time the original meaning has disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often for the expression "to get married" there is added to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being 196 58 supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menakh vavin kuil itynd, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ajvund is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, menyn ruvn an'g:ej n'enyn' ajvutà -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

178 602 591 174 In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony of this is found in the contemporary formula of common marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymg:i ● 602 arinkh jag:n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

[171] Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

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602 606 591 [431] [574] This formula has preserved its vital significance even today. One is supposed to send regularly to the son-in-law gifts of edibles and a share of every catch. Moreover, the young men of the category ymg:i during the course of several months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement of their fathers-in-law and are indispensable participants in the more important hunting expeditions.

606 225 602 In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the time of distant sea excursions for the hunting of sea animals. The master of the boat -- he is the head of the expedition -- in such cases especially summons his ymg:i to take part in the hunt (1).

[171] 1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely maternal tribe. Here, so reports Swanton (Haida, p. 69), when a man undertakes a military campaign, he calls together his tribesmen who are his potential or actual sons-in-law.

[431] All this time the ymg:i are not only fed for nothing, but when they leave they carry away with them an equal share 606 of the catch and various /265/ gifts besides. One's relations 602 with these young men are often much more tender than with [591] one's own children. And this is entirely understandable, for a man's ymg:i are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his tribesmen, who under a maternal system must live with him, while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement of their wives and will be completely estranged from him.

602 604 171 This obligation for the "nourishment" of the tribesmen through the female line, however, is a customary institution in maternality. Among several peoples, as, for example, among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the property of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to ravish with impunity the possessions of his uncles. This right is

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602 604 171 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 593 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

174 196 591 171 Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says: n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

174 611 614 186 Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

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174 611 614 186 reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 184 614 611 Usually at the present time children are given names according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 611 174 [582] [614] All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

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In succeeding generations marriages proceed according to the same principle as in the foregoing generation: the men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, and the women marry the sons of their father's sister.

Analyzing this table, we see that:

1) In each clan every generation of men takes its wives from the /212/ clan from which their ancestress came, specifically, each individual man takes a wife from the clan of his mother, while the women of each clan marry, according to generation, into the clan into which their ancestress was married, specifically, each individual woman takes her husband from that clan in which her father's sister is married. Exchange of women between two clans is not permitted.

2) Clan A, therefore, takes its women from clan V (the clan from which the ancestress of A, Vera, was taken), but it cannot in return give its women to this clan, but gives them to clan S, where the sister of its ancestor, Anna, is married. It therefore remains for clan V to take its wives either from S or from D, but clan S is prohibited to it, because in relation to this clan it is tujma akhmalk, father-in-law of the second degree (see above); therefore it remains for clan V to take its wives only from clan D, from which was drawn the ancestress of clan V (Sof'ya). After that only the women from clan S and the men from clan D remain unaccounted for, and, as we saw from the table, the latter marry the former, and thus the entire phratry is provided for matrimonially, and all the marriage norms are observed.

3) In every conjugal pair, the husband is the son of the sister of the father of his wife, and, consequently, husband and wife are always cognate cousins.

602 The interrelationships of the members of the various clans of the phratries are clear from the following analysis of the relationships between the ancestors. Let us begin with Andrey from clan A.

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192 584 [199] orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orth
/271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the specia
term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 602 [593] Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the
the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother
father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the
of the father. The role of the latter individual is explain
apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. Accordin
to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since b
the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister
the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage o
his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-l
584 602 614 If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla
n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequ
participate, in addition to these persons, several honored
clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy p
[556] [583] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringi
with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre
quently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes
proper impression, they immediately take the maiden aw
with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

584 554 556 [533] The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is
alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one so
maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth

595 584 614 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a marrie
man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himsel
usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the la
herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there ar
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and

Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Vasiliy and Vera, because the sister of the father of the latter was the mother of Andrey. In exactly the same way, Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Stepan and Mariya, because the mother of the latter is the sister of the father of Andrey. Only in relation to Dem'yan and Sof'ya is Andrey a cousin of the second degree, for the clan of Dem'yan (D) takes its women from S, which, in turn, takes them from A; consequently the grandmother of Dem'yan was the sister of the grandfather of A, and thus Andrey and Dem'yan are cognate cousins of the second degree.

It is easy to see that the relationship of every other ancestor to the others is the same as that of Andrey, and similar relationships will exist in every generation between the representatives of the different clans, since the marriage norm in every case is the same. From this analysis it follows that: 1) in each generation the representatives of all four clans are either brothers and sisters to each other, or cousins, in a word, people of the same origin on the male and female side; 2) in clans united by marriage relationships, in each generation the husbands, on the one hand, and their wives, on the other, are cognate cousins of the first degree; 3) between clans not /213/ united by marriage relationships, i.e., clans which are tujma akhmalk to each other, for example, between clans A and D, both the husbands and wives are reciprocally cousins of the second degree, i.e., they are more distantly related than the marrying clans; thus remoteness of kinship beyond a certain degree, as in Australia, is an obstacle to marriage.

The relationship between the marrying ones may be defined in greater detail in the following manner: if "I" am a man, my father-in-law is the brother of my mother and a cousin of the first degree of my father, while my mother-in-law is a cousin of the second degree of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother. If "I" am a woman, my father-in-law is a cousin of the first degree of my father and a cousin of the second degree of

the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.

But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates, for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, th is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken fro one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters, the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/271 cont./

The bride is customarily represented by the father and mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of her side is necessary. The bride, the father of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the bother play a part. Frequently the wishes of the sister are decisive. Here is a remnant of matriarchy in the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief. In one story which I recorded from Tyl, when he was in uniform him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, relation: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger sisters!" It is interesting, also, that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women have /272/ no part in the negotiations and ceremony affairs, is no smaller in matriarchal affairs than that of the father. This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her sole begin when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily comes of the laconic phrase: "Since you with this, it is for me to contradict." But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and this happens rather frequently and is naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

/273/ It is interesting to note that among the Orogka, whose organization, as a survey of ancient matriarchal ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, candidate differences were noticed by me.

/274 cont./

2. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother, the younger brother is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Etnograf. Zb.,"Ethnograf. Sbornik", Vyp. 1, 1853, p. 1, Rum. Geogr. Obshch., 1865, I, Rev. and Stat., p. 176. Sternberg, "Ethnograf. Zb.," Vyp. 5, Turukhansk Region," Zap. Rosk. Geogr. Obshch. po etnogr. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 48b; among the Yakut, Priklonskii, "Zap. Sib. Geogr. Obshch. po etnogr. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 48b; among the Yakut, Priklonskii, "Zap. Sib. Otdel. Imp. Russkoi Geogr. Obshch., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 48b; among the Tungus, Sternberg

/4t com./

This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be seen); moreover, this also explains, in plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not yet from the clan of his mother-in-law, *ŋ̌ŋ̌ŋ̌ ŋ̌ŋ̌ŋ̌* ŋŋŋ, literally, "ŋŋŋ meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex. because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the custom of the bride price. the custom of a payment for one's bride.. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted; a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abductor. Among the Gilyak this sin of abduction is done away by the bride generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that atonement, that same material fem of atonement for a sin. for the killing of a clansman. It is not a consideration that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, *ŋŋŋŋŋŋ* among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no way to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /ŋŋŋ/ without husbands/for the parents' fear of the punishment, which is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable, perhaps decisive shaple for the supernatural spirit of primitive man to veneration of the dead, and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies. sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

Religion of the Gilyak

In his world view the Gilyak. like every primitive man. is an *animist*. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel. he could say: with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/4l com./

The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nas—ŋŋŋkhoŋ, the day of the mountain ŋŋŋ. On this day, clicks with the sharpened ends. which play an important religious role in the festival. These clicks are made of the bone of the mountain ŋŋŋ-ŋŋŋŋ-ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ. which. together with the skin bear will get out to go to the mountain ŋŋŋ and bring back fatness and the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talisman as well. Each kind of ŋŋŋ is made in pairs each pair is genuine. so that they will be happier. and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the ŋŋŋ are hung in sacrificial trees, and some of the ŋŋŋ are placed in sacrificial chests at the bottom. While the preparations of the ŋŋŋ take place. the clan elder. together with the master of the bear, gathers the clansmen (ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ

/378 cont./
clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately.
And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
together and eating together, individual members, such as, for
example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs,
boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with
their father obtain in good time property for their future inde-
pendence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
at a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the re-
sult of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his
fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but
he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for him-
self a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain
a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
"wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and
does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable
fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with
silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches
pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only
at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the
storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son,
when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, depart-
ing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its com-
mon efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when
he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and
whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of
sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward
rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

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/382 cont./
428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[968] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family con-
tinues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-
up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A ques-
tion of the division of the inheritance only arises when the chil-
dren, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a
Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children
of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the de-
ceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one,
the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the
married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[968] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who
428 divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
597 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which
always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker
in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age.
With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor
428 clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who
has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
● [600] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until
his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish
of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the
inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with
his father up to the very time of his death, while the other
brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the
other brothers.
572 Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[614] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps
his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak
calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an
uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety.
In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the
road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[192] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes
tempted by the possession of another, it is always in the field of

608 ARTIFICIAL KIN RELATIONSHIPS--creation of kinship ties by artificial means (e.g., blood brotherhood); establishment of kinship through ceremonial sponsorship (e.g., godparents and godchildren); kinship terms employed by artificial kinsmen; reciprocal relations and stereotyped behavior patterns exhibited; etc. See also:

Relations between guardian and ward . . . . . 439 Friendship 678
Mating ceremonies . . . . . 563 Adoption 697

*614 /123 cont./
615 from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of
235 sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these
235 instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation,
442 not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily
those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general,
i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives
from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he
does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse
and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know,
with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan the
ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their genera-
tion are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate
women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the
broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male
population, they find their revenge in the clan of their
akhmal'k, where they meet the same reception from their
*614 "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between
615 the male youth of both clans ("navkh'l") (1), as a result of
● 608
[601]

1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'l.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage,
the most touching relations are established. It is in these sur-
roundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the
Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in
vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange
of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such services.
But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may
be found among the navkh'l. Here is one such example, espe-
cially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the
settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both
friends, "navkh'l," lived in one yurt; they had everything in
common, went about together like lovers, almost never
separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both,

*614 /124 cont./
615 it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say
615 what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possi-
● 608 bility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations be-
tween members of matrimonial clans.
*614 The principle of mutual aid between members of matri-
615 monial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which,
428 despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception,
583 namely, with regard to the pandi'y; by a will, as we already
know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going
for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur
"shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which
reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it
from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally,
as an important indication of the fact that originally among
the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of pay-
ment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom.
But for what?
*614 The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the
615 bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once
774 marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious ob-
583 ligation, and even preferable between the children of brother
and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for
the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have
been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This
[198] change we know; it consisted in the fact that in some instances
when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible,
it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but
this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its
own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving
away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception
of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the
[192] father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases
of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the
bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law
and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

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609 BEHAVIOR TOWARD NONRELATIVES--cultural definition of nonrelatives; relationships and associated behavior defined by absence of kinship ties; behavior toward strangers and aliens; etc. See also:

Intergenerational relationships . . . . . 97 Behavior toward ethnic religious 563
Behavior toward individual observers . . . . . 123 International relations 648
Ethnocentrism 189

*614 /110 cont./
in its original site that the indigenous village can no longer feed
423 everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it to other places,
[167] selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the
[167] clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points
involves an actual division of the "fire" and branching out of the
clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the
custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /yvat'ya/ moving to the
clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail
in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.
423 The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to
● 609 property, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect
to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin
50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordial territories of the
Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest against this, although
the Tungus came in small groups and could hardly have withstood
the numerous aborigines with force.
*614 Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. In the mass of
primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the clan name is one
of the very sharpest external signs of the unity of a clan. A totemistic
name is a real object of nature, animal or plant, which is rep-
resented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.
Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this sort. In some
clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for example, a clan
living in the settlement of Tangash considers itself kindred with
the bear on the grounds that a woman of that clan had given
birth to a monstrosity with features resembling those of a bear.
Similar legends exist in other clans. Nevertheless, not only
typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan names in the proper
sense are absent. There are only territorial names. If a Gilyak
wants to name the people of such and such a clan, he says "the
dwellers of such and such a settlement," which sometimes corre-
sponds with the actual place of habitation of the clan, but most
frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial
abode of one or another clan.

*614 /127 cont./ But these Ties Prove of
615 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
621 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
628 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not participate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
• 669 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding generations give to each other, has finally become the customary appellation with which any member of another clan or stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
574 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
[157] crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers, the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

/127 cont./
• 609 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the
574 Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has
609 wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with
879 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance
*614

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general
186 relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course,
609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national
824 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

174 But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We
*614 can now resume it.
615

/254 cont./
832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
826 from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both
• 609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Piłsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhra -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but
832 also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree,"
826 luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek),
533 gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
291 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
533 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability
577 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdia n'ivukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer. Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the
[867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

/699 cont./
114 4.(cont.)
231 this fable by the Yukagir in the country of
195 "Svatsnia" (tobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

231 The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old
*496 animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the
[956] summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival.

• [609] As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears
[123] kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

116, 186, 609

"Moonlight was silvering the broadening Bay of Ni, and all was still and quiet, save for the passage of a solitary canoe of natives returning to their village. Later there passed another containing two men of a fresh tribe, the Tungus, whose language none of us understood. We mutually grunted salutations, though I never saw the Gilyaks greet each other, this being quite contrary to the [258] habits of their neighbours to the south, the Ainus, with whom the ceremony is both long and complicated.

The Tungus are the most nomadic race on Sakhalin, at the same time they are the best hunters, and probably the cleverest in carving, needlework, and metalwork. Their home is the taiga, and with their reindeer and fine hunting dogs are sometimes seen following the river course or the forest paths made by wild animals. Some of their dogs, I was told, would catch three sables in a day, which their masters would exchange at Derbensk for a pud of gunpowder and a pud of shot.

Between them and the Gilyaks there are occasional misunderstandings, and even the Orochons complain that the latter sometimes steal their reindeer, which in view of the dispersal of their herds in the forest is quite possible. ....

'The Tungus,' said our Vanka, 'are wild people living in the forest. They are not hospitable, and do not give the Gilyaks food and drink when they call;' "

Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

577 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among them-
426 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
● 609 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from
186 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
577 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
609 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
177 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
● 609 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
177 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
177 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
682 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
627 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

548 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
837 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
684 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

563 hopes, merely from an ungovernable yen for liberty and
177 diversion, although they know they will be only too easily recognized and will only earn a more severe punishment.
563 The hardships and dangers which these unfortunate ones
● 609 must sometimes endure, especially in winter, are hair-
177 raising and some of the stories which they tell as though they were nothing unusual, sound like epics. A large number of them perish. One of the dangers which they must guard against in the Amur country and the Transbaykal is persecution at the hands of the natives, in which activity particularly those kinsmen of the Huns, the wild Buryats on Lake Baykal, distinguish themselves. To them, a brodyaga is as good as wild game, they aim at him wherever they meet him, and take whatever they find on the dead man. They do this with all assurance for they know that the deed will not be investigated. In recent times this bestial custom has also crept in among the Goldi and the Gilyak. The brodyagi themselves gave the impetus to these animosities. Most of them are perfectly docile, peaceable human beings who are glad if [229] they are left alone, and are therefore little feared by the Russians themselves; they are given a night's lodging, a hunk of bread, and no one thinks of notifying an official. Now among these "unfortunate ones" (1)

1. This is what they are called by the Siberians, some of whom are themselves descendants of exiles and have had experiences of their own which corroborate the words of Staël "tout savoir c'est tout pardonner".

there are sometimes real villains who cannot conceal their wolf-like nature. Furthermore, among deportees there are not infrequently to be found people who are simply pathological, suffering from homicidal mania, who belong anywhere but in a penal colony. Such ugly customers make trouble when they escape. There have been cases where entire Gilyak families were murdered even by those who were hospitably received by the natives. As a result, it is easy to imagine that the Gilyak also began playing a different tune. After such precedents, greed and rapacity may now and then also have arisen in the soul of the savage, even though such a refugee would not have been carrying much. Thus the brodyagi now avoid the native villages, and if they are forced to pass near-by, they go in bands and take

563 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
609 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
177 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

181 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

671 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to
say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law
which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and
just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where
it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponder-
ance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of
individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the
assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly
distributed.

556 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
595 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who
is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare
exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater num-
ber of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value,
such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc.
and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely
for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which
in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The
above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury arti-
cles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple
hundred silver rubles in a box.

735 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
438 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
556 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
261 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood,
berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one
must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish
is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in
those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coin-
cides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have
reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various
species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up
the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have
more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to
trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts,
berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor
substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual
"famines" here.

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of
Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean
that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first
immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be
found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said
that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts,
however, they are very backward. They know how to draw
or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but
nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are
absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music.
Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a
Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him
instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all
kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original
meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at
least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not
true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory
would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction
the different facts cannot be directly understood but must
be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak
children were taught to read and write. This they learned
very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of
course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples
whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the
Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that
they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak
also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but
not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and
soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian,
they look about them with curiosity but they do not immedi-
ately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask
for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are
decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture.
It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine,
about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

231 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs,
white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one
friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not al-
together certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought
to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka,
but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared
to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and
cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing
his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not
regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he
made no response to a question which Borasdine asked.
Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for
drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon.
The women did not look up from their work, and were not
142 inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complex-
302 ion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

133 was in motion and evidently came from a descending stea
boat. On another occasion we missed in these channels
boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while Ge
eral Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by
courier who was bringing him important despatches.

502 The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, a
relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the deli
ated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are n
navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable
descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is
more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not f
quent.

609 The peasants always came to the bank where we stopp
291 no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wo
at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thi
gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughi
smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of t
fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them i
strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow.
the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack co
of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others T
tar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, bla
beards, and smooth faces were placed upon by the danc
flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and h
shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

133 A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. T
mountains on the south bank receded from the river and w
more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowla
covered with forest intervened between the mountains
the shore. On the north the general character of the co
try remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top a
sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its sum
It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Mo
ment, and rising from the highest point of the mountain
appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a w
of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half w
down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttres

/30 cont./

purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social framework of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/82 cont./

*614 father-in-law signifies the common right of each generation of clansmen to the corresponding generation of women of the akhmal'k clan, while a common son-in-law -- the obligation to give their women to the ymgi clan. Only the men are a constant element of the clan; the women are an element that either departs from the clan or comes in from outside. Hence the whole "physiological" construction of the clan -- exogamy, agnation, common rights and obligations regarding women, reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers, etc.

Thus the Gilyak clan is a union of kinsmen in the male line, agnates, taking their wives from another certain clan, giving their women to a third, and bound among themselves by a whole series of mutual rights and obligations in the realm of marital-sexual norms.

*614 602 But this is only the formal framework of this kinship union; in the flesh and blood of all the consequences that flow from it, it is much deeper, more intimate, and firmer than appears at first glance. First of all, it must be kept in mind that, despite the principle of agnation, the clansmen are bound by kinship ties, not only through the father, but also through the mother. This follows directly from the very thesis of a common father-in-law. For once each /83/ generation of clansmen ("brothers") marries a corresponding generation of women ("sisters") of one akhmal'k clan, then the mothers of these clansmen, in turn, are sisters to one another. Further, the wives of the clansmen, despite the fact that they, according to the agnatic principle of the clan, are, as it were, a completely alien element, in reality stand in a close cognate relationship with their husbands; accordingly, husband and wife, as we know, are usually the children of a sister and brother -- own or of more distant degrees -- and, consequently, they are in any case cognate brothers and sisters. Thus, the male and female element are not only not alien to each other, elements bound only by marriage, but on the contrary are intimately bound together, aside from marriage, by blood kinship. Moreover,

/135 cont./

*601 184 197 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character. Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding az'mych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

[104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.), the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

*601 614 104 Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous, agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the mention of this or that term without any special indication of whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

/xxviii cont./

*114 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly
582 assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the
595 history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

*114 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution
602 of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having
595 mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming
[174] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the
● 614 clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

*114 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh
614 and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi
556 (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention

/xxix cont./

ooo to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
*114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

*114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
971 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
● 614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[976] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

*114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[977] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[956] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

"Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
*114 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
197 constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

342 /18 cont./
798 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of
198 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.
192

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the
191 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that
174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee,
492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-
[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo.
● [614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/20 cont./

144 observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us. At the same time, other facts and considerations provide us with a full basis for thinking that the ancient Gilyak type has completely perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes. This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of intertribal marriages, which would be not at all so surprising, but in quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

174 In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected
167 information and legends about the origin of each particular clan.
● 614 The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that
144 the founders of the great majority of the clans now in existence
[126] were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes. How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into this or that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has harbored them. The descendants of such newcomers normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans of newcomers, or the branches of the clans founded by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not subject to doubt; I found it not only among the Gilyak.

174 As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in
144 perplexity, if in the course of a great number of centuries there has been a constant inflow of fresh elements from other tribes, an inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female slaves from the Ainu and the Goldi, and if these new elements flourished and multiplied while the indigenes degenerated and died

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
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III.

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191 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
174 the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
595 to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
835 individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
587 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
583 rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
851 his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
611 succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
551 is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
684 of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
614 itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
582 of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and
592 not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
352 large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
965 encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/35 cont./

83 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he
579 transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous
825 act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves
829 for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

576 Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange
601 facts come from? How can we explain these complex and con-
835 fusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law
174 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
601 clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
614 of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

/36 cont./

174 because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their
601 migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons,
835 naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and
614 lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kin-
174 ship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection
601 of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.
835 First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature ac-
582 cording to which I, a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law
614 mother (ymk), while my father calls them his wives, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

174 my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were
601 sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology
835 this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the
582 daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej), but simply
614 navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me
582 which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular
601 clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present
614 day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came, i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

192 1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting; it is composed of pi (ones own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mother), and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

835 wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual inter-
582 course is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among
601 the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriage with a

/37 cont./

582 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predile
601 shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was i dubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is
582 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, appro
584 her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engag ment of their children. The ceremony of engagement consist the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair b child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). W bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is edu until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any rit
582 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the princi compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan o
614 one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from t completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, becau the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into whic marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, h ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the ce
125 that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the G
601 family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by t abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from th one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan the mother") from ancient times.

582 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent
178 now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary custom sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship termino preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise

611

RULE OF DESCENT--unilinear rules (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); ambil
descent (i.e., in each successive generation descent is traced through eithe
parent); bilateral descent (i.e., absence of unilinear emphasis); double de
(i.e., concurrent matrilineal and patrilineal descent); anomalous rules (e.
linked descent); special exceptions (e.g., ambil-anak or matrilineal descen
one generation in default of direct male heirs); degree of correspondence o
gence between the rule of descent and the recognition of kinship; evidences
former or recent transitions in the rule of descent; etc. See also:

Descent of children in marriages between persons of different castes or social classes . . 56
Rules of succession to authority in the family or household 59
Inheritance rules 428
Allocation of the children of divorced parents . . 586
Rules of residence . . . . . .
Succession to chiefship in the community . . . .
Succession to executive positions in the state . . 63
Theory of paternity . . . . . .
Social placement of infants . . . . . .

601 /191 cont./
174 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system
[58] of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.
[178] But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are
[602] called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates,
[611] for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation
601 the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral
582 brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that
174 is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/265 cont./
602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
171 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
593 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

194 Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
196 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
591 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
171 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says: n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

194 Another example: the term for designating a person's
611 origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth."
614 This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
186 be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/266 cont./

174 611 614 186

reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 184 614 611

Usually at the present time children are given names according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 611 174 [582] [614]

All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

614

614 SIBS--presence of unilinear kin groups of traditional, but not actually traceable, common descent; number and distribution; affiliation (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); regulation of marriage (e.g., exogamy, agamy, endogamy); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., names, insignia, totemism, food taboos); origin and traditions; organization; headship and succession; prerogatives and obligations of members; solidarity and group responsibility; common property and cult; relationship to clans; unilinear kin groups intermediate between sibs and phratries; relations between sibs; etc. See also:

Property 42
Mutual aid 476
Marriage restrictions 582
Blood vengeance 828
Totemism 779
Taboos 784

1: Shternberg

614

/For general information on the Gilya
interclan relationships, see category 116,

RX2 Gilyak RX2

k clan (sib), its role and function in the society and
pp. 130-193 and 299-316./

/40 cont./

582 595 614 daughters while his sister has only one or two sons, or that a long interval of time elapses between the birth of the first son and the ones that follow, or that, which even further complicates the question, several sisters have but one brother or one sister has several brothers: in the first case several brothers have a common wife; in the second, either one possesses several sisters, or two brothers live in common marriage with a group of sisters; in the third case, the younger brother, who reaches puberty when the elder brother has managed to take all his cousins, must of necessity have marital rights to the wives of his elder brothers; finally, in the last two cases, either several first cousins will have as common wives the daughters of the brother of their mothers, or several brothers will have as common wives several of their first cousins. We have given only the simplest cases; in reality, the matter is, of course, much more complicated. Thus, in one way or another, there absolutely inevitably arises a group marriage of brothers (own and further) with a group of sisters (own and further), and in any case the unconditional reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers of all degrees of kinship. Of course, these group rights consequently embraced more and more people of more distant degrees of kinship, for a mother did not always have brothers, or the latter daughters, and it was inevitably necessary to take wives from among the /41/ first, second, etc. cousins of the mother, and hence the union of people united by the common rights of a group marriage grew.

No vicissitudes of tribal life destroyed this group principle, even up to the present time. When in the course of time, as a result of depopulations, the dispersion of kindred families, wars, and other such reasons, there arose the necessity of resorting to marriages from alien families, these customs, inconvenient in themselves, led to the situation that we see at the present time, that a man is the officially recognized husband of one or several women and is required to share this right either with all his brothers (in some clans) or (in others) only with the younger ones, and, moreover, not only with his own, but with all the agnate brothers as well.

/41 cont./

582 614 3) Since in every family sons must marry daughters of a brother of their mother, and daughters -- sons of a sister of their father, it follows that from the time of the establishment of this custom all the descending posterity of each pair of ancestors in all lines eo ipso form a closed group, prohibited from one another maritally, an exogamous organism, a clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or remain in their own, either a maternal or paternal clan prevails.

At the present time, among the Gilyak a paternal, agnatic clan has been established.

4) Such a clan rests not only on the negative tie of exogamy, but also on valuable positive bonds, on the common rights of clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, the mutual rights of group marriage, and, finally, on the obligation to save their women for the clan that took the sisters of their ancestor.

If we take into consideration the fact that marriage regulations among primitive peoples, among whom the cult of the ancestors and, consequently, blood ties play such a tremendous role, become religious imperatives, it will become clear that the clearly indicated mutual rights and obligations cement the clan union.

In particular, the important cementing element of a clan is also the fact that all the women coming in (wives of clansmen) are taken from one clan and are either one another's sisters (own and agnate), or aunts and nieces. As for men, the clansmen, they represent in each generation a group of brothers (own and agnate) married to a group of sisters and cousins from the clan of their mothers, i.e., to their first cousins, /42/ in relation to whom they have reciprocal conjugal rights.

We have already spoken about the effects that these customs have on the kinship nomenclature.

614 615 5) The clan, therefore, is not a self-contained organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound up with the existence of at least two clans, blood kindred with it, one the blood clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, and another clan which took the sisters of its ancestor and to which it must give up its own women.

/42 cont./

615 614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or ymri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood"

[582 114]

1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V). Their children:	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S). Their children:	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A). Their children:
1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A.
2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

/43/

615 614 Analyzing this table, we see that 1) all the women in clan A have been taken, by generations, from clan V, which means that Andrei's mother is a sister of Vasilii's father, and consequently Andrei and Vasilii are cognate cousins. 2) Similarly in clan V, Vasilii's mother is a sister of Stepan's father from clan S, and consequently Vasilii and Stepan are cognate cousins, and 3) in clan S Stepan's mother is the sister of Andrei's father from clan A, and consequently Stepan and Andrei are cognate cousins.

Thus, not only are each pair of spouses, one to the other, male and female cognate cousins, but the ancestors of each clan are, one to the other, cognate cousins. In a word, the founders of all three clans are close, blood kinsmen married to female cognates of the same degree of kinship, and each generation marries cognates of the same degree of kinship as its fathers and mothers. This is a clear example of how weak the terms exogamous and endogamous are: the exogamy of the Gilyak clan does not exclude marriages between close kinsmen. It turns out that endogamy prevailed within each phratry; each of its branches was exogamous.

615 614 198 Such was the original scheme. Time and circumstances, emigration, depopulation, the dispersion of clans, an accidental scarcity of women in the mother's clan, and other such causes naturally led, on the one hand, to a deviation from this system, and, on the other hand, to corrections, whose aim was to reconcile the old norms with the new demands of life. All these superstructures, if I may express myself thus, have quite confused the genealogical systems and the marriage norms, and, as usually happens, the categorical imperative, weakening in one respect, becomes more widespread in another. Due to external conditions, the rule to take one's wife from the clan of one's mother weakened, but, on the other hand, the prohibition against giving wives to that clan (albeit completely alien from which someone, even a most remote clansman of the given clan, took his wife has received the most widespread interpretation (on the presumption that it is the clan of the mother). From this the following has become established:

/43 cont./

614 Since at the present time it is not always possible for all
615 clansmen to take their wives from one clan, the clan of the
178 mother, certain members of some clan (M, for example) are
required to take their wives from different clans. And so, on
the strength of the old presumption that the clan of the wife
of a clansman is the clan of the mother, all these clans for
several generations become prohibited for all the women of
clan M, for whom marriage into these clans is not allowed.
And this is not all. This prohibition, in essence having lost
its former raison d'être, is applied not only /44/ to that clan
M, which takes wives directly from A, but also to a third clan,
N, which, in turn, takes wives from M.

In the Gilyak terminology of marriage this prohibition is
technically expressed thus. Clan A, giving women to clan M,
is called the akhmal'k (father-in-law) of the latter, while in
relation to clan N, which in turn takes wives from clan M,
it -- i.e., clan A, is called tuyma akhmal'k (distant father-
in-law); and so the prohibitions lying on clan M are carried
over to clan N, i.e., clan A may not take women not only
from M, but also from N. The degrees of prohibition, how-
ever, do not extend beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree.

The entire future evolution of the Gilyak family and clan
lies in the history of the origin of this prohibition. In what
way could this widespread prohibition arise? We saw that the
Gilyak were not afraid of marriages within close degrees of
kinship. This means that the reason must be some other one.
As a matter of fact, in the face of the inevitability of cases
when it was impossible to take wives from the clan of the
mother, the Gilyak, conforming to the religious imperative,
should have, in such cases, considered the most suitable clan
that one from which at least the clan of his mother took wives,
and, if unable to take them from it, he went to that clan
from which this latter took wives, i.e., went by degrees to
the akhmal'ki of distant degrees of kinship, just as, within
the clan of the mother, in the absence of daughters in the
family of the mother's own brother, he went to the daughters
of the first, second, etc, cousins of the mother. Thus, the
distant akhmal'ki clans were, as it were, reserve clans of the

/44 cont./

614 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
178 ship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of
the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But
with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry
ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclu-
sive marriage within three clans became impossible, because
in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of
the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consi-
sequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It
was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri,
Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry
consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would be now
Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife
a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the
prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant
degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever
greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to
the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection
of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has
naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical informa-
tion one must have with regard to this complicated, confused
system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on
the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually,
this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates
himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

171 I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and
601 their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated
582 case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena
of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples
in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/45 cont./

174 But the details that I
582 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
601 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think,
of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage
which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
171 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
174 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
582 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datangi or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpūras in central
India where a marriage between male cousins and female
cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter
and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained
up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once
common clan organization similar to the one that I found
among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the
present time some scientists are skepti-
cal of even the actual fact of the dis-
covery of marriage norms identical
with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite
recently it was discovered that among
the Hottentot marriage is permitted
between a man and the daughter of
his mother's brother and, conversely, is
forbidden between a woman and a son
of her mother's brother (exactly as
among the Gilyak). While Kohler, pre-
senting this fact, and the author of the
article on Kohler's work in Année
Sociologique both doubt the possibility
of such norms, even though they were
known to McLennan. See J. Kohler,
"Das Recht der Hottentots," in
Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissen-
schaft. Vol. XVI. No. 3. pp. 341-342.
and L'Année Sociologique. 11th year. p. 306.

/46/

171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where a
[125] great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly de-
clares which men and women of the tribe have the right to
group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and dif-
ficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial
questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man
have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that
there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the de-
cisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individ-
ual person and became the function of a competent institution
of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among
many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single
[614] totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single
totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis,
every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife through-
out the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds
her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and
in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many
Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where
ascending and descending generations belong to different classes,
and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even in
the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the
fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details
from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this
strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from
clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs
(of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

/46 cont./

615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in
614 turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V)
582 would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e.,
Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of
one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third gen-
eration, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-
grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable ex-
[601] tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship
nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many cate-
gories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight
appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as,
for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters
of the wives of brothers tum out to be the same persons, just
like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-
in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems
to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on
certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we
have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must
marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably
arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group
marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibi-
tions.

2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the
583 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particu-
614 lar, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution
615 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Aus-
[171] tralians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange
forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant
of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again
our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must
take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We
shall remember that in the primitive stages of development
such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

/47 cont./

174 which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that
583 clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are
614 too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan
615 A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves
its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan,
even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this
imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of
the gods, of the ancestors, for such marriages with those
of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar
vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of
other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alterna-
tives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking
bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods /48/ to say
nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one stolen, or to
circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real inten-
tions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached
with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby
these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength,
while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does
everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real
coercion.

171 Only with such an explanation of abduction can we under-
174 stand why, for example, the Australian kumai, having allowed
583 their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit
after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear
and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain
this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bride-
groom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less
cruelly than her parents; by this he desires to show the gods, and
the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl
was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the
religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal
occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock ab-
duction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized
peoples.

/48 cont./

174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term ioth /iot; ioe yoth on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to
sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan
originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price.
583 The custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one stolen, a sin which demands atone-
615 ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
[682] the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
[682] eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same
blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
[192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that
the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted
woman bear the same name, tihuind, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
174 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently
583 happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from
clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan.
The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands for the
parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their
love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing
of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the supentiti-
ous spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and
begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the
comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is
an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him;
on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If
the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could
say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/54 cont./

825 The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a koatka, and
(662) when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly
bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it
with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the
koatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion. how-
ever. Sign of the deepest respect are shown toward any ani-
mal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals
are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea.
The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore. and
likewise the heads of other animals.

The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not
826 independent gods and even deities in general; they are
merely the subordinates of the real deities. the "masters" of
this or that element. this or that animal. These "masters"
in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who. accord-
ing to need assume the form of this or that animal. These
gods live in the forests. the mountains. and on the bottom of
the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak them-
selves. have wives children and relatives. like the Gilyak.
they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods.
"yg" - master. is in command. It is these masters who send
the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables. bears. salmon.
seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element
825 however. should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense.
826 It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there
are simply rich people and among them one kind that is
richest just as. in addition to the great gods-masters. every
territory. every stream. each has its own "master" who takes
care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods).
● (614) The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each
clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence. courage.
and cunning. and consequently richest is called "yg" (master).
and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

/57 cont./

823 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
(662) reserved for sacrifices. in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus.
thanks to the piece of candy. I. in the opinion of the Gilyak.
not only saved my life. but unexpectedly obtained for the
companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long
time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices. the objects of which are
dogs. A dog is killed. by strangulation. before the season of
sable hunting. during the bear festival. before departure for a
long journey. during sickness. and generally on the solemn oc-
casions of life. Before it is killed. it is fed. and at that time.
depending upon the circumstances. it is given one or another
796 mission. Thus. during the bear festival. the dog will be told:
"Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master
love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
(155) so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion
of sickness. it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man
before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy. whose soul. after its
death. will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

795 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
matter of fact. these gods play a most important role in the life
of the Gilyak. and it is most often to them that a bear or drowned
offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The
clan gods are of particular /58/ interest. because in this tribe
we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common
fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the
Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon.
The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical be-
795 ings. as among the Greeks and the Romans. but their very own
clansmen who. for a variety of reasons. have entered the clan
795 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
796 bination of circumstances. if I may express myself thus. is re-
quired to attain such an honor. if. while hunting. a Gilyak was
killed by a bear. if he fell prey to the waves on the water. if he
was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness.
if. according to the shaman's explanation. a woman died from

/58 cont./

795 a bear's love for her. etc. -- all such persons do not travel to
(614) the ordinary kingdom of the shades. but go over into the clan of
(662) the gods-masters who took a liking to them. of the mountain.
water. fire. etc. and then become the smallest "masters"
and protect their people. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i --
forest people. tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people. etc. took form. It
is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices.
These are not mythical gods. not the fictional heroes of the
Greek clans. but actual people. authentically living in the
614 imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods
614 of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of
825 primitive religions -- totemism. the worship of a certain class
of animals honored as the clansmen and even as masters of
their worshipers. In fact. as I said earlier. the master of each
element and his clansmen. although they lead the same kind
of life as the Gilyak. always appear in the presence of man
in the form of this or that animal. This bear (people).
the beluga or koatka (sea people). so that the Gilyak as well.
having entered after his death the clan of this or that master.
also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore.
this class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kinfred
to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem.
614 Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or pre-
decessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers
or at sea. a system of separate totems for every clan could
not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot con-
sider this vast question in more detail here: I shall say only
that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows
that it is not totemism. i.e.. not the belief in descent from
this or that /59/ kind of animal. that created the clan gods.
as is commonly thought. but. on the contrary. it is the clan
gods who created totemism. As we shall see below. we can-
not explain the prohibitions of the totemism against using
the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the
fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.
614 The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other
171 interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/59 cont./

● 614 as well as of the cult of ancestors. but I shall confine myself
here. for the time being. to what has been said. all the more
since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same
sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among
other. specifically totemistic tribes. for example. the
Australians. the North American Indians. the ancient
Egyptians. etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival. and they are placed
796 in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On
the next day the entire population of this clan sets out
in boats or. in case of a disturbance on the sea. on foot in the
taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan
sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish
and throws it. crying out at the same time. "Chibih!" i.e.
"This is for you!" After this the feasting. games. wrestling.
and other such diversions begin. In the spring. with the appear-
ance of the seals. the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is
arranged. consisting of the solemn killing of a seal into a
hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a
boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats
are decorated with sacred shawls. and gay races in them are
arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals. but
628 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
614 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak.
796 In fact. it is not overstatement to say that the Gilyak are
(614) clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses
and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role
is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it.
Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in
one place or another. assembling representatives of many clans
for a number of days. these occasions play the same role in the
social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other
games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is
called a game (chibyf-lekhemd -- the bear game).

/60/

796 This festival has already been described many times.
621 and therefore I shall consider for the most part those features
(769) that have not been noted before. First of all. it is remarkable
that ordinarily the festival is generally celebrated in memory
of a dead clansman. being a kind of funeral feast for the
deceased. A very close kinsman of the deceased buys for
money or catches for himself in the taiga a bear cub. which
is brought solemnly and amidst cries of joy into the sacred
the native village. Here a separate framework is built for
it out of thick poles and spars and decorated in the corners
with sacred items. The feeding of the cub is done. not by its
specific master. but by the entire clan: One or another family
in turn. takes the honored guest for the duration of the ap-
pointed time. cleans the framework. and in general takes
care of it in every way. On appointed days the bear is taken
from its cage for a walk. This is a great event in the life of
the settlement. taking many hours and giving extraordinary
pleasure to young and old. The procedure of getting the
bear out of the cage is quite complicated. First of all. while
the bear is asleep. the cage is carefully pushed through
through the spaces between the poles though which end in
quickly tightened nooses and are put on sticks. After this
they take away a few links of the top part of the cage. pro-
viding the bear with the opportunity to stick its head out:
then they put a stick into its mouth. which it violently
clenches with its teeth. and at this time they very tightly
bind its mouth. After this. it is calmly pulled out of the
cage. and an iron ring is put on it. clasping it at its neck.
Long things are attached to this ring on both sides. and
several men hold fast to them. pulling them hard in opposite
directions: they do not give the bear any opportunity to at-
tack the surrounding people. Only then do they free it of
its hobble and take it for a walk.

/61 cont./

796 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nar-vakhnku,
(769) the day of the preparation of the inau. i.e.. sticks with
sharpened ends. which play an important religious role in the
festival. These sticks. of various forms and sizes. represent
orators-intercessors. which. together with the slain bear will
set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the
needs of the Gilyak. and will be his talismans as well. Each
kind of inau is made in pairs: each pair is spouses. so that they
will be happier. and so that they will propagate and multiply.
Some of the inau are ornamented on both ends. on the posts of the
arena: some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
796 preparation of the inau takes place. the clan elder. together
614 with the master of the bear. and several clansmen ride out
to greet the so-called nar'kh'i. These nar'kh'i are honored
● (614) guests to antiry. His graciousness goes so far that when a
(182) guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vo-
mit. the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit.
It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In
intervals between feasting. dog races. games. fencing with
sticks. and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspen-
(60 G) log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and
275 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is
played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka. which lifts
(659) the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's gues
drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yester
the nar'kh'i got drunk two times." the master of a bear once
boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes. the day of de-
parture of the nar'kh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kind
of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are place
(782) on their sleds. At the last moment the nar'kh'i lead several
dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of hon
to the bear's skull. In addition. as a present. they put a spea
a thong. and other such items next to the head of the anima
or stuck into it. Again. in farewell. the nar'kh'i are lavishly

/65 cont./

796 On this day. however. no one is allowed to taste the prepar
614 bear meat. This takes place on the next day. which is calle
the day of treating the nar'kh'i (nar'kh-arin-ku). «The nar'kh'i
sat down ceremoniously along the plank bed. while
host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
(576) bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their
own hands. sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of
meat on the end of a piece. Having it to his neighbor to tast
(782) what he has started. Only the nar'kh'i are allowed to eat be
(614) meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed t
eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears'
carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous
quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
621 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vo-
it. the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit
It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In
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a thong. and other such items next to the head of the anima
or stuck into it. Again. in farewell. the nar'kh'i are lavishly

/38 cont./

82 78 It is not difficult to understand even the raison d'être of this institution which at first glance is strange and confusing.

82 14 Such a binding regulation of marriage conformed as much as possible to both the basic principles of the clan and the individual feelings of the separate heads of families. The clan, at its base, rests on the principle of blood unity. In an agnatic clan this unity will most ideally be attained if all the wives of the agnates are taken from one clan close in blood and, of course, from the clan of their ancestress. This not only satisfies the formal principle of the unity of blood, but confirms the unity of the cult of the ancestors in both lines, so important in the eyes of primitive man.

If we now turn our attention to the psychology of the individual members of the clan, it /39/ fully coincides with the clan where the sons, in accordance with the general rule, remain within the clan and take their wives from outside, it is natural that every mother prefers to have as a wife for her son a woman very close to her by blood and furthermore to assemble within her family women from that clan from which she herself comes. She cannot, however, marry her son to the daughter of her sister, for her sister is either a wife of her husband or of his brothers, and consequently the daughter of the latter is either an own sister or an agnate of her son; all that remains is to marry him to a daughter of her brother, as has become established in reality. For the entire aggregate of the women of a clan it is of tremendous interest that they are all of a common origin and feel behind them the solid protection of the whole clan from which they come.

Such a marriage (of a son to the daughter of his mother's brother is equally in the interests of the father, who thus marries his son to a kinswoman (praplemyanitsa) of his mother. Since the sister of the husband also desires, in turn, to marry her sons to the daughters of her brother, a mother cannot marry her daughters to the sons of her brother, and, thus, an exchange marriage, i.e., an exchange of women, between two such families was impossible, just like a marriage within a family.

/39 cont./

582 614 So far we have considered, as it were, the statics of the question; now let us turn to its dynamics. Let us see how from some very simple beginning, with inevitable necessity, as a mighty tree develops from a single seed, the controversial, confusing fabric of the Gilyak marriage and clan grew up.

The essence of the entire complex system of regulation of Gilyak marriage and the clan, and furthermore the key to understanding it, is a unique fact, namely, the principle established in its day that men must marry the daughters of their mother's brother, in other words, the daughters in each family belong from birth to the sons of their father's sister. We have already said something about the motives that could have given rise to this principle. In any case, its universal incumbency was guaranteed, no doubt, as the categorical imperative of the primitive religion.

This simple rule leads logically to the following:

1) Once every mother has the right to take for her sons the daughters of her brother, her daughters by the same right absolutely must enter the family of her husband's sister, in other words, /40/ every woman belongs to her first cousins, the sons of her father's sister. Therefore, a woman cannot marry the sons of her mother's brother, and a man cannot marry the daughters of a sister of his father: they cannot exchange the women of the family of a brother and of a sister. It is clear that this prohibition does not have anything to do with a fear of marriages within close degrees of kinship, because the daughter of the sister of my father is related to me in the same degree of kinship as the daughter of the brother of my mother, whereas marriage is prohibited with the first and obligatory with the second, a fact that is extremely important for the genesis of prohibitions within close degrees of kinship.

582 614 595 2) Once marriages between the daughters of a brother and the sons of a sister are obligatory, once the former necessarily belong to the latter, certain situations naturally arise in view of the normal quantitative inequality between persons of different sexes, in view of such possibilities, for example, as that a brother has one daughter while his sister has several sons, or, conversely, the brother has several

/71 cont./

796 or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the
●614 "zyat'ya" /sons-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons
married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was
796 never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place,
614 the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat
262 of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "narkh'i"
and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the
bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited
for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by
the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of
a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently
turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and
therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday?
In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be
criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "narkh'i"
this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears
to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them
to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

614 The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the
262 permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat
its head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the
171 rest of the meat may seem a strange and irresolvable contra-
diction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet
such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn
occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors,
while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat.
In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the
tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally pro-
hibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for
food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden
animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed
among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

/130 cont./

58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emi-
grations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[551] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
[553] ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" --
teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
●[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with
regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and
wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/
relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between
spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
*601 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
121 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
125 own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
[59] realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

/135 cont./

*601 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character.
184 Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are
197 completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother
(eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western
dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect
of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In
cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this
is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the
previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of
corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all
dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the
eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" --
female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect
has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in
exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect
has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding
az'nych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

[104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations
for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and terri-
tories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with
the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.),
the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of
the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always
use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship
*601 terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak
●614 reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic
104 family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous,
[611] agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the
mention of this or that term without any special indication of
whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that
these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases
the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

/136 cont./

●614 Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak
602 marriage law, relationship by marriage must coincide with
kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship,
which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The
first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin
from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted
into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into
the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate
kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which
the women -- agnates of a given clan -- are given in mar-
riage; the second embraces that clan or clans from which a
given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united
614 under the common name "k:khal-n'ig:yvyn" or simply k:khal --
615 the people of the clan, clansmen (from k:khal -- clan, n'ig:yvyn --
602 person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to
the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their
wives from the k:khal-n'ig:yvyn, these latter and their whole
clan are united under the common designation of akhmalk
(fathers-in-law) and, conversely, ymg:i (sons-in-law /zyat'ya,
"sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian/). On the other
hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., that
clan or those clans from which they themselves take women,
they are ymg:i (sons-in-law) and, conversely, akhmalk. Both
cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among
themselves, bear /137/ the characteristic designation pandf
(from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound
by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

[114] *[601] 1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously
asserts that kinsmen on the father's side,
i.e., agnates, members of one and the
same clan, call each other ngafk, and that
kinsmen on the mother's side call each
other amal'. In reality, both terms, on

/137 cont./

614 615 602 *601 114 the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

614 602 Thus, relationship by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come

614 *601 602 about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us proceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.

Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

[184] [197] 2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

/137 cont./

614 *601 602 all in the fact that it embraces persons of both sexes alike; it equally signifies brother and sister. Another peculiarity -- still more important -- consists in the fact that under tuvn are understood not only own brothers and sisters, i.e., the children of one father, but also the children of all brothers of the father, own and collateral of all degrees of kinship, i.e., male and female first cousins, second cousins, etc. in the male line. Thus, within the clan, all the male and female agnates of the same generation are brothers and sisters; male and female cousins in the male line and likewise a married woman and the wives of the brothers /138/ of her husband are tuvn

*601 602 in relation to each other. But a man, as we shall see, can have tuvn outside his clan as well, namely, the children of those persons outside his clan whom he calls father and mother (see the class of fathers and mothers). Within this class there is one large and important subdivision that plays a leading role in both terminology and sexual norms, namely, the one for those persons who are older than the speaker or person referred to and persons younger than he, namely, "akand, aki" -- elder brother or sister (tuvn) and "as'khand, as'kh" -- younger brother or sister (tuvn). For the designation of the elder sister, in view of the peculiarity of her position in sexual rights, there is in addition the term "nanakhand, nanakh, nankh" -- identically used in reference to her by both men and women. Certain special terms for separate categories of this class, however, have been developed. Thus, there is a general term to designate the concept of "sister" in the class sense, namely, ranr: (same root as rankh -- sister). One meets (very rarely, however, and only in poetry) the term "kivung, kiun" -- brother (1). Descriptive forms are

[538] 1. "Chikhvs' kivung khendra" -- "I considered you a brother," says the heroine to her beloved in one song. "Kiun" could also be formed from the rare form akikhun.

/139 cont./ Every Gilyak, man and woman,

*601 [184] uses one and the same term for "mother" (ymk and synonyms), not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

[197] [563] 1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of persons of the akhmalk class (concerning this, see below).

[197] [184] [614] The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in use for wife in both dialects is an'kh, an'g:ej. Within the clan the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younger "brothers" (as'kh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevestka, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant

[171] number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

/140 cont./

*601 the other nankh and as'kh -- older "sister," and, conversely, -- younger "sister."

The class of husbands. The class of husbands corresponds to the terminology of the foregoing class -- "wives." Within the

[614] clan of her husband the woman gives the name of "husband" (pu, ivn, o'kono, etc.), not only to her official husband, but also to the representatives of the class of his "brothers" (tuvn),

*601 184 197 with, however, the following variations. The eastern Gilyak and a part of the western Gilyak differentiate between the younger "brothers" (tuvn) of the husband and the elder ones; a woman calls the former pu, ivn, o'kono, i.e., as her own formal husbands, and she calls the latter atk. The Gilyak of northern Sakhalin and the shoreline of the continent do not differentiate between the younger and older brothers of the husband, calling them alike pu, o'kono. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special uniform designation for all the brothers of the husband -- n'orej (= n'i -- my + orej -- husband), a term which sounds like the Goldi kinship term oro.

*601 614 The class of the descending line. The class of the descending line within the clan, the class og:lang, og:la, is completely defined by the foregoing terms of the class of fathers and mothers. Within his clan every man gives the name of og:la, not only to his own children born of his official wives, but also to all the children of his "brothers" (tuvn), just as /141/ a woman gives the name og:la not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term og:la is applied not only to the first generation of individuals, but also to all the generations in the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole class of tuvn. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term og:la not only to his own children and agnate nephews, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandsons, great-grandsons, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "atk" defines all the generations above father and mother.

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[974] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
[562] for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which
imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and
therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the
bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below);
2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the
slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and
through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this
is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of
all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with
a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the
bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master,"
a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives
its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains"
himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides
in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent
through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master,"
but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteris-
tic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the
first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the
festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of
women who are wives of the members of that clan are not
allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/141 cont./

*601 In addition to the stated normative cases, the term og:la is frequently applied outside of the rule as a term of endearment to other categories. Thus, a woman frequently applies this term to the son of the sister of her husband, while a man applies it to the son of the brother of his wife, although normally completely different designations are established for these persons.

We shall note two more special forms of designation in this class: one is a descriptive designation of a "kinsman" of the descending line -- os'kyr: og:la -- and one designates primogeniture, ykych, but neither of these terms play any role in either the general system of terminology or the sexual norms.

*601 602 ●614 Cognate kinship. Now we shall proceed to the kinship terms for persons outside the clan, to cognate kinship, which is the key of this system. We have already said that in the Gilyak kinship system relationship by marriage and blood (cognate) kinship are identical, that a special kinship through relationship by marriage is not known to the Gilyak classificatory system. For a better understanding of this strange fact, we begin our survey of kinship outside of the clan with kinship through the mother, that is, with kinship with members of the clan and the whole clan from which the mother of a person came.

First of all, it is noteworthy that all the sisters (tuvn) of my mother, not only own, but also of the class of "mothers," are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of my father and of his class of tuvn. Corresponding to this, all the "sisters" (tuvn) of my mother and of my class of "mothers" are also my "mothers" (ymk), while I and my "brothers and sisters" (tuvn) are their "children" (og:la). On the other hand, my relations to the brother of my mother and his tuvn are even more important. Just as my father calls all the "sisters" of my mother his "wives" (an'g:ej), so I (if "I am a man) from birth call all the daughters of the brother of my mother and their "sisters" (tuvn) -- an'g:ej -- my "wives," and, conversely, they call me their husband (pu); their children call me "father" (ytk), my official wife --

/141 cont./

*601 602 ●614 mother (ymk), while /142/ we call them our "children" (og:la). As for the remaining clansmen and kinsmen of the brother of my mother, the following terminology has been established. If "I" am a man, I and all my "brothers" -- tuvn and my descending line call the brother of my mother and all his male clansmen -- atk, akhmalk (uncle, father-in-law /wife's father/); the wife of the brother of my mother, her "sisters," and the wives of the tuvn of the brother of my mother, as well as the wives of the ascending line of the brother of my mother achk, ytik -- aunt, mother-in-law /wife's mother/, grandmother; the sons of the brother of my mother and his tuvn -- akhmalk, navkh; conversely, all these persons call me -- ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) navkh; my wives, as well as the wives of my clansmen, these persons, according to generation, call either "sisters" (tuvn) or "daughters" (og:la), but our sisters and daughters -- by the one term "niece," n'ern, and, finally, all my clansmen call all the male clansmen of the brother of my mother akhmalk (father-in-law /wife's father/), and, conversely, -- ymg:i -- son-in-law -- a survival from the time when there was exchange marriage. This last term is very characteristic; it is from the same root as umgu -- woman, oma -- mother, and testifies to the fact that the term son-in-law /zyat'/ is associated with the idea of cognate kinship, with kinship through the mother.

But especially noteworthy is the fact that the kinship terminology established between me and the generation of the brother of my mother is not limited to the individuals of our common generation, but is correspondingly repeated as well between the persons of all our ascending and descending lines, so that if I, a man, call the daughter of the brother of my mother my an'g:ej, so does my father in turn call his sister, i.e., the daughter of the father of my mother's brother, "wife" -- an'g:ej. In the same way, my son calls the daughter of the son of my mother's brother his "wife," etc., in a word, it is as though every wife of a clansman were actually the daughter of the sister of his father /sic./

/142 cont./

*601 602 ●614 Thus, kinship through the mother establishes, not partial kinship of the family of her husband with her own family, but an indivisible kinship between both clans, extending to each member of each of them. If my clan is A, and the clan of the brother of my mother is B, the latter, as a whole, will be called the akhmalk of A, while A, in its turn, is the ymg:i of B. And, what is especially noteworthy, this relationship remains permanently between both clans. Clan B can no longer under any circumstances be converted into the ymg:i of A. This is evident from the reciprocal terminology of the clans. The designation "akhmalk" of clan B originated, as we have seen, from the fact that members of clan A have whole classes of "wives" (an'g:ej) in this clan; conversely, among the women of clan A the males of clan B only have either sisters (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or /143/ "nieces" (n'ern), but not "wives" (an'g:ej), and for this reason, clan B cannot become A's akhmalk.

The terminology for kinship through the mother defines another form of cognate kinship -- kinship through the sister of the father. As long as she remains in my clan, I call her by the agnate term nankh (elder sister, aunt), and she calls me as'kh (younger brother), but upon marriage she and the clan of her husband stand in the same relation to me and my clan as I and my clan stand in relation to the clan of the brother of my mother, i.e., the husband of the sister of my father and his "brothers" (tuvn) call all the sisters of my father "wives" (an'g:ej), and, conversely, they are called "husbands" (pu); my daughters and those of my tuvn are the an'g:ej of the sons of the sister of my father and their tuvn and are the jokh (daughters-in-law) of all the ascending line of the husband of the sister of my father; the men of my clan, according to the class of the ascending line, are either the atk, akhmalk, or the akhmalk, navkh of the clansmen of the husband of my father's sister, while they are our ymg:i, navkh, and the women of that clan are either our agnates -- "aunts" (nankh), "sisters" (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or "nieces" (n'ern); in a word, my clan is the akhmalk clan, while the clan of the sister of my father is the ymg:i clan to us.

/143 cont./

*601 602 ●614 The terminology of this group is the central point of the whole kinship terminology, for it is according to its pattern, i.e., the pattern of the kinship relations between a man and the brother of his mother, that the entire kinship nomenclature of the marriage relationship in general is constructed. Whomever the Gilyak marries, between him and his clan on the one hand, and his wife and her clan on the other, the kinship terminology established is the same as if his wife were really the daughter of the brother of his mother. Conversely, whomever a Gilyak may give his sister to in marriage, the entire kinship terminology established between the clans is the same as if the brother-in-law /zyat'/ were truly the son of the sister of his father. This is why Gilyak terminology does not recognize kinship through relationship by marriage, for the father-in-law /wife's father/ in any case is the same as the son of the brother of the grandmother, a man's brother-in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of his father, the father of the brother-in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of the grandfather, and so forth. And, consequently, all members of both clans are blood kinsmen.

Thus, keeping in mind the kinship nomenclature of the group of the brother of the mother and the sister of the father, we have a ready scheme for any marriage combination between a husband and the clan of his wife, between a wife and the clan of her husband, between a man and the clan of his married sister, etc. According to this scheme, the relationship of a man toward the clan of his wife, whoever she may be de facto in origin, must, as a general rule, be the following: my father-in-law and /144/ his ascending line, as well as the corresponding classes of their tuvn, are related to me as atk and akhmalk, their wives -- achk, their descending line of the male sex -- akhmalk and navkh; I am their ymg:i, navkh. The sisters of my akhmalk'i are my mothers (ymk), their husbands -- my "fathers" (ytk), I am the son (og:la) of both; similarly the "sisters" (tuvn) of my wife are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of myself and my "brothers" (tuvn), their husbands are my "brothers" (tuvn). Their children call each of us "father" (ytk)

/144 cont./

*601 602 ●614 and "mother" (ymk), and call each other "brothers" (tuvn). On the other hand, my sisters and daughters are simply nieces to the men of the clan of my father-in-law, and therefore no one from the clan of my father-in-law can become an ymg:i of my clan.

[178] At the present time in certain instances breaches have begun to appear in this well-shaped, though strange system of relationships between the son-in-law /zyat'/ and the clan of the father-in-law, specifically, when some clansman takes a wife who is not from the clan of his mother or is not even from the customary akhmalk clan, in the case of certain clans the terminology loses force in the third generation, but this is a deviation of the newest order.

*601 614 Now, before we finish with this system, we must underline two more important peculiarities still further complicating this already complicated system. We have seen that the relationship between the akhmalk and ymg:i clans remains constant, so that the members of the first clan -- let us call it A (if A is the akhmalk of B, then B is the akhmalk of a third clan, C, and gives its daughters to the third clan) -- must, in turn, have their own akhmalk clan or even clans (let us call it C), while the second clan (let us call it B) must have its own ymg:i clan or even clans (D). Thus, the following kinship terminology is established between these four clans: Clan A gets new ymg:i clans (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/) in the person of the D clans, while clan B gets new akhmalk clans in the person of the C clans. These secondary clans, in distinction from the first, are called tujma (distant); for example, tujma akhmalk -- distant father-in-law, tujma ymg:i -- distant son-in-law /zyat'/.

Finally, in view of the fact that at the present time it is not prohibited for various persons of one clan to take wives from various clans, each such marriage establishes in relation to each new clan a whole complex fabric of akhmalk-ymg:i terminology, i.e., each clan as a whole can be the akhmalk and ymg:i of a whole series of clans.

/150 cont./

684 for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all
this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual
836 relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with
[583] the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction,
even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwith-
standing their extreme interest in the bride price which is re-
ceived when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen
[684] to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part
of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion;
582 then there is the possibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also,
at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying
a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship.
835 It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the
classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the
scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions.
Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears
on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical im-
perative of religion, under the influence of which there have
developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially
created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell
on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when
we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms
of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "an'gïej," that is, /151/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

835 What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the
614 extensive class of ŋkhal, i.e., the persons born into one
common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely
exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are
no classes that call each other "pu" and "an'gïej"; neither
marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

/151 cont./

835 And therefore we must come out in the most categorical
• 614 manner against the assertion of Schrenck that the Gilyak clan
114 is endogamous. "Affiliation to the clan," says Schrenck,
"does not play any role whatever in the most important
phenomenon of their life, namely, in marriage... the Gilyak
freely permit marriages between Gilyak of one and the same
kal'a (clan)" (1). Elsewhere he states even more definitely:

1. Schrenck, II, pp. 23, 24.

"only own brothers and sisters and the children of two own
brothers cannot marry" (2). This absolutely false assertion

2. Ibid., p. 6.

would be completely incomprehensible coming from an in-
vestigator who had spent about two years in contact with the
Gilyak, if it were not for the fact that Schrenck did not com-
mand the Gilyak language and had to make himself under-
stood through a guide. On the basis of many years of asso-
ciation with the Gilyak, in their own language, and of an
especially thorough study of marriage law, I can categorically
refute this absolutely groundless and antiscientific assertion
of Schrenck's; both marriage and sexual relations between
persons born in one clan are absolutely forbidden.

835 We turn now to the particular classes, within as well as
outside of the clan, which are excluded from the right of
sexual relations and marriage.

Class of the ascending and descending lines. Classes whose members call each other atk, achik, ytk, ymk, nankh, and, conversely, ogila, i.e., the classes of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, agnates and cognates, uncles and aunts -- on one hand, on the other -- their descendants. Thus, intercourse between ascending and descending lines is excluded not only in the direct, but also in the most distant collateral lines as well: sexual intercourse

/154 cont./

835 class terms, i.e., the norms in force between the children
of a brother and sister extend to the children of brothers and
sisters in the most distant degrees of kinship and relationship
by marriage. Thus, an exchange marriage between the
children of brothers and sisters, as is practiced, for example,
among the Tungus peoples, is not permitted; sons have rights
to the daughters of the brother, but the sons of the brother are
prohibited for the daughters of the sister, and this is true for all
classes of tuvn. This norm, which seems of specialized im-
• [614] portance and affects only brothers and sisters, plays an enor-
mous role in the norms regulating the sexual relations between
entire clans, as we shall see in the next section.

835 It is especially surprising that the aforementioned pro-
614 hibitions which regulate the relations between the children
of brother and sister are extended not only to the class of
their children -- cousins, but also to both clans in their en-
tirety. The rights and prohibitions which bind together the
children of a brother and of his sister and their cousins extend
to all the generations of both clans; namely, in each generation,
as we have seen in the foregoing section, all the men of the
class of tuvn in the clan of the sister and all the women --
tuvn in the clan of the brother call each other reciprocally
from birth pu and an'gïej, and they, in fact, have the right to
sexual intercourse and marriage. But the men from the clan
of the brother and the women from the clan of the sister are
absolutely prohibited for each other in all generations and call
each other nanakh (elder sister) if she is in an ascending gen-
eration, and n'ern if in the same generation, while the
women call these men akhmalk. Thus, the women from the
clan of the married sister are prohibited for the entire clan
of her brother. It is still more surprising that these norms
extend to the clans of the son-in-law /zyat'/ and father-in-
law in general, even though the fathers of the spouses are
completely alien; it is enough for one member from clan A,
let us say, to marry a woman from clan B, even though this
woman and the members of her clan are completely alien to

/154 cont./

835 clan A, and the relations established between these two clans
• 614 are the same as if the father-in-law of the given man were the
brother of his mother; the whole class of "sisters" (tuvn) in
each generation of the clan of the father-in-law are the
wives of the "brothers" (tuvn) of the clan of the son-in-law
/zyat'/, and, conversely, the wives of the latter are pro-
hibited for the former.

/155/ The kinship nomenclature corresponds completely
to these norms; atk, akhmalk -- designate the mother's
brother and the father-in-law in general, ymgïi designates
the son-in-law /zyat'/ in general and the sister's son or
even any male of the sister's clan. This norm leads to very
complicated consequences. It very often happens that separate
members of one or another clan, A, we shall say, have taken
wives from several different clans and in turn have given their
women to several different clans, and at once in relation to
all these clans those same prohibitions that we had in the first
case when there were only two clans concerned, become valid
for clan A, i.e., the women of clan A are forbidden to all
the clans from which its members have taken their wives, and,
conversely, the women of all clans whose members have taken
wives from A are forbidden to clan A. This inconvenient
regulation is aggravated still more by the following limita-
tion. Clan B, let us suppose, from which my clan, A, takes
women, in turn takes wives from clan C, and at once this
clan C, having become the akhmalk of clan B becomes also
the akhmalk of my clan, A, and therefore wives from my
clan are forbidden not only to clan B, my immediate akhmalk,
but also to clan C, which, as we have seen, is called, in
contradistinction to the first, "tujma akhmalk" -- (distant
father-in-law), and on the Amur -- turŋ'gï akhmalk. But
this phenomenon also has its converse side. If the quantity
of prohibited clans for this or that clan increases proportion-
ately as the number of clans which take women from it in-
creases, nevertheless, on the other hand, as its members be-
gin to take wives from various clans, the number of permitted

835 /155 cont./
• 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-
[198] law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new
[161] class of wives -- an'gïej. Nevertheless, the extension of
prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree
has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with
a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely
understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of
the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the
present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk
of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives
from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the
second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless,
then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men,
called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we
know that a man gives this name to two completely different
classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of
wives of his ogila (descending line), and, on the other hand,
to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger
brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the
first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in
examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending gen-
erations and the wives of those of descending ones. The pro-
hibited character of the second category is not so absolute.
From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the
wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced
[184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the
coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of
Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation
(an'gïej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of
the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is
permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement
is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be
considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as
an'gïej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

/161 cont./

835 All these categories of "wives" and "husbands" are fo
[601] from nominal /162/ categories. Behind these class term
(pu and an'gïej) there are hidden two important real right
1) the right to individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual
intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular.
The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categor
pu and an'gïej are bound by the right to marry, in other w
out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinsh
terms, only these alone have the right to join in individu
marriage with each other; all the other categories of kins
groups are prohibited from marrying each other. But this
right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature -- t
absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly
the eyes of the Gilyak the mnemonic significance of these
terms is of great importance in itself, for in view of the e
treme complexity of kinship relations a firm knowledge o
the marriageable classes is the only guarantee against vio
tions of the very strict taboos on marriage in the prohibite
degrees of kinship. Nevertheless the mnemonic-permissi
significance of these terms does not at all exhaust their le
content. Prohibitions against marriage, as we have seen,
absent also among persons who are complete strangers to
each other in the kinship relation, and nevertheless, for
persons of these categories to call each other pu and an'gï
before marriage is not tolerated. The right to individual
marriage between persons in the pu and an'gïej categories
is not a naked nudum jus; this right, which is simultaneo
an obligation, is a debt for both parties concerned. This
ligation is seen first of all in the category of "brothers" a
their individual wives, who are, as we know, joined mut
in the relationship of pu and an'gïej. By the general rule
• [587] widows of "brothers" (own and collateral) cannot leave th
[614] clan, and they become, according to the disposition of th
clansmen, the wives of the brothers who have survived the
husbands, completely independently of the wishes of these
brothers; none of them can decline the widow assigned to

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In those clans where the "older brothers" are excluded from marriage with respect to the wives of "younger brothers," the widows are ordinarily assigned to one of the "younger brothers" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brothers," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the widow, without the right, however, to sexual intercourse with her.

But the typical aspect of the marriage-rights relation between the *pu* and *ankyel* is not concealed in this extremely common institution of the levirate, about which /165/ we will speak in detail. The levirate marriage is not even a less exceptional phenomenon and embraces only one insignificant side of the relationship. The more characteristic aspect of the right-obligations of marriage between *pu* and *ankyel* lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the kinship terminology, in other words, in the conditions of the normal marriage. This right-obligation character of marriage between *pu* and *ankyel* has, it is true, been considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall speak further on — the Gilyak do take wives outside of the aforementioned categories, but these marriages seem do not represent the favored, characteristic form, even even the contemporary marriage. On the contrary, both the contemporary customs and the ancient epos equally indicate that perfect marriage between these classes of *pu* and *ankyel* marriage was obligatory and the most satisfactory of all from the specific point of view of the Gilyak. In order to show how imperative this consciousness of the obligation of marriage between persons of the classes *pu* and *ankyel* is, it will be sufficient to introduce one example from a story I recorded. In this story, they tell about a battle between a young clan and a mysterious werewolf-shaman. The fight ends with the werewolf-in-chief receiving a mortal wound and returning to his yurt. On his deathbed he remembers that he is a distant *akhmak* of his target, that is, a member of that clan from which the clan of the killer has the right to take wives, and of the very category of persons of that clan whose daughters

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are the *ankyel* of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the slayer to "take my daughter into his house, that is, "the sister whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow into his house, and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my wish after my remains." Such is the force of the ancient categorical imperative of marriages between the categories of *pu* and *ankyel*. This imperative is also active nowadays. We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connection with the theory of marriage later on. For our purpose now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each other either *ankyel* or younger "sister" or "aunt" and "niece"; 2) all the agnate kin of the wife are considered, according to generation, the "father-in-law" of all the clansmen of this /167/ family; 3) the man calls the sister of his "father-in-law" his "mother," and he calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife (*ankyel*). Judging from this, 1) the wives of all the members of a given clan must be taken from one stock, and, consequently, in each generation they are sisters (own and collateral). 2) the clan of these women, for each individual man, is the clan of his mother, and the wife of each individual man, must be the daughter of his mother's brother. This we see in actuality, notwithstanding all the deviations of modern times, the causes of which will be made clear later. The ideal of the clansmen is to have women from one clan, from one clan of common *akhmak*s. If this turn out to be impossible and it is necessary to take to wife another clan, then once again it is preferably to that clan which is already the *akhmak* of a given clan; that is, that clan for which the individual clansmen, fathers and grandfathers, at an earlier date took their wives for same reason or other. Under these conditions, for each individual person the most favored

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by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward a young, beautiful, and pleasant *ankyel* the "father-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law." "I run to this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" is always welcome in his father-in-law's house, a favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

We have already stated that the Gilyak youth loudly and happily pass their time in the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," finding in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest hospitality, and when the hunting begin, that "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to the usual gifts, also his share of the catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "son-in-law" are in the foreground among those who are invited, and it is to them that the honor of killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in warfare, the "father-in-law" and the "son-in-law" are obliged to come to the aid of each other in battle.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "fathers-in-law" and "son-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law." "Father-in-law" (*ankyel*) and "mother-in-law" are the whole set of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan which is the *akhmak* of a man's blood relatives, but also all the other clans from which even one kinsman has chanced to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

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"Thus, each man can have several clans of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, according to generations, are considered *ankyel* — his wives and his sons-in-law, his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this relationship is established.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations *pu* and *ankyel* have played and still play an enormous role, symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage — one of the many benefits which the clan institution has given to the Gilyak.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of this institution of the right to marriage at the present time. For the overwhelming majority of the Gilyak, marriage is the most difficult matter of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in the /172/ epic "it is a business of unusual difficulty." First of all, there is the extreme shortage in women among the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the census that I took, for every 1,000 male inhabitants there are 700 females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is 694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there are 800 females, and, according to the census, this significant percentage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthier individuals, keep from two to four wives. Therefore, a pregnant maiden is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father, who demands either that the same the seducer, or the destruction of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infants. However fatal the moral position of individual women is in such cases, in practice the business /173/ is much simpler. In the first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from childhood on, and, in the second place, they have the same desire as few women that every girl is already married by the time seductions become dangerous for them. Finally, those who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

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know, and *ymgal* is the closest person to an *akhmak* and to his wife. An *ymgal* is a preferred hunting companion (another and wife). He is the dearest guide, the closest friend, the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers-in-*akhmak*s /175/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the *ymgal* is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry, make hearts' content. And in such surroundings there are dozens of maidens — his *ankyel*, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

Now we shall turn to the relations of the *pu* with their *ankyel*s.

In the kinship terminology we know that a man's married *ankyel* is his wife, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (*tunyi*), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refer to all men, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect — only to the elders; further — all the married "sisters" of his own wife, finally, the married sisters of the wives of his *tunyi* — a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the clans of Gilyak settlements. Concerning these last two groups — the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives — one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak life, the sisters marry persons of the clan to which their husbands belong, but, due to deviation from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a complete stranger, or even to someone who is an accidental *akhmak* (1).

1. An accidental *akhmak* is what I call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

by chance taken a wife secretly, rather than from the clan from which all the kinsmen usually take a wife.

In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the terminology as well, are the same. Among the majority of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women is legitimate, the participants call each other *pu* and *ankyel*, and their children call each other *tunyi* and the sons of their mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and "fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who are neighbors of the Amur, the arrangements is different: the sister of a man's wife marries his *akhmak*, then sexual intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an *akhmak*, is absolutely prohibited, and the husband of the sister calls her *achik* (mother-in-law). But if she marries a completely alien man, then the relations between them are as between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, however, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases, even in such /174/ relations, considered to be *tunyi* (brothers) (1).

1. I shall give an example which depicts very well both the relation of such *tunyi* (i.e., the children of sisters whose husbands are aliens to each other) among themselves and their mutual relations towards their wives.

Wremgin and Hibi are individuals of two different clans (*ekhal*), one from the clan of Kiyu, the other from the clan Khoi, but their mothers were *tunyi*, i.e., sisters from one and the same clan. And

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1 Shtenberg—280 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910/1933 RKE Gilyak RKE

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nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that their fathers and they themselves are not persons of alien clans, they call each other *tyrn*, because their fathers were married to sisters and hold the same sexual intercourse, *aqd*, as *tyrn*, they do not date of intercourse as joke with each other (see below, the prohibitions); their wives are considered *yuk* (sisters) to their children, and HIM, as did younger, has the right to sexual intercourse with the wife of Wrength.

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levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is, according to the decision of the clan council, to any character the ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural and only to be feared. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a female dog, as the animal most proper to personify the same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories stay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how *Ykhl* her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her brother, and called her father a "devil," and how all — her mother, father, and sisters — urged upon her the absence of the individual spouse (mutually, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the two cousins might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husband or group-wife of his fellow enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own interest usually only in the case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group *yukqtr*, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

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Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tribal groups that may be completely alien to each other, call each other each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, *Gdagdgn*, as well as a complete stranger, my "father-in-law," and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-law the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the sixtieth and more, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry men of my clan, but women from his side, from his clan, take a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? Why we could do apparently perfectly normal only in case a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clan complexity alien to him have some about "his confusion and apparent absurdity can be explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and logical system of kinship, as we know it, has been changed, then, also created around itself by a peculiarity natural to the human mind, a complex and complicated system. On the other hand, under the influence of historical conditions that are still not sufficiently clear, the

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847 *174 171 murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-known among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the number of males is greater there than the number of females.

583 *174 10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of bride price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen among the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother.

582 *174 In order that such an essentially exogamous system might be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating themselves the various families of the phratry should be able to maintain themselves on the common territory; and, on the other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the families, and that there should be no cases of extinction of entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore, some degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor. Finally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic conditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the members of the phratry would remain more or less the usual phenomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the influence of new economic conditions there should not be engendered one or another temptation to make woman the object of purchase and sale.

*174 614 178 166 [582] The preservation of all these conditions among primitive peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a whole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial abode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

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161 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We
177 are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families,
614 but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This
731 process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an im-
174 mediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

161 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and
614 various other causes. Although according to the interclan
72 rules the women are spared and the number of men who are
174 killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

174 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more
177 highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The
[582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

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* 835 At the present time, when it is permitted to take wives
601 from different clans, all the brothers (own and collateral) are still the group husbands of their wives, who often turn out to be sisters. And we have seen that even when sisters marry persons of different clans all the consequences of group-marriage are still preserved, and their children are considered brothers and sisters.

The structure of the Gilyak family thus affords us the
[114] opportunity to establish the very genesis of the Hawaiian family, from which Morgan constructed the punalua family. This family originally did not consist of a group of several brothers who were married to their wives in a group marriage, or, on the other hand, of several sisters in a group marriage with their husbands, who might be non-kin to each other. Such a family could not have created the Turanian classificatory system of kinship, for it presupposes the possibility of several groups of brothers or sisters, each group participating completely independently in a group marriage in which the other groups did not share; consequently, common designations for all the brothers according to their marital relations could not have been formed.

* 835 The Gilyak family in its pure, original form gives us an
● 614 actual picture of this family. The family is an intraclan
* 174 organization. Therefore, each group-family represents a generation of all the brothers of a given clan (own and collateral) joined in a group marriage with a whole generation of women from another clan. These women are necessarily sisters, for the daughters of clansmen-brothers, as we have seen, are necessarily the wives of the sons of the sisters of their fathers. Now when, as we have seen, by virtue of
[108] /226/ the causes that we have mentioned, this marital obligation became weakened, and brothers began to take wives from different clans and women began to marry into different clans, sisters might turn out to be members of a group marriage with husbands who were not kin to each other, and brothers in the same kind of marriage with wives

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* 835 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the
* 174 collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans,
● 614 would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua
108 family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since
* 835 the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the punalua
601 family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the
* 174 most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the
[114] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

* 835 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed
601 under conditions where brothers had common wives, and
* 174 sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the
171 Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the
601 Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil,
171 a man calls his wife en mainavi, the wife of his brother enanni, en maittuni, the sister of his wife en korlunti, en maittuini; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

/237 cont./

I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are predominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of the Amur region.

In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen and dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essentially similar in their classificatory system and norms of marriage. As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /paternitetа/. In each generation of a given clan, the men and women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The children of these classes are common sons and daughters and brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"brothers," own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i.e., the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obligatory.

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who are married to members of another clan, but, by analogy with the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage includes only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects group marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right not only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wives of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely, aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters of the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of nieces is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

/247 cont./

weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their emotional energy should be principally directed toward sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news, the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/265 cont./

preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says: n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/270 cont./

192 584 [199] orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 602 [593] Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and frequently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

584 602 614 [556] [583]

584 554 556 [533] The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and renowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

595 584 614 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

593 584 614 [602] /271 cont./

The bride is customarily represented by the father and mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality.

593 584 [538] In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief. In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son informs him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, replies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also, that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is no smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father. This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish this, is it for me to contradict!" But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

584 184 [593] [562]

[171] 1. It is interesting to note that among the Negda, whose customs, as a result of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

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583 554 735 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

[183] [614] [476] 583 554 452 735 583 735 554

583 614 [627] As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

/281 cont./

583 584 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry. Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 614 [686] /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 686 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

[596]

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117 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yugin. His clan is
614 also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that
103 one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese
[169] came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a
[363] hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymi-fing.

117 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from
103 the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli --
173 from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

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117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language, and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hóinchá) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchajl on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

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117 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
103 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
173 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in
539 different directions. Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

117 Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
103 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
361 ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
614 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
[103] their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /288/ (from chozmudz: -- to
[361] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:nŋ? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

117 Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
103 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
614 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

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117 Settlement of Pilavo-khez' (five kilometers from Chil'mi).
103 In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khez'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

Settlement of Tebakh (Tevkh in Gilyak). Three yurts in
117 all, about 30 persons. The Arkhong clan -- Ainu; came from
103 Kosunaya on the Ptonga and set takh -- a sharpened stick; from
162 behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of Iski. The Arkhong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Akhcha, Chil'mi (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Ignan together with the Arkhong who live in Akhcha constitute one clan: in Akhcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

117 Settlement of Machala, opposite Khez'; two yurts of
103 Negidal (1910). In 1896 the Khez'-ping and the Negidal (Ry) lived here.

Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about
117 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Uigryf. In it, the
103 clans: 1) Tva-bing (Tva was the settlement beyond Mkhyl' near
162 Pat). 2) Aimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Mariinsk. They
614 used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the fire -- tuur rodzz -- "to make a fire." There they became Ornyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Korsakov to Tevkh and Kal'vo. There are two old lezing here, and also one in each of the following places: Kaki, Mago, Vasin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Pyri-fing clan (two yurts), an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Amgun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tuuz; in Ukhta -- the Olcha (1910).

Settlement of Nykikh Khez'bin (one from Pilavo), on the
117 channel Nyy Machalŋ. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Amgun
103 N'askhagil, who in Gilyak are called N'as'khon. Two from
162 Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

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117 Settlement of Kal'ga (the Gilyak Kalvo). Two clans:
103 1) Four yurts Lezing-ran-tva-bing (from lezing + tan, -- maste
614 The Lezing-ran are a Tva-bing generation (hyn'izlykh nyz'i). They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarrel while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlvo. Now they are in Eg:li (Yali) and in Mago. 2) Pyrifing: three Lezing and three Uigryf (1910). One woman, Ry -- umgu -- female Negidal. 3) Lezgrang from the Sakhalin Tamlvo. 4) The Pyrifing Ornyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5) Narmlang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Mokraya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Narmlang (Ornyr:) -- Pyrifing (Ygdymsyl from Kizi', where there are man Here, three houses of them; they have lived here for four gen-
[162] erations. 2) Lezgrang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gi seem to have come from the Amgun (hynk) and settled down o the Amur. One Uigryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mot'-tan (Ornyr:); 2) Lezgrang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three famili (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgrang, 2) Pyrifing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyv from the Tym' River, 5) Narmlang, 6) Pnarnung (1896).

Yoom-bal' -- a mountain six and a half kilometers abo Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, ther is a small bay, and beyond it a high bank with bare white k:aned'zh dzif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy), in 1896 there were three cla 1) Keg:n, 2) Hirlung (Hirlung and Shafping), 3) Lumr-ping. N only 12 Ornyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 13 Sha and 7 Lumr-ping are left. The Keg:n -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were t brothers, the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was follo

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clan to change residence and to withdraw more and more from their kinsmen. Before my eyes, in the course of a few years, whole clans -- family after family -- in search of more advantageous hunting and fishing sites, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tym' to Taraika (in the territory of the Ainu), to the Amur, etc. Discord between clansmen and wars play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we saw what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the Pilavo clan that we introduced; from /201/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyak territory, bordering on the Ainu, they migrated first to the northernmost part of the western shore, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they became completely Goldified. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any ties among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old phratral marital relations has been completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place even now. This is precisely the reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyak must travel hundreds of versts to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and willy-nilly there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and to marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old phratry.

If it is not just unmarried individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-nilly begin to enter into marital unions with the nearer clans.

/266 cont./

174 611 614 186 reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 184 614 611 Usually at the present time children are given names according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 611 174 [582] [614] All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

/269 cont./

584 582 my children and your children also be akh
not give your daughter to my son, you wi
the old law, that will be bad. Let us do e
ing to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does an
even though this obligation entails the loss
such cases they either do not give a bride
a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage.

177 178 614 433 556 [582] circumstances led to the destruction of ort
in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the cau
lation of the clans from which they took w
pelled them to marry women of alien clan
perhaps the most important, was an econo
about by their contact with the cultured p
East, a contact which gave impetus to the
hunting pursuits for commercial exchange.
formerly had no value, such as the skins o
became objects for which one might obtai
of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuab
ornaments, but also food and spices, such
and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even
Gilyak clearly remember the time when sa
to run around fearlessly in great numbers n
dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them,
ferred to dress themselves in dog hides. A
in exchange for these beasts it became pos

177 178 556 582 584 [584] the most desirable objects. A tremendous
took place in the psychics of the Gilyak a
ships of the people among themselves. If
dream did not go beyond attaining the rep
person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstandin
his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'i
synonym for "rich man," whose dream wa
quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest a
peared upon the scene, as well as the desi

malk'i. If you do
l completely break
everything accord-

yone refuse his duty,
of property, for in
price, or they give
ancient one.
The most varied
hodox marriages
ses was the depopu-
ives, which com-
s. Another cause,
mic one, brought
eoples of the Far
development of
Objects which
f the sable and fox,
n not only objects
le weapons, and
as rice, groats,
nowadays the
bles and foxes used
ear the Gilyak
since they pre-
nd all of a sudden
sible to obtain
change inevitably
d in the relation-
formerly a man's
utation of a good
g hunter who shared
vukh became a
to amass a
nd boasting ap-
e to excel others

/270 cont./

in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers, and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek women who were famous for their special qualities, who were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is expressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh, which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

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by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Recently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbifing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2) Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).

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117 Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896).
103 Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to
614 Nalevo; 2) Derkhr-vun (1896).

Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the
[162] Russians was the Keg:n clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogoroditskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvrmif); then the khal separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun,
[133] Ylevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a hovykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught
[582] him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the Perkhvung. 3. Kedz:ung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chinirokh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langr. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the or -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her.
[582] They have an Ainu dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarnung. 7. The Snarnung take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Ornyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'as'khajl. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

/297 cont./

but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate a common bear festival." Each k:khal should buy one, or better, two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare mos'. The bear is fattened as fat as possible; they feed it about two years; they prepare mos' and buy racing dogs. The time for the festival finally arrives: they play games, wrestle, then kill the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected -- he does not have to be the bear's master; he is the nga khez'-ni'vukh; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi pilá pal´ urgur p'ach adz: kukujá pkhylava:r chajpidugujá!" -- thou, big mountain (mountain man), shake off well our Gilyak dust. Turn around so that I can see you."

They killed it, cut up its meat (the bones must not be broken), brought it into an isba, and boiled the meat. They compete in a "race" -- vardz:. They call together both clans, men and women, and distribute the bear meat to all. As a rule, the elder consults with the master on how to divide the bear. The main bones are the two tibial bones -- tereng, and the two pelvic ones -- pyjkh. The tibial and the pelvic bones are given to the most honored persons. It is a sin to give the head and the kidneys to the young people, the kidneys are very important. The khlaj n'ivukh then says: "K:khal m´ekh:r: ólagu k:khálgu umguólagu umgugu-tokh itdz: furará; navat m´er: chuz´n´akhr: ngar: /298/ n´akh:r: munakhana. K:khal itdz: furará: "umgu n´i ó:la, utku n´i ó:la, umgu n´anak, n´i n´anak, n´i nanak´ar. Nafkhá-chi n´anak furará navát, chiagr. Ni ykyn furará n´an ch´ach´ek munakhana." Another representative answers: "Agitlá, pilymra siktumù mer: vará tyngyztá ching ag:yr: ningrota, ningagr vara chingrodá, n´ishak lyt k:khal, k:khal munakhaná." "To the children of the two clans, to the clans to the little girls and the women I say: 'Now we shall become common meat and common blood.'" The clan speaks thus (1): (Every) woman is my

1. Evidently, one representative of a clan to another.

/298 cont./

614 796 539 child (daughter), (every) man is my child (son), a woman -- an elder sister (also aunt) is my sister (my aunt). Now thou, comrade, art called sister; thou, too. I am an elder brother, but I shall now also become your younger." "Of course. We all equally did great things together. You also helped us and we also helped you equally. Once we have formed a clan, we shall become a clan.

"Elder (i.e., the person chosen for the distribution of the meat; he may be young)! Think well; do not give the good to big girls, to big sisters (aunts), or to sons-in-law /zyat'ya/. Give much to the big people, less to the little girls, feed the kidneys to the big old man of the clan, serve the head; distribute the back fat equally, do not share unequally. Give the tibial bone to the elder sons-in-law, give the pelvic bone to the sons-in-law. "Pilynga urgur kymlyjá, umguolagu pilý, nanakagù pilý, ok:ongú-tokh urlý chus´ ngokh ta rozgujá, pila n´ivukhdokh malg:ógur khet´ijá umguolagudokh khiskioguja! K:khalgu pila, hejmartokh, tafut jarjá k:orkh khet´ijá. Tereng pily okhomdokh khitirá, pyjkh n´yn´yv póradokh khet´ijá, mur:k ngokh vará rozjá ta rozgujá..."

614 796 After preliminary consultation, a certain person finally brings in the bear and hands it over to the important person, who then, in the presence of several urdla n´ivukh (good people), inquires: "Why?" The person who brought in the bear answers: "I want to enter into ceremonial brotherhood." "All right."

Next k:khal are consulted without him. During the festival the new clansmen buy dogs and prepare food. During the eating [606] the son-in-law says analogous things, while the fathers-in-law call him father-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. At the end of the festival they give the adopted one their own flints -- tugur:, but they do not give him the real uig tuur (the tabooed fire). There are no more than two or three uig tuur in a village. They light the fire at a bear festival; on a hunt only the urdla n´ivukh takes it when he goes for bear.

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614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for 796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /zyat'/, k:khal 606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in 627 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear 415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n´ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself 431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. [231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U´rur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries. Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid [184] in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head [196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure." [683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone [614]

/299 cont./

567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore [683] when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he [614] replies quietly: "Pilavon k:khal purará hokhagirn os´ krygrys" (1)

1. Krygrys -- an Ainu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root [195] slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a k:khal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys [692] is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n´ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (th are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, becaus she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys. [682] A free one is kistylygy n´ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave [614] is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila k:our big mountain bear, mer edr: -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courag in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the [162] krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Takhta.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase [582] of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

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595 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take
58 widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

• 614 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan
173 who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

[114] 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a
839 Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

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578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[437] a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
• 614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
685 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz'? ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az' tongz' shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/303 cont./

685 dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft.
695 They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz'u n'ivukh,
[825] and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the
[424] Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If
• [614] outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja', mygja', n'i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigry' tuur pugutá enan'ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral'ó, sidz:jejmraló cherakh jot'in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n'ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n'ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n'erakh elvg:az'ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

/304 cont./

actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorá mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n'erokh tokh elyvgujá. Chi narl'ár: chan majg:okhaná. Mykyz' mra lytyng ivg:aj huktókh elyvg:az'o." While they argue, a crow (ves') and a cat are thrown into the fire alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi tajrodz: furará n'ivykh lerý mra chi unakhana uikhyndor hy nivukhdokh elyvgujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular animal. There is a clan whose k:khal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When something is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz' nyngjá -- look

Amur

824 /312 cont./
778 Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather
782 at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda,
[614] a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

796 Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt.
782 Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are
[184] carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja", kholafti lygyguja," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a crossbow (narródz:) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and [illegible] taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a
[789] [776] hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /312/ the

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the uni-
[776] verse, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
[772] with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

793 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

• 776 The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'lgyvyn,
614 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'lgyvyn.

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'lvukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/328 cont./

764 To be burned is better than to be buried.

766 The one made the first mos' for a drowned man is not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagn'" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is
764 made in a month, or in two, three or four months, when there is
349 time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of
[784] cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members.
• 614 It is prohibited to fish, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a k:khak:, a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyz' (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The k:khak: is wrapped in a piece of drel' of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the k:khak: remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

/338 cont./

752 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them
789 will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue
[572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a
• 614 drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur-
[628] rounded with sticks.
[766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will
[785] be a god.
[776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the

199 language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 127 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the conti-

174 nent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo,

[614] one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language,

[184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

/353 cont./

601 614 This form of family-kin relationship serves as the basis for the social organization of the Gilyak and is the basis of their clan organization ("khal'" -- clan, also clansmen).

From what has been said of the primitive family of the Gilyak, it is obvious who constitutes their clan. All of the brothers (of all degrees of kinship) of the father of some Gilyak NN are his fathers (ytk), their fathers are his grandfathers (ate), their children are his brothers ("ruvn"), their grandchildren are his children ("ola"), and mutually. It is this huge family of grandfathers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that constitutes the clan of the Gilyak. It is understandable that a clan so constituted

[162] may be composed of a great number of people. In one clan in northern Sakhalin, I counted 150 people, and this is only a branch of a clan which lives on the mainland.

But the clan of the Gilyak is organized on the male basis. Even though the children of a sister of NN's wife are his children (ola) and they are considered brothers of his own children, if these sisters of the wife are married to Gilyak of a different khal', then they, i.e., the children of these sisters, will be alien to the clan of NN. Similarly, only the wives of clansmen and their unmarried daughters belong to the clan, and, conversely, when married, a woman passes over to the clan of her husband, while the dissolution of the marriage brings her back into her father's clan. Here are the principles which regulate the life of a clan:

1. The clan has only four degrees of kinship: grandfather and grandmother (atk and ytik), fathers and mothers (ytk and ymk), brothers and sisters (ruvn), and children (ola). Clansmen call one another "khal'" in contrast to aliens. To distinguish own brothers from own kinsmen of the first degree of kinship, the word khal' is added, so that clan brothers are /354/ khal'-ruvn, clan fathers -- khal'-ytk, etc. The elder of the clan, whose role will be described below, is called "khal'-geymar." Clansmen as thinking and acting social units bear the name of "khal'-nivukh."

/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 587 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,

614 [829] it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the

[867] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the

[623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 73 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the incapacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

182 /354 cont./

614 796 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to

[874] everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a

[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.

[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but

[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."

[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially

[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they

614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which

392 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan

[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is

614 392 169 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

614 225 782 [562] Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refreshments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of evening, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur niongu-khia!" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 682 628 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its members from encroachment on him by the individuals of another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.

[177] The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/296 cont./

The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement Kaki).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychkh-khotin). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagil, in his youth went without a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a fodder /kormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ek:r: vytch. They come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present. They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivukh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says: "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable tha
from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful,
burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer l
under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any
corner, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain
feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in
case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same
in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the
of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necess
neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murde
man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, a
in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years
pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the ave
consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedur
reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects fr
some neutral clan an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlay-ni
literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, an
the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries
tween the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a
gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, a
sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official
uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputa
of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-
nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. The
somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream,
new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. F
here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village o
the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-
nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary.
latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with h
own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The
role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as poss
The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a pl
for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-

/370 cont./

his wife half to death. Even his ruvn, in such cases, does not escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak even the ruvn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife gradually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. A substitute, or counter, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon: it astonishes no one and is censured by

/372 cont./

583 property of the whole family, but the personal money earnings of the son-in-law, as well as the sables and foxes that he obtains through his efforts and skill, remain at his disposal, which makes it possible for the son-in-law to attain an independent standing in time. But in general the payment of the bride price by labor is not frequently encountered, for the sale of the woman is too enticing a prospect for her kinsmen, and moreover the Gilyak have not yet grown accustomed to asking for the labor
583 of others. The bride price is paid to the father of the bride, or,
614 in his absence -- to her brothers, if they are adult, otherwise -- to their guardian, i.e., to that clansman-ruvn to whom they, along with their mother, have passed; in the absence of any brothers of the bride -- to that same ruvn of whom we just spoke, that is, the one to whom the mother of the bride has passed; in the absence of such -- to the brothers of the father, then to the distant clansmen-ruvn, but in general to clansmen of the male sex. Originally the bride price was always given, not to a separate individual, but to the kin(clan). And even now always among the Tungus, fellow tribesmen of the Gilyak, the bride price is paid to the "nasleg," i.e., the clan. And this is perfectly natural, since originally the bride price was a ransom paid to a whole clan, which was avenging the abduction of the
580 women. This primitive significance of the bride price is re-
614 flected in the custom whereby the wife of a deceased Gilyak al-
583 ways remains in the clan of her husband and passes, according to the decision of the clan, to one of the brothers (ruvn) of the deceased (only to a younger brother, however, and only in the event of the unwillingness of the ruvn to marry the widow does the return to the clan of her father, while the children remain in the clan of the husband. The obligation of the clansmen-ruvn
614 with regard to the widows of their deceased ruvn reminds one of
672 biblical story of Boaz and Ruth. The bride price is either paid all at once or in part in advance and in part some time after the bride moves to the home of the groom.

583 There are instances of the sale of children of the female
584 sex. A Gilyak purchases for himself or for his young son a young

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should injure fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the god, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
556 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

605 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, these naturally
432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have
434 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
422 does not borrow money: his debts arise principally from the non-fulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract.
[184] Interest is charged only for property, however. Interest is known
[D97] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
614 popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
[672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

1: Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
614 162

2. The property of each person has been
[I26] transferred to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons). The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
361 sons), Kekhrvo (86 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Yelshrvo (61
103 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
162 and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
20 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
361 difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
[484] because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
432 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

/653 cont./

428 nearest male relatives of the deceased, that is to say, brother's and father's brother's sons, or nephews and cousins of the first
428 and second degrees, but always only on the father's side. The
428 Gilyak say that in such a case the inheritance belongs to the kall
614 of the deceased. To explain this, I must point out that they
601 make a definite distinction between the relatives on the father's side and those on the mother's side: the former are called ngafk and they alone are regarded as related by blood; the latter, on the other hand, are merely called ömal or ömal, which means roughly "friends." The wealth of the kall, that is, the customary term of address which the Gilyak use among themselves as well as to a stranger, and which one uses them, whereas the much more meaningful naifkâ is only rarely heard and then only when they are speaking to one another. The totality of the ngafk, the paternal relatives of a Gilyak, constitutes his kall. This word, however, does not mean merely tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Geschlecht/, kindred /Sippe/, but also name. At kall, then, is exactly the same as a kin group bearing the same paternal or family name among us. It is the Goldi hala, which originally designated only a family relationship, but later, used by the Manchu government for administrative purposes, it was given a meaning going far beyond the family, which will be discussed in detail in the next section. The Gilyak, however, who were always outside Manchu rule, have been hardly affected by this /654/ and cling to their original conception of the kall, which is restricted to the family in the manner indicated above.

614 In view of all this, it might be expected that they also have special names for their various kin groups, and, indeed, I do not doubt but that they do have them. I never heard them use one, however. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that, as a rule, only the closest members of a kall have personal relations with one another, and they are aware of their membership in the same kin group without the common kin-group name. Moreover, the practical significance of this membership is considerably reduced for the Gilyak, in that it plays no part whatsoever in one of the most important family occasions, the conclusion of marriage, for among them, as has already been

/654 cont./

614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

428 /654 cont./
587 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In
[113]

3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivotshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'yakov", "Turukhansk. kraj /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russ. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. I, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 In
171 principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar
428 to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

614 While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal
607 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal rela-
625 tives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge, which is still widespread among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possib

/655 cont./

614 and then in swift flight to reach a safe hiding place offering pro-
602 tection, in order not merely to escape immediate revenge in
628 this way, but also to make it more difficult or even impossible for the opponent to carry it out in the future and thus expose him to the unavoidable evil consequences of neglected blood-revenge. The Gilyak therefore usually executes an act of bloodshed resolved upon in his heart in the most treacherous manner with the ngawla-dshakko, the large knife which, always worn at the belt, arouses the least suspicion and which he can most easily and inconspicuously plunge into his opponent's side while he is sitting beside him in apparent peace and eating a meal or smoking a pipe. Having fled to his native village, he will henceforth avoid setting foot in the village where he committed the act of bloodshed and will also carefully avoid its inhabitants elsewhere. The victim, however, if he has escaped with his life, henceforth thinks only of how he can take revenge on his enemy without delay, for the more time is wasted, the worse he can expect the consequences of his neglect to be and the more fraught with danger the future
159 looms before him. The power which this constantly nourished
628 superstitious fear can exercise over the mind and the entire being of a primitive man was vividly brought to my attention in one case. The Gilyak Nenjdan, a respected man in his village (Allof), who visited me occasionally in Nikolayevsk and to whom I owe many an interesting bit of information concerning his people, was one day, when he appeared before me again after a long interval, in a strikingly downcast and depressed mood: his otherwise erect and quite stately figure, such as I seldom found among the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and words would not come. Since I would not desist from directing various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /656/ "Not sick, and yet I must die soon." This thought seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following. On a trip to the Manchu, while trading with them, he quarreled with a Gilyak from Kaki. The matter finally ended peacefully, however, and he regarded it as closed and forgot it to such an

/656 cont./

159 extent that after their return home he once traveled from Allof
628 to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His host and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten the meal offered him, a man lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly thrust his knife into his side. Returning to Allof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Langr the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the greatest trouble to find any trace of him, but he could not go to Langr itself, because he is a stranger there, whereas his blood enemy would have the secure protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the obligation for blood revenge weighing upon him, "and therefore," he concluded, "I must die soon." I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, nor did I hear anything about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death puts primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on his physical condition and his behavior in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally practiced logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge is constantly nourished and spread.

614 Carrying out blood revenge is in part made easier and in
602 part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted
628 to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the ngafk, the paternal relatives. Without any qualifications and with all the consequences, they are faced with the obligation for blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or as a result of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

/656 cont./

614 grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No ngafk
602 of the person slain can refuse to accept this obligation if it is his
628 turn. On the other hand, if the person wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, the carrying out of the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but his ngafk have the duty to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping as much as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the ngafk of the perpetrator of the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponents and to protect their relative from the revenge threatening him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and homogeneousness in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily accessible proximity and also that those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the ngafk among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee
[157] against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little significance in view of the easily wounded, vindictive temper of the Gilyak, treacherously reserved, but quickly resolved on an act of bloodshed at a favorable moment. Most of their blood feuds, however, arise from serious motives, especially from the abduction of women so common among them and the conflicts brought about by this. Often, however, only petty motives, an imagined insult or insignificant damage to property or profit, as, for

/657 cont./

614 example, in the above-mentioned case of Nenjdan, drive one to
602 bloodshed, and then the instinct of self-preservation may keep many
628 a one from plunging into the hornets' nest of a strong and large kin-group. Quarrelsome and rapacious members of such a kin group, however, confident in the protective power standing behind them, may be goaded on all the more in their wantonness and may let themselves be carried away to commit acts that lead to blood feuds or that are a direct challenge for blood revenge, as, for example, is said of the Tammla-wo Gilyak on Sakhalin by their countrymen on the Amur. On the whole, however, this abuse does not nullify the beneficial effects which blood revenge with its rules has among the Gilyak, in that with the legal relations still unregulated, it gives the individual a certain amount of protection, and, to be sure, it strengthens the basis of every social arrangement and development, the family.

Concerning the family relations of the Amur peoples living
648 adjacent to the Gilyak, the only ones who, as was pointed out
198 at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks about the Gilyak.

/658/ In the preceding chapters the high degree of equalization that has taken place between the Olcha and the Gilyak in all aspects of the external life has been discussed -- an equalization which must be regarded as an assimilation of the former by the latter. This kind of equalization has also taken place with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which, in fact, become the basis for the most penetrating and enduring manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally.
[582] And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent mixed marriages which have taken place between these two peoples since the Olcha migrated to the Amur and, after the loss of their reindeer, settled down there as fishermen in the immediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, marriage which even today are concluded between them continually. In this manner the

/709 cont./

*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
574 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore,
[123] as Judin told us, there are even more ufsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
●[614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal /710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal. Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.
*796 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women
541 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

The Nivkhi

775

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of 231
specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal 237
and elk skin, dog-fur, etc. 302

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly 114
interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed description of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (ekhkhal), of which there 614
were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mylung, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of sociality as among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more 160
ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (ikhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tungusic-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyygnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyygnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tungusic-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'l (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one ikhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

/357 cont./

of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in anger. The khlay-nivukh of the murderer goes after him and tries to enter into negotiations with his comrade-in-arms. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the khlay-nivukhi move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and both sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his khlay-nivukh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other steps the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his khlay-nivukh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the khlay-nivukhi strictly restrain the adversaries, speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is not merely a ritual, for there have been cases where in that minute the avenger has boiled over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arms, run toward each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another variant, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy; when the khlay-nivukhi call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/358 cont./

614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A 614 628 682 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 628 628 [537] The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re- [762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 628 72 [177] One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/358 cont./

614 628 72 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each [342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the [501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 597 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came [927] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/359 cont./

614 599 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gather- [963] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/361 cont./

614 317 617 591 present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint work with him (more detail about this below).

614 764 12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they 614 765 make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

/362 cont./

614 182 Thus it is that kinship and social bo
to his clan. Without some particular nee
abandon the settlement of his clansmen,
No matter where the Gilyak may grow ric
his homeland. The writer has seen Gilya
[177] completely Russified, who had grown up i
Russians, but who, having married, settle
to the settlement of their clan. And this
Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessa
yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there w
three square arshins on the plank bed for t
man. He does not even need a boat and
find owners of these things, with whom he
basis of equal rights. The inevitable affi
to the great clan union has placed an inde
tire spiritual make-up, on his character,
[155] development. The custom of judging all
entering into the interests of his clansmen
bility in matters of vengeance, these com
sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerou
children, and finally the necessity and pr
yurts together with dozens of one's fellow
compels the Gilyak to live continually in
must have developed a social, communal
character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 354 521 Enter one of the large winter yurts
in the north, enter one of these anthills o
and you will be pleasantly surprised. The
only by the flame of the stoves; in the far
dark, but you will hear the sedate conver
the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry
music of the youth. Here boredom has n

onds attach the Gilyak
d the Gilyak will not
the tombs of his clan.
ch, he finally returns to
k who had become
in service among the
ed down and returned
is so easily done. The
ry to construct a
vill always be two to
the family of a clans-
a net; he will always
e will go fishing on a
liation of every Gilyak
elible stamp on his en-
customs, and intellectual
jointly, this necessity of
, this mutual responsi-
mmunal festivals and
s fathers, brothers, and
actice of living in large
-- a necessity that
the eyes of others -- all this
, loquacious, serious

, which are so frequent
a winter's evening,
huge yurt is lighted up
corners it is completely
ation of the old men,
aughter, the jokes and
place...

/368 cont./

766 ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all [782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small [769] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clans-men of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at 182 the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure 766 is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacri- [782] fices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is burned, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire [614] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new [782] yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The intervention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fishing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

9: Hawes--209 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 614, 627

"The Gilyaks are, as we have seen, divided into tribes, viz. the Tim, Tro, and west coast people, besides the mainland or Amur Gilyaks. These tribes are sub-divided into khala, or clans. Each khal consists of a family circle. The limits are vague, but include grandfathers, uncles, etc. The eldest representative of the khal is the chief, and the members are to be found scattered in many villages. Each village has its council of elders, to whom the injured apply. In cases of mortal offence, both parties, the criminal and the eldest male of the injured man's family, march out against one another with bows and arrows ready strung, but the council sitting around urge them to end the matter peacefully, and ordinarily they succeed, the rivals embrace, talk peace, and the criminal pays a heavy fine.

The Russian authorities wisely refrain from interference, and look to the richest man in each village, whom they term the starosta, to keep order, etc."

615

615 PHRATRIES--presence of one or more unilinear kin groups, each of which embraces two or more sibs; affiliation (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); regulation of marriage (e.g., exogamy, agamy, endogamy); distinguishing characteristics; origin and traditions; organization; prerogatives and obligations of members; relations between phratries; etc. See also:
Marriage regulation . . . . . 649 Totemism 779

1: Shternberg--81 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/41 cont./

582 614 3) Since in every family sons must marry daughters of a brother of their mother, and daughters -- sons of a sister of their father, it follows that from the time of the establishment of this custom all the descending posterity of each pair of ancestors in all lines eo ipso form a closed group, prohibited from one another maritally, an exogamous organism, a clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or remain in their own, either a maternal or paternal clan prevails.

At the present time, among the Gilyak a paternal, agnatic clan has been established.

4) Such a clan rests not only on the negative tie of exogamy, but also on valuable positive bonds, on the common rights of clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, the mutual rights of group marriage, and, finally, on the obligation to save their women for the clan that took the sisters of their ancestor.

If we take into consideration the fact that marriage regulations among primitive peoples, among whom the cult of the ancestors and, consequently, blood ties play such a tremendous role, become religious imperatives, it will become clear that the clearly indicated mutual rights and obligations cement the clan union.

In particular, the important cementing element of a clan is also the fact that all the women coming in (wives of clansmen) are taken from one clan and are either one another's sisters(own and agnate), or aunts and nieces. As for men, the clansmen, they represent in each generation a group of brothers (own and agnate) married to a group of sisters and cousins from the clan of their mothers, i.e., to their first cousins, /42/ in relation to whom they have reciprocal conjugal rights.

We have already spoken about the effects that these customs have on the kinship nomenclature.

614 615 5) The clan, therefore, is not a self-contained organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound up with the existence of at least two clans, blood kindred with it, one the blood clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, and another clan which took the sisters of its ancestor and to which it must give up its own women.

1: Shternberg--82 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/42 cont./

615 614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or vmri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood"

582 614 1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V). Their children: 1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V. 2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S). Their children: 1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S. 2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A). Their children: 1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A. 2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

1: Shternberg--83 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/43/

615 614 Analyzing this table, we see that 1) all the women in clan A have been taken, by generations, from clan V, which means that Andrei's mother is a sister of Vasilii's father, and consequently Andrei and Vasilii are cognate cousins. 2) Similarly in clan V, Vasilii's mother is a sister of Stepan's father from clan S, and consequently Vasilii and Stepan are cognate cousins, and 3) in clan S Stepan's mother is the sister of Andrei's father from clan A, and consequently Stepan and Andrei are cognate cousins.

Thus, not only are each pair of spouses, one to the other, male and female cognate cousins, but the ancestors of each clan are, one to the other, cognate cousins. In a word, the founders of all three clans are close, blood kinsmen married to female cognates of the same degree of kinship, and each generation marries cognates of the same degree of kinship as its fathers and mothers. This is a clear example of how weak the terms exogamous and endogamous are: the exogamy of the Gilyak clan does not exclude marriages between close kinsmen. It turns out that endogamy prevailed within each phratry; each of its branches was exogamous.

615 614 178 Such was the original scheme. Time and circumstances, emigration, depopulation, the dispersion of clans, an accidental scarcity of women in the mother's clan, and other such causes naturally led, on the one hand, to a deviation from this system, and, on the other hand, to corrections, whose aim was to reconcile the old norms with the new demands of life. All these superstructures, if I may express myself thus, have quite confused the genealogical systems and the marriage norms, and, as usually happens, the categorical imperative, weakening in one respect, becomes more widespread in another. Due to external conditions, the rule to take one's wife from the clan of one's mother weakened, but, on the other hand, the prohibition against giving wives to that clan (albeit completely alien from which someone, even a most remote clansman of the given clan, took his wife has received the most widespread interpretation (on the presumption that it is the clan of the mother). From this the following has become established:

/43 cont./

614 Since at the present time it is not always possible for all
615 clansmen to take their wives from one clan, the clan of the
178 mother, certain members of some clan (M, for example) are required to take their wives from different clans. And so, on the strength of the old presumption that the clan of the wife of a clansman is the clan of the mother, all these clans for several generations become prohibited for all the women of clan M, for whom marriage into these clans is not allowed. And this is not all. This prohibition, in essence having lost its former raison d'être, is applied not only /44/ to that clan M, which takes wives directly from A, but also to a third clan, N, which, in turn, takes wives from M.

In the Gilyak terminology of marriage this prohibition is technically expressed thus. Clan A, giving women to clan M, is called the akhmal'k (father-in-law) of the latter, while in relation to clan N, which in turn takes wives from clan M, it -- i.e., clan A, is called tuyma akhmal'k (distant father-in-law); and so the prohibitions lying on clan M are carried over to clan N, i.e., clan A may not take women not only from M, but also from N. The degrees of prohibition, however, do not extend beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree.

The entire future evolution of the Gilyak family and clan lies in the history of the origin of this prohibition. In what way could this widespread prohibition arise? We saw that the Gilyak were not afraid of marriages within close degrees of kinship. This means that the reason must be some other one. As a matter of fact, in the face of the inevitability of cases when it was impossible to take wives from the clan of the mother, the Gilyak, conforming to the religious imperative, should have, in such cases, considered the most suitable clan that one from which at least the clan of his mother took wives, and, if unable to take them from it, he went to that clan from which this latter took wives, i.e., went by degrees to the akhmal'ki of distant degrees of kinship, just as, within the clan of the mother, in the absence of daughters in the family of the mother's own brother, he went to the daughters of the first, second, etc. cousins of the mother. Thus, the distant akhmal'ki clans were, as it were, reserve clans of the

/44 cont./

614 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
178 ship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri, Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated, confused system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually, this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

171 Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage
601
582

I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/46/

171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where a
1835 great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly declares which men and women of the tribe have the right to group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and difficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the decisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individual person and became the function of a competent institution of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
614 in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis, every kumi and kodi among the Australians finds his wife throughout the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where ascending and descending generations belong to different classes, and only in the third, among some tribes, or fourth, or even in the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andrei, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

/46 cont./

615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in
614 turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V)
582 would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third generation, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable ex-
160 tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as, for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, just like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibitions.

2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the
194 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particu-
583 lar, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution
614 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Aus-
615 tralians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange
1771 forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

/47 cont./

194 which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that
583 clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are
614 too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan
615 A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan, even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marriages with those of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alternatives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /48/ to say nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the stolen, or to circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real intentions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength, while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real coercion.

171 Only with such an explanation of abduction can we under-
194 stand why, for example, the Australian kumai, having allowed
583 their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bridegroom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less cruelly than her parents; by this he desires to show the gods, and the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock abduction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized peoples.

/48 cont./

194 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term yokh /xicr see yokh on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

194 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price,
583 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone-
615 ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
1687 the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
1882 eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
197 as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhunind, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
194 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently
583 happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is
an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/120 cont./

*614 Then there are the hejmay, the elders, all of whose au-
184 ity consists in the solution of most problems of cult and kin-
623 They play a certain role at the time of the clan festival, which they are generally the principal managers; they are after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They are, however, how wield any influence or possess any actual significance in th other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*614 Finally, the third element of authority is the ye'r.
184 Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of
1324 three elements those diverse forms of power which in variou
1569 combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elder patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, chiefs, viking kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured pe at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all na which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these ele ments are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/

VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution,
*614 a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhma and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, bond of common origin through the mother (the male ance of all four clans and the representatives of each of their ge erations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intima which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage union

Child's cradle.

Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could
ept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided,
ni broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint
to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and
ece to the part that split off.

ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a
e bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's
ter, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In
ing clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role
ed by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their
negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy

parties to agree. When agreemen
offending clan with men of the
enacted between the representati
sentative killed a dog, and peace
ransom was paid. It consisted o
other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificato
the Tunguso-Manchurian systen
applied always to persons of
Shternberg showed, the classific
his time the existing marriage
the 19th century some remnant
possible only for persons of th
forbidden among persons of diff

All the members of a clan w
fathers and great-grandfather
(tuvng), the husbands of the m
bands of the mother's sister
children (ola).

Trade ties with China and th
fishing, into economic activiti
the disintegration of the clan
first among the Amur Nivkhi
the Manchus. Nivkhi merchan
bartered furs and beluga bac
articles. They also bartered
neighbors. Members of the Tv
the middlemen between the Sak
Russian colonization, the Niv
The rich could have several
price always included large qua
relations developed slowly, si
and, to a lesser extent, fish.
sistence economy.

Slaves did only housewor
and marry free women. The
were considered free. On the
Nivkhi and was of a patriarcha

At the end of the 17th and i
among the Nivkhi, as well as th
and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the
subsistence economy proceed
become a part of Russia, sla
appeared, in the institution of
ments of production fell int
was divided according to the
the implements of others had

Before the Revolution, th
Christians, but their views r
of Sakhalin as an anthropomo
trees, mountains, rivers, w
their thinking an yz'—a "ma
phenomenon had its yz'. Th
of the mountains and the taig

nt was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was
ives of the two clans. Then each clan repre-
was considered established. After that, the
f coats of mail, spears, silk materials and

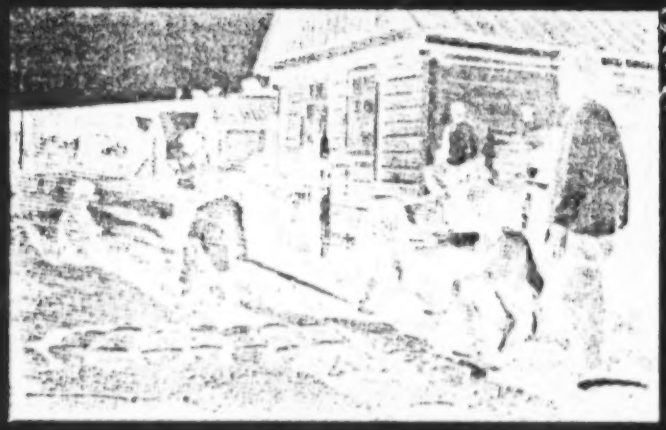
ory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
n, the specific term of kinship among them
one, rather than different generations. As
catory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in
norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
s of group marriage. These relations were
e same generation, and were categorically
erent generations.
ere divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
(atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
other's sisters and the brothers of the hus-
s; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4)

e transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
es directed to commercial ends stimulated
order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
. The latter had early begun to trade with
ts sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and
ktbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal
with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other
bing clan, for instance, were for a long time
halin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
khi began to be divided into rich and poor.
ives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-
ntities of imported valuables. But commodity
ce exchange was only in the medium of furs
The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a sub-

k. They could set up their own households
slave's descendants of the fifth generation
whole, slavery was not widespread among the
l character.
the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
e Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,

ist century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
ed more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
very disappeared; a new form of exploitation
"half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
the position of "half-sharers." The catch
number of participants, but those who used
o yield half of their share to the owner.
Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
mained animistic. They thought of the island
phic creature; similar ideas were held about
ter, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in
ter" of other animals. Almost every natural
chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master"
, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2



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231

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character. 771 776

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le-kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed. 796 614 231 [069] [526]

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the Tungusu-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically 764

called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tətr-paχ. Large wooden floats (vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Loŋri, and əṭ.

According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul owned seal hunting places in the past.

Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej, 3. ṭt.

Lulvəχ-pər and ŋaγreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ṭt is a small island close to which there is another such rock.(3)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island əṭ. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paχ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ṭerd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə-vər - a stone.

[84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

784 from young hunte
225 who play a leadin
183 parts of the quar
526 Taboos regula
262 hunters as well a
784 parts of the clan.
462 Thus, in the v
868 (Charbakh), the c
183 me of interesting
526 used by children
A boy must no
women in cutting
must not play wit
"When I was li
to put a yoke on a
'sin'). If a boy h
cutting board, the
taiga, he might n
he will have no lu
Agiska told me
or spear, for the
Russian - farta).
advertantly over
into the body of th
are not supposed
These taboos i
are prepared for
play - have anyth
their tasks and th
used in their task
imize for both m
birth, the distribu
462 [88] The women o
514 from the point of
recently it was th
rich. The women
row (notwithstandi
the husband tends
rudder and the wo
able and inadmiss
make clothes, sho
tasks some of whi
nity of a hunter.
The males of a
They procure food

rs and women-the fact that the old hunters
g part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
ry under the guise of religious interdictions.
te the relations between the old and young
s the relations between the male and female

ery same year of 1931, in the village Charvax
ld Gilyak Kozin and Gisk (Agiska) informed
taboos pertaining to a number of objects
n their games.
: play with a yoke or with a board used by
leather and cloth (tans-kalmr). Also, a child
a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).
ttle Kozin told me, old men would not permit
boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,'
t the legs of another boy with a yoke or a
n when he grew up and went hunting in the
ot be able to walk well." Agiska told me that
ck in hunting.
that a girl should not play with arrow, bow,
se implements will not bring luck (in local
If a woman or a girl were to step in-
a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep
e bear and will not stick. That is why girls
to play with those implements.
ndicate that already at an early age children
definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in
ng to do with implements used by women in
at, conversely, girls must not use implements
s by men. These taboos are seen to legit-
nen and woman, virtually from the time of
ution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.
f a clan perform the most onerous work which
view of men, is least respectable. Until
e slaves who did this work for the Gilyak
must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs,
ing his wife's advanced stage of pregancy,
the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the
man to row; the opposite would be disrepu-
ible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food,
es and perform a number of other onerous
ch are regarded as detrimental to the dig-

Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food.
l for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

452 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i.e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
452 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the traj where the pilan attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilan distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilan's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the traj, is included in

burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raĭ—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults.

Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués on birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the zayezdka.

When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects hunters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo afi , t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from clan Tf nu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, 1 tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big, - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:

1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be, to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila;

3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs mu-zi d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

/121 cont./

In practice, as we know, these bonds extend far beyond the confines of the original four clans. First of all, in addition to these last, every clan with which at least one clansman has formed matrimonial ties is already an akhmal'k or ymgi to all his clan. On the other hand, we know that every akhmal'k and every ymgi retains its appellation not only with respect to those clans with which it is directly bound matrimonially, but also with respect to those who consider themselves the corresponding ymgi and akhmal'k of the former, so that in addition to the akhmal'k and ymgi of the first degree, each clan has still others of the second, third degrees, etc. All these clans call each other pandfy, individuals of a common origin.

Thus we see that the basic principle, simple and clear, which lay at the basis of the family and clan, a principle according to which a man preferably marries the daughter of the brother of his mother, becomes the basis of blood ties and sympathy, not only within each separate clan, but of even more extensive unions, interclan and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, these bonds could not take formal shape in such completed organizations as the phratries and tribes, for example, of the North American Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social unity which led the clan from an egoistic isolation onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/122/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which arise between the pandf clans, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak takes his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real forms.

First of all, there is the obligation of mutual sustenance and hospitality. This in essence is only an extension of that same obligation existing within the clan to the blood pandf; the extension to them of that benevolence of the clan deities

/122 cont./

*614 which belongs to them by righ
615 (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ must
476 this interclan obligation.
574

This rule, however, does
*614 ligation of the akhmal'k to su
615 his family permanently in his
476 a very remote time, in the p
574 husband went to live in the h
591 so, but at the present time, u
goes to the home of the husba
pletely to the clan site of her
less, the principle of "sustena
most important role in the un

615 It is consolidated in a spec
585 rite, which consists of the fol
591 fore the bride is carried away
476 there is placed just inside the
cast-iron kettle brought by th
bride price for the bride, and
belonging to the father of the
and bridegroom must step wit
then on the outer kettle: the
in-law, the second is borne b
In a year, when, according t
to the akhmal'k, the same c
departure; only this time on
is placed a pot and a cup, wh
the first instance. It is chara
jects bear the designation nic
sustenance), while the whole
(trampling of the nich). It i
trampling of the threshold, w
ment of the rite, in which a
lymyz'n-mam -- an old wor
the woman-forbear, the guar

nt through the female line: "Ymgi
be fed" -- such is the formula of

not find expression at all in an ob-
pport his son-in-law /zyat'/ and
own home. It may be that at
eriod of maternality when the
ome of the wife, it was actually
nder agnatic principles, the wife
nd and customarily moves com-
spouse's habitation. Neverthe-
nce," as we shall see, plays a
ification of the clans.
cial, extremely peculiar religious
lowing. At the last moment be-
from the home of her father,
threshold a large, four-handled
e bridegroom as a part of the
on the outside a small kettle
girl. When going out, the bride
h the foot first on the inner and
former remains with the father-
ome by the bridegroom -- ymgi.
o custom, the couple pay a visit
remony is repeated before their
each side of the threshold there
ich are again exchanged as in
cteristic that the exchanged ob-
h (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual
rite is called nich zychyvynd
also called lymyz'n-zand --
hich points to the religious ele-
ole is played by the so-called
an, the mistress of the threshold,
dian genius of the home, whose

476
615 /122 cont./
585 blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds,
591 the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection
796 with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear
615 festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of
476 the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself
an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are
also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual
sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in
hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic
* 614 visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some
476 economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in
574 addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present
[606] to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage,
[431] when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending
on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for
men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There
* 614 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman,
731 because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all.
476 Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn
574 them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at
606 hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers
615 up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels
in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement
of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

615 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi
224 are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.
225 The most important of these require the participation of
476 several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it
* 614

/126 cont./

614 615 796 574 182 This rule is so strictly observed that the very host who has been most diligent in receiving and making presents to his ymgi is not even invited by the latter to the festival, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own akhmal'k. Thus there is formed an uninterrupted chain, uniting the long series of clans in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said something in the section on religion about the important part played by the ymgi in the bear festival. One goes out many versts to meet them and gives them the most honored function at the festival, namely, the killing of the bear, and all this time they are the center of attention for the whole clan. They are everywhere fed to the bursting point, dragged around from yurt to yurt, and, finally, before departure given a large part of the bear carcass. All these acts of hospitality and respectful attention are crowned with serious religious rites, sanctifying the fraternal union of the clans. At the beginning of the festival, the ymgi exchange nich'i (symbol of united co-operation in hunting, see above) with the host; before departure, the ymgi presents to his akhmal'k in parting dogs, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the mountains, the common sustainer of the clan; and at the last moment the ymgi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

614 615 621 They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live forever with his pandf'y. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their ymgi or akhmal'k'i. But these ties prove of

*614 /127 cont./ But these ties prove of
●615 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
621 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
628 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not participate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
609 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding generations give to each other, has finally become the customary appellation with which any member of another clan or stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
574 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
[157] crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers, the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

/123 cont./

from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation, not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general, i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know, with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan the ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their generation are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male population, they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i, where they meet the same reception from their "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1), as a result of

1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage, the most touching relations are established. It is in these surroundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such services. But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example, especially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both friends, "navkh'i," lived in one yurt; they had everything in common, went about together like lovers, almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both,

/127 cont./

609 614 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with 609 829 614 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course, 186 609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national 829 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We 174 614 can now resume it. 615

/128 cont./

174 Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observe
* 614 in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired
● 615 in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clans akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonderful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other clans, close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

/129/

59 114

The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.

Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schrenck, who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinary patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

/136 cont./

614 602 Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak marriage law, relationship by marriage must coincide with kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship, which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which the women -- agnates of a given clan -- are given in marriage; the second embraces that clan or clans from which a given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

614 The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united
● 615 under the common name "k:khal-n'ig:yvyn" or simply k:khal --
602 the people of the clan, clansmen (from k:khal -- clan, n'ig:yvyn -- person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their wives from the k:khal-n'ig:yvyn, these latter and their whole clan are united under the common designation of akhmalk (fathers-in-law) and, conversely, ymg:i (sons-in-law /zyat'ya, "sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian/). On the other hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., that clan or those clans from which they themselves take women, they are ymg:i (sons-in-law) and, conversely, akhmalk. Both cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among themselves, bear /137/ the characteristic designation pandf (from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

* [114 601]

1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously asserts that kinsmen on the father's side, i.e., agnates, members of one and the same clan, call each other ngafk, and that kinsmen on the mother's side call each other amal'. In reality, both terms, on

/137 cont./

614 615 603 ● * 601 114

the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

Thus, relationship

614 602 by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us pro-
614 ceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.
* 601 Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the
602 Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

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2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

/203 cont./ The custom of brothers' living together with one

* 174 wife became ever rarer. In the works of the epos, such
177 595 passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are
[538] almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.

Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the 17 inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful
● [615] these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

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* 614 Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive
615 to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clans C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

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178 But clan C may not take women from D, because the latter
*614 takes wives from it, and the mutual exchange of women
●615 between two clans is not allowed in any case; on the same basis, clan B cannot give its women to clan D. There remains but one solution, that C take women from B. This solution, in addition, has all the signs of orthodoxy for both clans. First of all, these two clans formerly did not stand in a marriage relationship to each other. In addition, for C, after the disappearance of clan A, B is the closest on the mother's side (for /204/ clan A took women from this clan and supplied women to clan C), and, finally, clan B is the father-in-law of C, although of the second degree, so that, after A, it is its natural successor with respect to C. The sole obstacle to the lawfulness of this compromise is that clan C, due to the fact that it gives its women to D, is in turn, tujma akhmalk for clan B and thus does not have a right to take women from it. In a word, the matter ends with the phratry's becoming a three-clan one. The only solution is to increase the phratry by one more clan, a fifth one, E, which would give its women to D and take women from C. This new clan for the phratry may appear, as in North America, through the splitting of one of the old clans into two fictitious clans (in this case, C would divide itself into two halves, one of which would fill the role of clan E). We have no data on this either in contemporary practice or in legends. But there was no necessity for this. The process of depopulation struck all the other phratries at the same time. And it was easy to find a single clan, a remnant of a destroyed phratry, which in turn was seeking to unite with a phratry. That such a solution was the most practical is seen not only from the practice in contemporary life; it follows from the inevitable logic of facts. We started from the supposition that only one clan, A, died out, but again and again phratries can lose not one, but two or three clans, and then they were inevitably obliged to begin: either the co-optation of separate clans into the phratry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new phratry.

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178 In just this way, under exceptional conditions, it is true,
*614 the foundation of the marital-clan system was breached, but
●615 once it was breached in this way, it had to spread more and more and lead to the condition where marriages of different persons outside of the old phratry became, if not lawful, at least a completely acceptable phenomenon.

Now we shall consider the second case, where clan A does not die out completely, but has only become considerably thinned out in people. On account of the shortage of women in clan A, a part of the men of clan C were obliged to take their wives, as in the first case, from the closest lawful clan, namely, from B, but in the case where, as in the first instance, C does not have a right to give its women to D, and therefore to the phratry, in order to guarantee D women, a fifth clan, E, will have to be added, giving women to D and taking them from C. But, besides this, there is still another consequence, which confuses matters still more.

Since both the members of clan A and some of the members of clan C take /205/ women from clan B, then the first and second in each generation will be married to sisters, and, although they are members of different clans, they will be members of a group marriage with a group of sisters (1) and their children, as the terminology shows (see

[601] 1. By a curious coincidence in this case the group husbands call each other navkh -- a term signifying the same thing as the famous term punalua, comrade, participator.

above), will be tuvn, i.e., brothers and sisters, and, consequently, forbidden for each other, so that in the following generation the women from clan A will not have the possibility of marrying into clan C and will be obliged every second generation to seek their husbands entirely outside their phratry, which still more destroys the strength and

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178 unity of the latter. Life, it is true, has somewhat softened
*614 the rigor of the prohibition; in some clans at the present
●615 time the prohibition covers only those members of clans who are actually married to sisters, but formerly, evidently, the prohibition embraced all the members of both clans; even in its weakened aspect, however, the prohibition leads unavoidably one way or another to some cases of marriage outside the phratry.

The case which we have just discussed is by no means hypothetical; it is repeated in its peculiar form in the daily life of the Gilyak at the present time. As an illustration of this, we may use the legal case which we introduced earlier, with the consequences that follow from the marriage of two persons of different clans to two sisters, where one man is from the akhmalk clan and the other from the ymgiil clan. It is of interest to repeat here that in this case group marriage among several clans is no longer allowed, but the children of these marriages are considered tuvn and cannot marry each other.

Thus, the depopulation and the thinning out of the people of a clan leads to the following extremely important consequences: 1) allowing free marriage to a woman not from the clan of one's mother begins; 2) members of one and the same clan can be married to women of different clans; 3) a man and his "brother-in-law" /zyat'/ (navkh, brother of his brother's wife, i.e., brother of his own wife) may not be married to sisters; 4) finally, thanks to free marriages, the old four-clan phratry entirely loses its limits, for, as we shall see further on, to every clan into which even one member of the phratry has become related by marriage are extended those same rights and obligations which pertain to a clan of the phratry, and thus it is as though this new clan were adopted into the old phratry.

174 For a certain time, the "free" marriage was a more or
178 less /206/ exceptional phenomenon, called forth by condi-
*614 tions likewise of an exceptional character. In its way stood
615 a huge obstacle -- the religious imperative which prohibited

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174 giving women to alien clans. The procuring of such women
178 presented great difficulties. As a result of this long struggle
*614 for the women of alien clans -- a struggle about which it will
●615 be necessary for us to speak in detail later, there appeared the
[583] institution of the "bride price," payment for the bride -- an institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

174 But once having appeared, the institution of the bride
178 price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading
583 of the institution of the free marriage.

*614 The bride price became the most powerful temptation
615 for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no necessity for their being violated.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who came into being with the establishment of trade relations, began to look on the free marriage union as a means of satisfying their ambition and of becoming related to people who were their equals in wealth and distinction.

*614 And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorable
615 circumstances, notwithstanding the intrusion of the new in-
178 stitution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to live and to preserve their power over minds. In the great majority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than all
[583] the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In the
[582] eyes of the contemporary Gilyak, marriage from the akhmalk clan, from the mother's clan, is still the only "pure" marriage, and the most favored marriage for each individual man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother, in which case bride price is not only not required, but is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and then are spontaneously drawn into the ruts of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry for one or another reason from his mother's clan, but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take wives from the old clan of the ancestress. In other cases, if for some reason a return is not possible, then the alien clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the lawful marriage clan for his offspring, who in each generation

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*614 marry, according to the old norm, the daughter of the
●615 mother's brother. Finally, in some cases the descendants
178 of this man take wives /207/ either from the old or from the new clan of the father-in-law, depending on circumstances, and both clans begin to be considered lawful clans. It may happen that not merely two, but many more of these lawful clans are accumulated in the course of time, both for the individual person and for the whole clan, but nevertheless each man as an individual strives to observe the old norm in arranging a marriage, seeking his wife above all from the clan of his mother, preferably always the daughter of the brother of this last.

Such is the power of the old norm. But its role is not limited to this. Compelled to make a retreat in one direction, it develops the strength of its age-old inertia with still greater intensity in other directions. Having out of necessity allowed marriages outside the phratry, having allowed the possibility for members of one clan to take wives from different clans, it has extended the whole system of regulations both to the free marriages and to all the clans which even sporadically enter into marriage relations with this or that clan.

*614 This amalgamation of the old institution with the new
615 one and the extension to it of all the regulations of the old
601 norms and prohibitions have made not only the kinship
178 terminology, but also the character of the group marriage unusually complicated and confused. Under the old system, when marriages were arranged from one particular clan, the picture of the group marriage appeared entirely clear and simple: in each generation all the "brothers" of one clan participated in a group marriage with all the sisters of the same generation in the other clan. For this reason the wives of brothers called each other sisters, and the husbands of sisters called each other brothers, for both groups were such in reality.

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then all these five clans and their five clans of akhmalk'i will be akhmalk'i to the whole of clan of A and will be prohibited for the women of A (only up to the third generation, it is true). But if we also add to these ten clans those two clans of original akhmalk'i of the first and second degree, then clan A will have 12 clans of akhmalk'i of the first and second degree to which it may not give its women. This tendency toward extension could lead to extreme difficulties in arranging a marriage, for with every new free marriage the number of clans which are available for marriage is reduced, but in practice the consequences of this extended regulation are allayed by the still firm tendency of the clan and of its separate members to depart from the old norm of taking wives from one particular clan, the clan of the mother, only in the most extreme cases.

This extended regulation introduced still greater confusion into the kinship terminology and into the norms of group marriage. Earlier, the classificatory system extended, in addition to the clan of the speaker, also to two other clans -- the clan of the fathers-in-law and the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and the designations corresponded to the sexual relations. If, for example, I, a man, called the sisters of my fathers-in-law mothers, then this corresponded to reality, for the sisters of my "fathers-in-law" were group wives of my "fathers" and one of them was actually my mother. Or, if I, a man, called each "father-in-law" in that same clan of "fathers-in-law" the brother of my mother, and his daughter (the daughter of my mother's brother) my wife, then this corresponded to the actual kinship relations. Now that, due to /209/ occasional free marriages, the classificatory terminology has been extended to a whole set of clans which are completely alien to all the clansmen, the designations "fathers-in-law," "mothers," "daughters of the mother's brother," and so forth are extended to persons who are not such in actuality, and nevertheless in this new circle of persons all the old norms of group marriage between

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*614 corresponding persons are obligatory. And it is entirely
●615 natural that the number of persons drawn into the circle
601 of classificatory kinship is ever larger, and the knowledge
178 of this kinship, so simple before, becomes a real science, into which a person is initiated during childhood and in which he becomes proficient only when he reaches maturity It is natural, therefore, that the classificatory system gives the European an impression of complete confusion and inexplicability. In reality, all the terms of kinship and the sexual norms which now appear so confused and illogical are explained quite simply -- the intrusion of the new practice of free marriage into the old staunchly persistent system of the old imperative, according to which marriage was a blood-kinship union and was obligatory from the clan of the mother.

VII.

The Phratry and Its Genesis

*614 We have seen how, owing to the primordial norms of
615 marriage, the principle aim of which was to provide the progeny of an ancestor with wives from a group of persons in a distinct category of blood kinship, there automatically arose exogamous groups, clans. The essential significance of the clan consisted in the common right and obligation to supply its members with women outside of their own number, in other strictly defined groups-clans. Thus, in its basic function, each clan taken separately is by no means a self-sufficient organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound to the existence of at least two other clans related to the first by blood, one the clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, the other the clan of the sisters of its ancestor, to which it is obliged to give its own women, and, furthermore, these two clans, as we have seen, may not coincide, since the exchange of women between two clans is not allowed.

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it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will, as we already know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This change we know: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

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violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of akhmal'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

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Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandf'y in the bear festival.

In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in populous settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small annoyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: in the first place, the very rite of the festival -- the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablest and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the competition /126/ in wrestling, races, and dances, the feasts, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of enjoyments. Against the somber background of his gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and monotonous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only ymgi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own ymgi but akhmal'k do not participate at all.

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*614 615 601 178 With the appearance of the institution of free marriage, the clansmen-brothers may be married to women from different clans, i.e., complete strangers to each other, and nevertheless, by the old presumption, these women call each other sisters and become the group wives of their husbands-brothers. In exactly the same way, clanswomen-sisters may be married to men from different clans, and nevertheless these latter, although they are complete strangers to one another, will have group rights to their wives, and their offspring will call each other tuvn (German Geschwister /siblings/) and will not have the right to marry each other.

And, finally, we have seen that even "brothers-in-law" /zyat'ya/, i.e., persons of whom one is a member of a group marriage with the sister of another, may be married to sisters from a third clan. And in this case, although these persons have lost their rights of group marriage with /208/ respect to their sisters-wives, nevertheless all their children are considered tuvn and may not marry each other.

Furthermore, formerly, under the pure intraphratral marriage, the clan did not have the right to give women either to that clan from which it itself took women or to the clan from which this other clan took wives, i.e., to the clans of fathers-in-law of the first and second degrees of kinship. This, as we have seen, was an automatic consequence of the rule under which a clan was obligated to give women to one of the other three clans of the phratry, namely, to that clan into which was married the sister of the father of their ancestor, and accordingly the other two clans of fathers-in-law became eo ipso prohibited for women of the given clan. Now, when individual members of a clan may take wives even outside the clan of the mother, the designation of akhmalk of the first and second degree is extended to all the clans from which even one clansman has taken his wife. Thus there may be a situation in which, if five men from clan A marry freely with persons from five separate clans,

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For each individual member of the clan this is expressed in the fact that outside of the clan in which he himself was born and in which neither he nor his progeny may marry, he must have /210/ at least two other clans: one the clan of his mother's brother, from which he and his male offspring take wives, and the other -- the clan of his father's sister, into which his female offspring marry.

As we know from the kinship terminology, the next to last clan mentioned bears with respect to the first one the special designation of akhmalk k:khal (clan of the fathers-in-law), and the last one ymg:i (clan of the sons-in-law /zyat'ya/), and all together are called pandf (persons of common origin). Since all three of these clans are blood kin (a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, and women marry the sons of their father's sister), in marriage relations each separate clan is in this fashion an organic member of a tripartite, blood-kin, three-clan union of pandf, a real cognate phratry, for in each generation all the husbands and wives are cognate male and female cousins. The Gilyak phratry, however, has nothing in common with the Morgan one, for within it marriages are not only allowed, but are obligatory.

The Gilyak three-clan phratry may be presented in the form of the following schematic table: (see following page)

Schem

Clan A (Andrey)

Ancestors:
Andrey, Vera.
Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S.
Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.

Their children:
1) The sons marry the daughters of the brothe of their mother, of Vasiliy of clan V.

2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister o their father, of Anna of clan S.

1: Shternberg--309 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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natic Table No. 1 of the Three-clan Cognate Phratry.

	Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)
	Ancestors: Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.	Ancestors: Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.
er f	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera from clan A.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey from clan A. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Sof'ya from clan V.

1: Shternberg--310 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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In succeeding generations marriages proceed according to the same rule: men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, women marry the sons of their father's sister.

In such a form the phratry provided, matrimonially, for all the clans entering it, satisfying the basic norm of marriage, because in each of these clans a man marries the daughter /211/ of his mother's brother, and women marry into a third clan, the sons of their father's sister.

But such a marital organization of the phratry violates another norm of marriage, according to which it is prohibited to give women to the clan of the father-in-law of the second degree (tujma akhmalk). Applying this norm to our hypothetical phratry, we obtain the following:

Clan V gives women to A, which, in turn, gives them to S; consequently, V is the father-in-law of the second degree to S, and therefore this latter cannot give women to clan V, and, thus, the wife of Vasiliy cannot be the sister of Stepan. Thus, the men of clan V remain without wives, and the women of S -- without husbands. To remove this obstacle it is necessary that there be one clan in the phratry, a fourth, from which V would take women and to which clan S would give its women, and, thus, a four-clan phratry appeared on the scene.

The corresponding changes in the kinship relations of the four-clan phratry will be clear from Table No. 2. (see following page)

Clan A (Andrey)

Ancestors:

Andrey, Vera.
Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S.
Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.

Their children:

1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy from clan V.

1: Shternberg--311 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RXC Glyak RXC
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Schematic Table No. 2 of the Four-clan Cognate Phratry.

Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)	Clan D (Dem'yan)
Ancestors:	Ancestors:	Ancestors:
Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Dem'yan from clan D.	Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Mariya, who is married into clan D. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.	Dem'yan, Mariya. Dem'yan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Mariya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Dem'yan from clan D.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey, from clan A.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S.

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*614 In succeeding generations marriages proceed according
●615 to the same principle as in the foregoing generations: the men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, and the women marry the sons of their father's sister.

Analyzing this table, we see that:

1) In each clan every generation of men takes its wives from the /212/ clan from which their ancestress came, specifically, each individual man takes a wife from the clan of his mother, while the women of each clan marry, according to generation, into the clan into which their ancestress was married, specifically, each individual woman takes her husband from that clan in which her father's sister is married. Exchange of women between two clans is not permitted.

2) Clan A, therefore, takes its women from clan V (the clan from which the ancestress of A, Vera, was taken), but it cannot in return give its women to this clan, but gives them to clan S, where the sister of its ancestor, Anna, is married. It therefore remains for clan V to take its wives either from S or from D, but clan S is prohibited to it, because in relation to this clan it is tujma akhmalk, father-in-law of the second degree (see above); therefore it remains for clan V to take its wives only from clan D, from which was drawn the ancestress of clan V (Sof'ya). After that only the women from clan S and the men from clan D remain unaccounted for, and, as we see from the table, the latter marry the former, and thus the entire phratry is provided for matrimonially, and all the marriage norms are observed.

3) In every conjugal pair, the husband is the son of the sister of the father of his wife, and, consequently, husband and wife are always cognate cousins.

[602] The interrelationships of the members of the various clans of the phratries are clear from the following analysis of the relationships between the ancestors. Let us begin with Andrey from clan A.

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*614 Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Vasily and
●615 Vera, because the sister of the father of the latter was the
602 mother of Andrey. In exactly the same way, Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Stepan and Mariya, because the mother of the latter is the sister of the father of Andrey. Only in relation to Dem'yan and Sof'ya is Andrey a cousin of the second degree, for the clan of Dem'yan (D) takes its women from S, which, in turn, takes them from A; consequently the grandmother of Dem'yan was the sister of the grandfather of A, and thus Andrey and Dem'yan are cognate cousins of the second degree.

It is easy to see that the relationship of every other ancestor to the others is the same as that of Andrey, and similar relationships will exist in every generation between the representatives of the different clans, since the marriage norm in every case is the same. From this analysis it follows that: 1) in each generation the representatives of all four clans are either brothers and sisters to each other, or cousins. In a word, people of the same origin on the male and female side; 2) in clans united by marriage relationships, in each generation the husbands, on the one hand, and their wives, on the other, are cognate cousins of the first degree; 3) between clans not /213/ united by marriage relationships, i.e., clans which are tujma akhmalk to each other, for example, between clans A and D, both the husbands and wives are reciprocally cousins of the second degree, i.e., they are more distantly related than the marrying clans; thus remoteness of kinship beyond a certain degree, as in Australia, is an obstacle to marriage.

The relationship between the marrying ones may be defined in greater detail in the following manner: if "I" am a man, my father-in-law is the brother of my mother and a cousin of the first degree of my father, while my mother-in-law is a cousin of the second degree of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother. If "I" am a woman, my father-in-law is a cousin of the first degree of my father and a cousin of the second degree of

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*614 my mother, while my mother-in-law is the sister of my
●615 father and a cousin of the first degree of my mothers; that
602 is to say, husband and wife are kin on both their fathers' and their mothers' sides. On the side of their fathers, on the one hand, and on the side of their mothers, on the other, they are alike cousins of the second degree; on the side of the father of the wife and of the mother of the husband, they are cousins of the first degree, while on the side of the father of the husband and of the mother of the wife, they are cousins of the third degree.

4) The kinship relations between the clans work out in the following ways: a) clan A is the akhmalk (father-in-law in the first degree) of clan S; it is also the tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree) of clan D, and, finally, the ymgri (son-in-law /syat'/) of clan V (although at the same time it is formally the father-in-law of the third degree of the latter, because D is the father-in-law of V); b) clan V stands in exactly the same relationship toward clans A, S, and D, as does clan S toward clans D, V and A, and, finally, clan D toward clans V, A and S. All the clans stand in the relation of pandf (people of a common origin) to each other. From this relationship between the clans it follows that an ymgri is the father-in-law of the third degree in relation to his genuine father-in-law, from which it appears, in turn, that a father-in-law of the third degree is a degree of kinship completely unnecessary for the regulation of marriage. And, in fact, it does not exist in the terminology, which has only two forms of kinship with the father-in-law: akhmalk (father-in-law of the first degree), and tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree).

5) From the above it follows that the tujma akhmalk assumes a reciprocal relationship: A is the tujma akhmalk of D, while D, in turn, is the tujma akhmalk of A, and, since, as we know from the contemporary marriage rights of the Gilyak, women cannot be given to the tujma akhmalk

/213 cont./

*614 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the
●615 tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are
602 possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

532 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among
*104 the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the
121 daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

532 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian
*104 Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia
121 rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i
114 ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

/228 cont./

114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
191 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
*104 is met if "I" am a woman.
801 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
*835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
*104 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
*835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
●615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
191 son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
104 "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clam A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
*104 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
*835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

/229/

*104 Let us further suppose for simplicity's sake that each
*835 phratry consists of one generation -- groups of brothers and
121 sisters, own and collateral, of different degrees of kinship.

●615 We shall designate groups of male cousins of one division with capital letters. $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$, and their sisters with the corresponding small letters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$. In the other phratry the corresponding designation for the brothers will be $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$, and for their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4$, where identical letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin kinship among different groups (adjacent groups will be cousins of the first degree, while the degree of kinship between other groups will be expressed by variations in their indices). Like indices of groups having different letters show that persons of these groups are cousins of the first degree both on their father's side and on their mother's side; A^1, and a^1 are cousins of the first degree to V^1, v^1; A^2, a^2 are also cousins of the first degree to V^2, v^2, etc. But in groups having different letters and different indices, the difference in the indices plus one will show the corresponding degree of cousin kinship: A^1, a^1 are cousins of the second degree to V^2, v^2; A^2, a^2 are cousins of the second degree to V^3, v^3, etc.

Since groups with different letters and identical indices are cousins of the first degree, and these groups are mutually obliged to marry each other, A^1 marries v^1 (the sister of V^1), while the latter marries a^1, the sister of A^1; likewise A^2 marries v^2, V^2 marries a^2, etc.

A general picture of marriage can thus be presented in the form of the following table:

Division I $(A^1 + V^1) + (A^2 + V^2) + (A^3 + V^3) + (A^4 + V^4)$ etc.
Division II $(V^1 + a^1) + (V^2 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^3) + (V^4 + a^4)$ etc.

/229 cont./

121 The general composition of the phratry may be represented
*104 in the following table (see p. 230 /of the original text/).
*835 /230/
121
*104 /
●615 /
*835

I	II
Group of male cousins	Groups of male cousins
$A^1 - A^2 + A^3 + A^4 + A^5 \ldots$	$V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 + V^5 + V^6 \ldots$
Their sisters	
$a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 + a^5 + a^6 \ldots$	$v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 + v^5 + v^6 \ldots$

Since the groups $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$ etc. and their sisters are related to one another in the same way as the members of the second group V^1, V^2, V^3, V^4 and their sisters, according to the norms of cross-cousin marriage, A^1 is married to v^1 (a sister of V^1); A^2 is married to v^2; A^3 to v^3; A^4 to v^4, etc., and, conversely, V^1 is married to a^1, V^2 to a^2, V^3 to a^3, V^4 to a^4, etc., in each generation.

Now let us imagine the moment when society first became aware of the harm of cross marriage between cousins of the first
[171] degree. From the details of Australian marriage, we know that the first step in this direction was the prohibition of cross marriage between cousins of the first degree and the establishing of cross marriage between cousins of the second degree. As a consequence of this, A^1 no longer marries v^1, but rather his cousin of the second degree, v^2, just as V^1 must now marry a^2, etc.

Marriages under this new arrangement present the following appearance: Division I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^3) + (A^3 + v^4) + (V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^4)$ etc. (see errata for original p. 230, line 18, on p. 739 of the foreign text.).
Division II $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^1 + a^3) + (V^2 + a^4) + (V^3 + a^5)$ etc.

It is easy to see that under this arrangement each half of the society is in turn separated into two halves, into two matrimonially isolated groups, namely, the odd members of each division make up only one group, while the even members make up another, and in both divisions together four groups are formed.

/230 cont./

121 This four-group division is expressed in the following
form:
*174 Group I $(A^1 + v^3) + (A^3 + v^1) + (A^5 + v^6)$ and other odd
● 615 members.
*835 Group II $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5)$ and other even members.

Group III $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6)$ and other odd members.

Group IV $(V^2 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^6 + a^5)$ and other even members.

121 The first group is nebrakopravomochna (inmarriageable
171 /given in English/) with IV, because in some cases, if the
*174 families become joined in wedlock in /231/ consecutive
615 order, for example $(A^1 + v^2)$ with $(V^2 + a^1)$, then the chil-
*835 dren of these families will be bilateral cousins, for their fathers are mutually married to each other's sisters; in other cases, for example in families $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^4 + a^3)$, the children will be not cousins of the second degree, but cousins of the third or fourth degree, which is avoided by the Australian system. For the same reason groups II and III are unmarriageable, while groups I and III and groups II and IV are entirely marriageable in the consecutive order of the families. Thus, for example, in the families $(A^1 + v^2)$ from group I and $(V^1 + a^2)$ from III, as is seen from the indices, the father of the first family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the second family, and, conversely, the father of the second family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the first family; consequently, their children are second degree cousins on the side of both their fathers and their mothers, which is just what is necessary in Australian marriage.

But these groups in the Australian system could not develop into the present clan units, because each pair of marriageable groups remained marriageable for only one generation; consequently, the following generation, as the offspring of brother and sister, could not marry, being

/231 cont./

121 cross cousins of the first degree, and for this reason these
● 615 groups could not become fixed into hereditary unions and
*835 therefore formed only class generations, the whole practical
*174 significance of which was in the mnemonic fixation of the
[171] marriage norms.

The role of the four-group division developed quite differently with the Gilyak type of marriage. Here, too, the initial motive was the realization of the harm of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but while in the Australian system the question was resolved by means of a transition to marriages between cousins of the second degree and the absolute prohibition on marriages between cousins of the first degree, with the preservation, however, of the exchange marriage, in the Gilyak marriage the change of norms was limited merely to a prohibition on marriages between bilateral cousins of the first degree, i.e., marriages where the spouses are cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. Here marriage remained obligatory between cousins of the first degree, but only if they were unilateral, i.e., either on the side of the father or on the side of the mother; through this, mutual marriages between two families became absolutely forbidden: under no condition could two men marry each others' sisters; consequently, marriage even between bilateral cousins of the second degree became impossible.

Now let us see how this regulation led to the Gilyak type of phratry.

121 /232/ Let us recall again the phratry with two divisions,
*174 with marriage between cousins of the first degree. In order
*835 to facilitate orientation, we repeat the previously intro-
615 duced diagram of the composition of each generation of spouses according to degrees of kinship, with cross marriage between cousins of the first degree.

/232 cont./

121 Division I: men $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$
*174 their sisters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$
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*835
● 615

Division II: men $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$
their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 \ldots$

The same letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin relationship. Persons of different letter-groups with identical indices, for example, A^1, a^1 and V^1, and v^1, or A^2, a^2 and V^2, v^2, are bilateral cousins of the first degree, and they usually join in cross-marriage, i.e., A^1 marries v^1 and V^1 marries a^1. Persons of different letter-groups with different indices are cousins of more remote degrees according to the larger index.

And now let us imagine the moment when the transition from bilateral cousin marriage to unilateral marriage began, and when the exchange of sisters, that is, cross-cousin marriage, became prohibited.

This transition could not be completed all at once. Among individuals of both divisions there were no unilateral cousins at all, because these were all products of cross-cousin marriage. But since marriages between cousins of the first degree became absolutely prohibited, it would doubtless have become necessary for the first time to arrange marriages between cousins of the next closest degrees. The most
[171] rational must be, as we have seen among the Australians, marriage between cousins of the second degree, but, in contrast to the Australian regime, where this form could be strictly put into practice in both divisions (1), here, as a

1. See the above table on p. 338.

consequence of the prohibition of the exchange of women, this form could be employed only in one division of society.

/232 cont./

121 In fact, if A^1 married his cousin of the second degree,
*174 v^2, then the brother of the latter, V^2, could not marry either
● 615 a^1 or a^2, because in such a case two men would be married
*835 to each others' sisters. Therefore, V^2 was obliged to take a cousin of the third degree, a^3. The other cases are handled in exactly the same way.

/233/ Converting this rule into our schematic rows, we obtain the following table of marriage:

Division I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^1) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^5 + v^6) + A^6 + v^5) + (A^7 + v^8) + (A^8 + v^7)$.

Division II: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^2 + a^4) + V^3 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^8 + a^6)$ /see errata for original page 233, lines 5-6, on page 739 of the foreign text/.

In the following generation it already appears possible to fulfill the new principle of unilateral cousin marriage without an exchange of women, where each mother may marry her son to the daughter of her brother.

Analyzing the table we see that among the odd members of the first division, women have the same indices, respectively, as men have among the even members of the second division, i.e., in these two groups and in each pair of families of the same order, for example, $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^1)$, the woman of the first family is a sister to the man of the second, but the woman of the second family is not his sister, but his first cousin, the men of the first family are descendants of these families, and consequently they are unilateral cousins of the first degree. Thus, consistent with the Gilyak principle, according to which the son of the sister receives the daughter of her brother, the sons of the first family marry the children of the second. The reverse is not allowed.

/233 cont./

121 On the other hand, by comparing the odd members of the
*174 first division with the odd members of the second division,
● 615 we see that the men of the odd families of the first row and the
*835 women of the even families of the second row, for instance, the members $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^4)$, have identical indices, i.e., they are brothers and sisters, and consequently the sons of the second row marry the daughters of the first row. One can easily see that the same relationship will obtain between the even members of the first division and the other two rows of the second division.

[171] Thus, as in Australian marriage, the society, matrimonially, is naturally broken up into four groups:

Division I: Group I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6) + (A^7 + v^8)$ and other odd members.

Group II: $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5) + (A^8 + v^7)$ and other odd members.

Division II: Group III: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^1) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^7 + a^5)$ and other even members.

Group IV: $(V^2 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^6 + a^5) + (V^8 + a^6)$ and other even members.

The families of the first group take for their sons wives /234/ from the corresponding families of group IV, where the mothers of the first are the sisters of the fathers of the second, but the daughters of the first group enter the third group -- into families where their fathers' own sisters are. In exactly the same way the second group takes women from group IV and gives its women to group III. In a word, we have literally everything that we saw in the Gilyak marriage. Since exchange marriage between the two groups does not exist, and consequently in each following generation the descendants of the espoused clans will be unilateral cousins, marriages will without exception take place between the same groups and in the same order of families, so that, in contrast to the Australian groups, in this case these exogamous groups are converted into real clans. Thus we obtain the Gilyak four-clan phratry. In this phratry each clan is joined

/234 cont./

121 in marital relations with two other clans, but the fourth is
*174 absolutely forbidden to it, for it and this fourth one are a
● 615 subgroup of its own primitive exogamous division (groups I
*835 and II are prohibited to each other, and III and IV are likewise prohibited to each other). This prohibited clan is that Gilyak tujma akhmalk kkhal, the clan of the second degre the prohibition of which is so incomprehensible. Now the reason is clear: the tujma akhmalk clans are prohibited because they primordially entered into one common exogamo division.

That this prohibited clan fully corresponds to the Gilya may be easily ascertained from our table.

The first clan gives women to the third, and consequen it is its akhmalk of the first degree, but the third clan, in turn, gives women to the second, i.e., to the latter as wel it is an akhmalk of the first degree. Thus, the first clan is tujma akhmalk of the second clan, i.e., of the clan which is in the same exogamous division with it.

Thus, I hope that we have succeeded in proving the close genetic tie between the Gilyak system and the Australian one from which it separated at that stage when the change toward the elimination of marriage between bilateral cousins of the first degree began.

One system solved the question by means of a shift to marriages between male cousins of the second degree and the final prohibition of marriages between the children of brother and sister in the first generation -- a prohibition fixed in the institution of classes, as among the Arunta. The other system prohibited exchange marriages, preservin obligatory unilateral marriages between the offspring of brother and sister, and fixed its norms in the institution of the four-clan phratry.

A still third variant is possible. Let us once again imagine the moment when it was decided to shift /235/ from the bilateral marriage of cousins of the first degree to the unilateral one, when it will be impossible to exchan women. Until that moment society was divided into two halves in the following manner:

Table No. 2 (cont.)

2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna in clan S.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera in clan A.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Mariya in clan D.

1: Shternberg--312 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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/211cont./

2) Daughters
marry the sons
of the sisters
of their father,
of Sof'ya
in clan V.

/60 cont./

796 231 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

* 614 361 423 /110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the composition of the population is mixed. In the above-mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

/126 cont./

* 614 615 796 574 182 This rule is so strictly observed that the very host who has been most diligent in receiving and making presents to his ymgi is not even invited by the latter to the festival, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own akhmal'k. Thus there is formed an uninterrupted chain, uniting the long series of clans in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said something in the section on religion about the important part played by the ymgi in the bear festival. One goes out many versts to meet them and gives them the most honored function at the festival, namely, the killing of the bear, and all this time they are the center of attention for the whole clan. They are everywhere fed to the bursting point, dragged around from yurt to yurt, and, finally, before departure given a large part of the bear carcass. All these acts of hospitality and respectful attention are crowned with serious religious rites, sanctifying the fraternal union of the clans. At the beginning of the festival, the ymgi exchange nich'i (symbol of united co-operation in hunting, see above) with the host; before departure, the ymgi presents to his akhmal'k in parting dogs, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the mountains, the common sustainer of the clan; and at the last moment the ymgi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

* 614 615 ● 621 They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live forever with his pandf'y. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their ymgi or akhmal'k'i. But these ties prove of

* 614 615 ● 621 628 /127 cont./ But these ties prove of particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not participate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

* 614 615 609 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans, relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding generations give to each other, has finally become the customary appellation with which any member of another clan or stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward members of other clans.

609 574 [157] Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without discrimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers, the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

/235 cont./

I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5)+(A^6 + v^6)$.

II. $(V^1 + a^1)+(V^2 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^3)+(V^4 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^5)+(V^6 + a^6)$.

Now it is necessary to shift to the unilateral marriage, for exchanging sisters is impossible, but now there are no unilateral cousins of the first degree, and only for the first time is it possible to observe the prohibition on the exchange of sisters; consequently, the son of A^1 may marry the daughter of V^1, but the son of V^1 may not marry the daughter of A^1; he may marry the daughter of A^2, his female cousin of the nearest degree, etc. Then the picture of marriage is the following

I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5)+(A^6 + v^6)$

1. $(V^1 + a^3)+(V^2 + a^1)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^4 + a^3)+(V^5 + a^6)+(V^6 + a^5)$

I. 1) $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^5 + v^5)$: 1st clan takes women from clan 3, that of the mother's brother.

2) $(A^2 + v^2)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^6 + v^6)$: 2nd clan takes women from clan 4.

II. 3) $(V^1 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^6)$: 3rd clan takes women from clan 2.

4) $(V^2 + a^1)+(V^4 + a^3)+(V^6 + a^5)$: 4th clan takes women from clan 1.

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619 TRIBE AND NATION--presence or absence of groups larger than the community to which people think they "belong" in an extended kinship sense; basis of identification (e.g., common name, common language, contiguous territory, common culture, tradition of common descent); intratribal intercourse and communication (e.g., trade, intermarriage), degree of development of nationalistic aspirations; etc. See also:

Tribal or national political organization . . . 64
Affiliation with a culture area or subarea . . . 101
Ethnocentrism 486
Intercommunity relationships 628
Intertribal or international relationships 649
Nationalistic movements 668
Ideas about race 829

/669/

423 224 226 619 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the [648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 [421] [123] Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the [186] inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted [192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradn Russ. ukrast)), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met 685 123 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc., whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

THE NIVKHI

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(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General Information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group, and belong to the so-called paleo-Asiatic peoples. 101

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." They were known in Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks." This word evidently derives from "Gileke" and "Gilyami," as the Nivkhi are called among Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Soviet Sakhalin and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin. [162]

Thus, the Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the Lower Amur, along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjoining areas along the Tatar Strait and the Sea of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Negidal villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and its estuary; in the south they reach as far as Cape Lazarev; the northernmost village in the estuary is Kul' (181 km from Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live among the Ul'chi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Uda River. In 1884, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living today both on the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Rayon. In the Aleksandrovskiy and Shirokopadskiy Rayons there are only small groups of Nivkhi, who remained there after the resettlement of a large group in the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is today almost entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unvd. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyyvo; farther north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residents of the tiny hamlets scattered along the coast have 101 361 [619]

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621 COMMUNITY STRUCTURE--physical type (e.g., migratory band, settled village, neighborhood of scattered households, aggregation of hamlets, ward or other local subdivision of a town); kinship structure (e.g., clan-community, endogamous or exogamous deme, segmented community of associated clan-barrios, unsegmented but homogeneous community, heterogeneous community); socio-political and economic structure and organization; local subdivisions of the community; community population (e.g., mean, range); area of territory exploited (e.g., mean, range); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., name, local dialect, local culture); tendency toward local endogamy or exogamy; cohesive and fissive tendencies; neighborliness; local pride; etc. See also:

Physical characteristics and facilities of settlements 36
Social stratification 56
Interpersonal relations 57
Town and city government 63
Place names 108
Real property 423
Clans 618

/361 cont./

present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint work with him (more detail about this below).

12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

/664 cont./ The following remarks pertain only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their peculiarities.

Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak have no legal-administrative structure or organization for self-government: there are among them no individuals provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage no wars with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, etc., they need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or the like. Order is maintained by observing the ancient usages and the traditional customs, and in case of disputes and conflicts, self-help enters in, supported by the rules of blood revenge. Thus the Gilyak have no superiors or masters in their midst, but rather they are all legally equal, with, of course, the exception of the slaves, who, however, as has been said, are not Gilyak, but are foreigners in serfdom among them. For the concept of "master," which they first learned from the Manchu-Chinese, they therefore, for both the latter and the Russians, use the Chinese expression dshangin (3). Only once

3. Gerbillon (in Dukalde /Du Halde/, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 385) mentions the term "tschanghin" for a high official who enjoys the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such: it was in the isolated yurt of Miwwach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where the host introduced himself to me as the "dshangin of Miwwach, but evidently he merely wanted to indicate that he was the sole owner of the yurt.

116, 161, 177, 621 Russia
636.62

"The Gilyak on Sakhalin.....will surely die out with the further inroad of the European. The chief causes of the dying out of the natives is [LSS: sic] disease, the narrowing limits of their hunting-ground, the decay of the spirit of the race, and their inability to adapt themselves to another mode of living which is gradually but surely being forced upon them. The Government's attitude towards them is a 'correct' one. It recognizes them as Russian subjects, interferes as little as possible with their scant organization, and prohibits the sale of intoxicants to them. What is really required now, but hardly to be expected from officials whose function is the safeguarding of criminals, is a patriarchal government which shall interest itself in the race and its changing conditions."

174 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as the language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legends which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascertain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

161 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de-
177 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk).

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
161 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearance, they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assume that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.

161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

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622 HEADMEN--existence of community chiefs or headmen; qualifications; mode of selection (e.g., by seniority, informal acceptance, election, matrilineal or patrilineal succession); functions and activities; domestic establishment; special status and functions of headman's relatives; authority; prerogatives; etc. See also:

Headmen of sib groups 61
Chiefs of territorial divisions 63
Leadership traits 187
Chief executive of the state 643

/111 cont./

614 [167] Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the designations, Tyvli-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yekhre-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhri), N'yenkhay-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Nyenkhay), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

[171] 1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunov came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tskharnung, the Choril, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces its origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

614 /112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most 177 important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. However 648 complex, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not know 622 any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and at that not clan but settlement elders, but it had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode, but that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in some 614 instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which, according to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated with the

/113 cont./

596 Finally -- and this is particularly necessary to note -- it is not at all obligatory that at the head of large families with a common economy there should be elders in years; most frequently, on the contrary, they are young people who have distinguished themselves by their activity, resourcefulness, and zeal, in a word, 596 by their personal talents. Old men enjoy /114/ authority only with 888 regard to special questions, as the preservers of traditions, as experts in the rituals and history of the family-clan relations. They are consulted on confusing questions of kinship and in the giving of names; it is they who must supervise the ritual aspect of festivals, but this does not give them any power or advantages.

* 614 And that which is absent in the family -- the despotism of the ● 622 eldest, the head -- is also lacking in the clan. It knows neither despotic elders-patriarchs nor any permanent authorities in general, collective or individual, neither elected ones nor any by right of birth and inheritance.

* 614 The clan is not a fiction, however; it is a complicated institution, surrounding the Gilyak with a thick net of regulations, prohibitions, and obligations, but at the same time providing him with all the benefits, material and spiritual, of a firm social union.

We thus return to the question that we raised at the end of the preceding section. Where are the driving forces of the mechanism of this almighty institution -- the clan, where is the secret of the amazing combination of the closest community with a complete absence of despotism, of all-embracing wardship and regulation with the absence of compulsion and the maintenance of individual freedom?

This secret is contained in two conditions: 1) the simplicity of economic conditions and relations, which offers a broad scope to the comprehensive development of the powers and abilities of the individual and their free application to the wide-open gifts of nature equally free to all; and, secondly, the entire socio-religious world-outlook, which quite spontaneously, without any external pressure, directs the will and activity of each toward the harmony of the common interest, substituting for external compulsion the force of the inner consciousness of each.

/119 cont./

* 614 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and [537] knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the [532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions. [623] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the ● [622] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

* 614 /119 cont./

554 556 the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for li
● [622] or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do no yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison wit the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and l are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not t integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individ uality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

* 614 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring 182 the comprehensive development of the personality, togethe with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authori exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at al as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

[623] Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regul assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once th problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly it appeared.

/360 cont./
among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The intervention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fishing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

/360 cont./

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/621 cont./

Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives, from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

/622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tributary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region, among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves, by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate [114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

/622 cont./

and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

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Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rin with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin

1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro); it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha: the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had taken place.

2: Schrenck--1879 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

648 /664 cont. / The following remarks pertain
128 only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their peculiarities.

621 Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak
622 have no legal-administrative structure or organization for self-government: there are among them no individuals provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage no wars with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, etc., they need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or the like. Order is maintained by observing the ancient usages and the traditional customs, and in case of disputes and conflicts, self-help enters in, supported by the rules of blood
[567] revenge. Thus the Gilyak have no superiors or masters in their midst, but rather they are all legally equal, with, of course, the exception of the slaves, who, however, as has been said, are not Gilyak, but are foreigners in serfdom among them. For
[177] the concept of "master," which they first learned from the Manchu-Chinese, they therefore, for both the latter and the Russians, use the Chinese expression dshangin (3). Only once

3. Gerbillon (in Dukalde /Du Halde/, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 385) mentions the term "tschanghin" for a high official who enjoys the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such: it was in the isolated yurt of Miwwach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where the host introduced himself to me as the "dshangin of Miwwach," but evidently he merely wanted to indicate that he was the sole owner of the yurt.

4: Kanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1904 RX2 Gilyak RX2

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
629 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
601 the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[198] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
614 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
561 (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
175 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
439 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
614 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
184 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and
182 bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time
[556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
175 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
648 and gasyanda—village elders.
614
622 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
175 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
178 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch
[567] was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

9: Hawes--259-260 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 342, 361, 622

"We drew up in front of the 'great city' of Nivo, consisting of less than two dozen huts, dwellings which would be reckoned miserable by the occupants of Irish [260] hovels. At the usual signal, twelve pair of stalwart hands were ready to haul up our canoe, and we strode up the sands to meet the headman of the village, or, as my interpreter called him, the 'Lord Mayor of the city of Nivo.'

The 'Mansion House' of the 'Lord Mayor of Nivo,' which I now entered in the usual humble fashion, was rather larger than those we had seen hitherto, but in other respects exactly similar. Outside, on either side of the three-foot doorway, were two broad shelves sheltered by an extension of the roof, and containing winter sledges and all manner of tackle not required until later in the year. Inside was a goodly gathering, some score, of Gilyaks, who were to be our sleeping companions that night. These comprised the starosta, his two wives, his children and relatives, the latter including our Armunka, who was a distant cousin."

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

● 622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier [XIV, p. 223], [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi
796 pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
● 622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
● 622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their involuntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand completely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it wants to attack its tormentors.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
841 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, however, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the track by their owners and placed next to each other, they were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

623

624 COUNCILS--existence of advisory or deliberative bodies within the community (e.g., council of elders, assembly of adult males); membership; mode of selection, organization; functions (e.g., advisory, judicial, legislative); conduct of sessions; powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:
Councils of territorial divisions . . . . . 63 Legislative and deliberative bodies of the state. . 666

/119 cont./

* 614 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and
[537] knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, "shlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the
[532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions.
● [623] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the
[622] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

/119 cont./

*614 the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for life,
854 or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or
556 [622] founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not that integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individuality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there is no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

*614 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring is
182 the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent, Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole
[623] totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

/120 cont./

*614 Then there are the hejmary, the elders, all of whose author-
182 ity consists in the solution of moot problems of cult and kinship.
● 623 They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*614 Finally, the third element of authority is the yz'i.
187 Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these
556 [554] three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/ VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and
*614 a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhmal'k and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following
587 the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, oia. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,
614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages
[329] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the
[667] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the
● [623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the in-
173 capacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

● 623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

● 623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry- which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called brodyagi (i.e., loafers are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 361, 563, 624

sergeant, but his duties are as varied as those of a prefect in F
commissioner in India. Police, military, the census, agricultu
these and more come within his cares; and for this he is paid t
thirty rubles (three guineas) a month. Tracking escaped convic
important of his functions at Ado Tim, and he was away down th
when we arrived."

France, or even a deputy-
re, and 'roads,' all
he magnificent sum of
ts was not the least
he river on this errand

626

626 SOCIAL CONTROL--incentives to conformity (e.g., expectation of rewards, reciprocity, fear of social and supernatural sanctions, conscience), means of inducing conformity (e.g., example, precept, praise, rewards, warnings, threats); pressure of public opinion; informal mechanisms of social control (e.g., criticism, ridicule, gossip, cursing, sorcery, intentional silence, ostracism); incidence and effectiveness of such sanctions as compared with the application of physical force; etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Niceness to beaches of etiquette	576
Social norms	183	Breaches of ethics	577
Public opinion	158	Ingroup arrangements	670
Wit and humor	522	Sorcery	724
Curse and gossip	654	Supernatural sanctions for violations of taboos and other offenses	794
Lust of face	150		
Kinship group	571	Cursing	769

*835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
578 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
834 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the house, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
166 and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
*835 a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
578 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[594] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and unfortunately for any

/250 cont./
831 Such instances must not be regarded as a general
192 phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors are also acting. Among the married women, such factors are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an economic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily the Loveiaces either do not maintain households at all or, if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both
[626] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And
[842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages
831 to dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of
158 dissoluteness on the psychics. A whole series of nervous disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among both men and women, and diseases connected with the full loss of psychic composure (self-control /given in English/) are the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the appearance of hysteria.

831 Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom
192 described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term for love, ef'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term for reciprocal love -- ef'mundi; for marriage for love, ef'mur:kir, vayvnd. There are also some other terms for love, for example, hyvnd and others, but the one as special terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although /251/ one can say eimula nagryvn, i.e., "man whom they love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/251 cont./
831 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
192 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
824 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
543 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
• 626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

829 /252/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the
Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty
and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
837 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
599 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
832 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij --
in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/276 cont./
543 years regularly sent him rice, tobacco,
431 and tea, and divided with him all that
he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

• [626] return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is in essence as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

[191] 2. Incidentally, among the Turkic peoples and the Shoshoni Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be
583 axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another. It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no
583 bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last
187 case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

/308 cont./
765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your
mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
774 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
• 626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "main khardz:. " "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's classmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
587 is over.
768

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half
a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old was cremated, his mother would not have chil-
dren for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[751] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Tilghf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a tolv'ŋ, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinyn -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red curants. They pity the man; they select two or three /369/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinyn nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/333 cont./
224 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
782 trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigvnd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

833 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are
147 found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a
784 woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If
• [626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or
hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs.
Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tor' (?), and
the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

224 Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
[252] and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly
kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh thhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of thhusind.

198 urla-dun 'good meat' they say amra-elvia-dun 'amra bad
225 meat.'
urla-dun 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dun 'amra good
meat.'

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
781 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance
one must not pour water out of the boat onto flow where seals
had been killed. Xitrov, who told me about it, said that he all
but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat
onto flow with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the
hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number
of taboos; the same applies for those who remain home and,
especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in
the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any
objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the
seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not let leather for shoes (ki-ut), otherwise the
seals will forget.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would
not be able to hunt seals.

[15] In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my
conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place
in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts
from the new settlement Alexandrovsk) on June 8th, 1908. I was
sitting in Gilyak Rogyin's yurt. Present were, besides Rogyin
and myself, the Gilyaks Kavagun, Chukich, Furagg and the late
old man Pitunga, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

Rogyin said: 'When you go seal hunting in the spring you
know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will
scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home,
the seal will start fighting. If the woman wash something at
home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even
if it were set more than five steps away from him. We say that
all the hunter can do is bet the loam. Obviously, the 'god' Sas

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
782 smell if a thief is in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
relations with another man while her husband is away on a
hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inte-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of
our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives
and later find out from neighbors in the village what had
really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it
and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the
sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the seal hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks
jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - says, plates
or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter,
say, the leader of the gang, may drown. Therefore those
at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter
will not get hold of a seal. There he returns home angry and tries
to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.
786 Rogyin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence of
825 of a god, god's point on which I did not want to agree with him.
'Here came a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going
on at home?' he told me. 'Surely this must be telling him
about it. That's why we say that he knows.'

Incidentally, after my conversation with Rogyin, Pitunka
told me that the neighbor in the 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
following ul. ni 'taboo.' 'We' during a seal hunt the guest
must not 'eat' the tentacles of a seal or teapot. Only the
master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time)
could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If
the guest wanted to pour out tea, he touched the handle of a settle or
teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve,
and put it into the teapot.

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pitunka spoke of a beath.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
811 hunt seals, walruses, sea lions, etc.; the sea cat; the fox and
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of
seals.

Pila-la-r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-ra 'present sivuch', i.e. a sivuch born in the
given year.

2. Tyl-r, literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year
old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash his head and its
782 mouth with water, and then they have a special scoop
r. ainkiu-ymrut; literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i.e. the scoop for washing the face of the animal.
The hunters with pika-r stick in them are taken home.
225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila. performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines tak. Regardless of the
825 number of killed seals belonging to one "harvesting", this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch. The pila. takes the liver of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the figurines with a sivuch's liver, the latter would die. After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the hunter. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. Thus - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - the blood only of five sivuchs have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila.
asserting, that it is not the sivuch killed by him who is the lord of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incidents. Once upon a time
a Gilyak by the name of Ikar killed an old sivuch during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.
784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
782 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women)are
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Gilyaks reason about taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these explanations.The meaning of taboos is the taboo
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

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A boy must not play with a joke or with a boar; used by
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[/17 cont./]

But the worst of calamities -- a claimant has been slain
War is inevitable! ... The whole population takes up arms.
There is no regular leader, no advice, and no election. The
natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all.
is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen, it is the so-called
"master," "gi" - all men are turned into heroes.
And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes
a military leader, gives orders, distributes weapons, fixes the
time of the battle, marches, etc.; in short, he does everything that
if this natural leader had died or been killed, everything would
one most worthy to replace him.
614 [/18] Civil disputes between the clans and strife arises between clansmen or
614 tween [/18] representatives of different clans. There are no
established persons who ex officio resolve disputes and difficu
614 [/19] Civil disputes between clansmen are settled by the elders
sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obli
tion of his own free will, the accuser, not stopping to mediate
whatever, a dog from the clan of the defendant and kills the
house in order to take for himself something equal in value to
claim. And the accuser considers this in the order of things.
614 The affair is settled, and the dog is eaten. Sometimes
affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It
enough for the offended party merely to address himself directly
through a third party to the offender and tell him the complaint
individuals-"masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and
matter is very quickly settled. They summon the offender, who
is usually escorted by his clansmen. Gifts are poured out
both sides, the incident is closed. There is also a more
fellicious outcome when the representatives of a blood clan
living in the same settlement intervene in the affair.
offender hubtuin voluntarily; otherwise, they will, of course, separate the
[/17 proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an equivalent
[illegible]

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627 INFORMAL INGROUP JUSTICE--informalized mechanisms for adjusting grievances and applying sanctions within the community; primary relations [illegible] - fetching, hiring and fostering; feuding; mediation; organized [illegible]; informal hearings before the headman or local council; etc. Data on informal [illegible] under 69 rather than under this category whenever formal judicial institutions are found even at the community level. See also:
Justice, 17 Offense and punishment

624

LOCAL OFFICIALS--specialized offices within the community (e.g., war chief, fire chief, talking chief, recorder of deeds, surveyor, herald, chief priest); qualifications, mode of selection, functions, activities, and prerogatives of each type of official; etc. See also:

Officials of territorial divisions 63
Military organization 70
State bureaucracy 647
Priesthood 793

9: Hawes--137-1
116, 361, 563, 6

"We were nearin
interior. The na
settlement lay h
We had no wis
and we would ra
but the natives r
ashore, hoping t
On either side o
miserably poor,
others with loos
clad were indisc

1. The Eas

a fire kindled be
betokened tobac
in the scantiest
simply in a froc
autumn morning
Each village h

g Ado Tim, the last Russian penal settlement of all in the northern
tive village of that name was situated on the banks lower down, but the
alf a verst from the river.
h to arrest our progress here, the settlement had a very bad reputation,
ther camp in the open, or among the natives, from what we had heard;
efused to take us further except at a prohibitive price, and we went
hat time would settle our difference.....[138]
f the broad grass track of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy,
out-of-repair log-huts, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards,
e pieces of bark. Pigs, a foal or two, and a few children, miserably
riminately scattered on the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

t Siberian name for Salmo lagocephalus.

neath, and bunches of withering green leaves by the hutside in the sun
o drying. Women wandered about barefooted, and they and the men were
of clothing, the latter in a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former
k and an extra bodice. It was always a matter of wonder to me how in
s and late afternoons they could stand the cold so miserably clothed.
as its overseer, who is a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

/170 cont./

anŋej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through the same symbolic actions that people go through during the betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat together. To say to a woman of the anŋej category, "Let us have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said, is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and hence it does not constitute a violation of religious morali, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (and, if goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamievo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I

/170 cont./

complaint against a local woman, who the evening before had seized him by the leg, on the grounds of which he was demanding "ransom." They summoned the culprit. She confessed and by the decision of the assembly she was obliged to hand over publicly to her accuser an adjudged ransom, namely, a bear's gall bladder, a bark dish. Why the fine was limited to such insignificant objects (if they were not merely symbols of especially female labor) I explain only by the fact that the guilty woman was entirely alone and did not possess anything more valuable.

/171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen, punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and inevitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons of forbidden categories has become converted into that same instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual intercourse between the categories of ŋu and anŋej realized. In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

/278 cont./

chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do kinsmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

/298 cont./

A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /syat'/, kikhal or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the kikhal keeps silent, but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla-ŋ'ymydz).

A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis skin bow. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to her: "U'ur humyjŋ! Wingan ŋrur humyjŋ -live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylŋg-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries. Tulk -- for dog which has been been specially for the uig.

When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ŋgangof.

V.

Slaves

The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure." Then he is a kikhal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

/302 cont./

Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /syat'/ has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:ukh, the third -- yeshŋe-k:ukh, the fourth -- ryly-k:ukh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be untiers. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and the must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and, if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /syat'/, in case of a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned, except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /syat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-40 rubles) or a bear as a present.

/303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth. The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khes', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhye'u nyydz:rd -- in Gilyak.

One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz') ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jengz:az' tongz' thamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/304 cont./

for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire village, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begin to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyz').-- about an arshin in length with a human chkhaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'vukh'a (the settlement of Kargo, 1896).

Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in order to put in earrings (mer'ab); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be sleep only after she begins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the ŋgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives accommodates a guest under one blanket.

A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it begins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mum). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in the balagan, in summer -- three days.

One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/358 cont./

It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

The khlaj-nivukh obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Revenge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but in the recollection of the Amur Gilyak (the popular memory; they tell of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/359 cont./

614 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in
591 the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the
422 debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of
428 a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We
632 have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a
768 Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased
[763] man's "ruva" his widow and children should go. Before the gathering of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the
627 participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the
[685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/360 cont./

614 among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly
621 imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-
695 geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations
614 ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His suc-
622 cessor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The inter-
[677] vention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

614 11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from
621 one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to
[677] remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tykl, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly
614 arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon
669 his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fish-
621 ing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This
[591] latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as it done at

/271 cont./

766 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,
778
532

† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p.1266/, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /272/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the
[674] murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn, projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgbo, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

778 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the
532 ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the
825 Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

[628] 1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect,
[627] is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

Gi 6/di RX3 OKh9

/272 cont./

G 778 1. (cont.)
532 members of a village -- or -- as in the case
825 of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.
G 827
628

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does
766 not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the
775 wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

G 62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin)
764 told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes
184 of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)
778

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo
G 764 (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-
184 wise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tututngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

G 64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of
[784] Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak
[1911] are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/273/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 28).

Gi 65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of
764 Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu
531 on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

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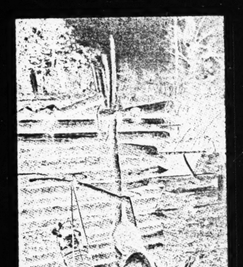

Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could 614
also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, 621
the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint [372]
was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and
gave a piece to the part that split off.

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a 614
clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's 621
clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhustin). In
reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role
was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their
duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
621 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in
[198] his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[549] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
614 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
561 (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ulu).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal
[556] articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other
[595] neighbors. Members of the Tyalung clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[569] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
175 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada-- clan elders,
649 and gasyanda--village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
822 subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
175 appeared, in the institution of "half-sharers." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of participants, but those who used
[549] was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
77 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
[1] of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about the
[1] waves, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'--a "master" of other animals. Almost every phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pul-yz'--the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'--the "master"

116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense of the word the Gily
nearest approach to it was a prescriptive right, sanctioned
place snares along certain creeks. The right of all to roam
freely recognized; but they would have resented the placing
and backwaters by the Tungus and Orochons, although, rath
they would have simply gone elsewhere. As among themselv
and tracks for snaring had been made in olden [301] times;
sanctioned by time are seldom transgressed. The abundanc
prowess of the pioneers, yielded little cause for quarrel, a
according to the number of snares which the owner of the hu
a dispute arose, and was settled by reference to the klenu,
duels. In the latter case the disputants fought with a weapon
straight blade; but as they were always surrounded by a goo
batants were parted when either became exhausted, and the
a fatal ending."

aks have no conception. The
by immemorial custom, to
over the land in hunting was
of snares in chosen creeks
er than provoke hostilities,
ves, the division of the creeks
and the customary boundaries
e of game, coupled with the
nd spots were simply annexed
it possessed. Here and there
the elders in council, or by
like a hedge-bill, with a
odly concourse, the com-
duel was not allowed to have

116, 627, 682

"Murder is not an uncommon occurr
upon the slightest provocation. They ar
dictated by superstition, which differ in
punished by the friends of the deceased,
death, generally by counter-murder. A
notion of justice."

ence among these people, being often committed
e governed by no established laws except those
different localities. A murderer is usually
who are bound in some manner to avenge his
n eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is their

6

28

"The Gilyaks are, as we have seen, divided i
coast people, besides the mainland or Amur
khala, or clans. Each khal consists of a fami
grandfathers, uncles, etc. The eldest repres
members are to be found scattered in many v
elders, to whom the injured apply. In cases c
and the eldest male of the injured man's fami
bows and arrows ready strung, but the counci
peacefully, and ordinarily they succeed, the
criminal pays a heavy fine.

The Russian authorities wisely refrain fro
in each village, whom they term the starosta

nto tribes, viz. the Tim, Tro, and west
Gilyaks. These tribes are sub-divided into
ly circle. The limits are vague, but include
entative of the khal is the chief, and the
illages. Each village has its council of
of mortal offence, both parties, the criminal
ly, march out against one another with
il sitting around urge them to end the matter
rivals embrace, talk peace, and the

n interference, and look to the richest man
, to keep order, etc."

makes the comparison ev
there have been cases wh
by decent people, for exa
fore that behaved properly.
found in the peculiar man
individual regards strange
extent inclined to regard
ever, this fact has in re
and misinterpreted by som
pointed out how the Gilya
put themselves in the pla
fellow-tribesmen, and to s
must remember that, whe
moral impulses such as
pleasures, the sense of j
make room for the egoist
tends to repress understa
vindictiveness, etc. - break
face to face with stranger
put their worst foot forwa
with the civilized world.
Brunière, who in the year
way of the Amur and the
robbed and murdered out
his case was and has re
village of Vaida (32 versts
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) stil

en more valuable. Unfortunately,
here Gilyak have been wronged
ample by soldiers who had be-
. The causes for that may be
nner in which the uncultivated
e peoples. He is to a certain
foreigners as outlaws. How-
ecent times been badly misused
ne philosophers. We have
k themselves were able to
ce of strangers as well as
sympathize with them. But one
ere strangers are concerned,
compassion, the sharing of
ustice, etc., more than ever
tic impulses. Everything that
nding and sympathy-greed,
s out more easily if one is
rs. The Gilyak unfortunately
ard in their first acquaintance
The French missionary, Le
1848 came from China by
Ussuri to the Gilyak was
of pure lust for booty. But
mained an exception. The
from the present city of
l has about 200 inhabitants

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
●628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The
[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/94 cont./

*614 clansman who was not avenged or did not receive the honors
775 of the funeral ritual and therefore did not enter the "settlement of the dead," can pass into the clan of the evil deities or simply revenge himself on the clan however he can, on his own responsibility and risk. The same can happen with an offended member of another clan. The struggle with such foes of the clan or their placation is as urgent a requirement for all clansmen as the satisfying of the clan deities-protectors. Thus there arise common obligations with respect to the compensation of the shaman for his labors and dangers in the struggle with such foes, or common expenses and labors for placation, gift-giving, vengeance, payment of blood money, etc.

*614 6. One tkhusind -- common blood-money, ransom,
●628 fine; in the broad sense the mutual guarantee of the whole clan against any encroachment on the rights of a clansman by a member of another clan, and vice versa. By the tkhusind is understood not only the ransom obtained or paid by the clan in matters of vengeance, but also that which is exacted for every possible reason -- from the most serious to the most trifling. Thus, the tkhusind is exacted for the abduction of a woman, for an injury to a woman's honor, for the profanation of holy things, for example, the defilement of the hearth, the violation of a taboo at the bear festival, for theft, etc. In all such situations the mutual guarantee, both for the defense of a right violated by a member of another clan and in answer to a similar violation of a right of the latter by a kinsman, is incumbent on the clan. The ransom, however, is only a recent corrective of a weightier principle -- that of the clan defense, by force, of an injured right of a clansman. At the center of this entire institution lies the principle of blood revenge, the principle of a life for a life or for injured honor (for example, in the detection of a seducer in flagrante delicto).

/95 cont./

*614 It is quite another matter between men of different clans.
●628 Here the principle is implacable: the bones of the clansman must be raised! To raise the bones is the technical term for clan vengeance. Blood must be redeemed with blood, and only in very rare cases can blood redemption be replaced by ransom. This obligation is clearly colored more by a religious than an emotional element. Vengeance is obligatory not only for the contemporaries of the slain man, but, in the event of its non-fulfillment by them, for the two
[672] following generations as well. It is obligatory not only in the case of premeditated murder, but for completely accidental murder as well, even one which is only indirectly
*614 connected with one or another person (1). And what is
825
672

> 1. One Gilyak of my acquaintance brought vengeance upon his clan when his rifle accidentally went off when he picked it up from the bottom of a boat, accidentally killing the helmsman.

still more instructive, it is obligatory also with respect to animals. Vengeance upon a bear who has killed a man is no less wrathful than it is with regard to a human murderer.

The ritual of such vengeance is extremely characteristic for understanding the psychology of this clan institution, and we shall begin our analysis with it. As soon as the news of a man's death in a struggle with a bear arrives, the whole adult population hastens into the taiga, in order to catch up with the "murderer" by means of his fresh tracks. If they do not succeed /96/ in catching the real culprit, it is necessary to kill at least three other bears (his "clansmen"). If this is not accomplished during the winter, it is necessary to do it during the summer, and in addition the "mountain man" gives them a "tkhusind," in the form of a plentiful catch of every beast.

/97 cont./

*614 If revenge is sanctified with respect to the bear, a
●628 divine being upon whom welfare depends and who frequently slays a man, not out of malice, but out of love for him, and accepts him into his clan, then revenge with respect to a member of another clan is all the more obligatory.

We have already indicated in the beginning the domination of religious over emotional motives in the imperative of revenge. If vengeance is obligatory to the third generation, if it is obligatory with respect to an accidental slayer, to a friend, a cognate, it is a burden pressing down on the clan rather than an impulsive act inspired by the immediate reaction of anger.

A much more significant role, at least in the sense of the strengthening, so to speak, of this original reaction, is played by compassion for the soul of the slain man and fear of it and the clan gods, gods who keep a loving vigil and for whom the unavenged blood of a clansman is undoubtedly the greatest insult.

775 The soul of a man who died a violent death cannot
766 migrate to the general "settlement of the dead," where it could continue the life it lived on earth. Until it is avenged, until the blood of the slayer gives it the power to raise its bones, it cannot leave the earth and is forced to circle in the air in the form of a bird-avenger, emitting terrible shrieks at night. Its end is frightful; gradually rotting, it finally falls to earth "as ashes," dying forever. The Gilyak call this bird takhch; it is a gray bird with a red beak, "loving war." In this epithet is probably also contained the origin of the belief in the bird-avenger: among the Gilyak war is exclusively /98/ the result of revenge, and, consequently, the birds of prey, "loving war," are obviously the souls of slain clansmen. Over the grave of the slain man, as a fearful memento, they place a stump with the torn-up roots upward (1), to which they

[764]

> 1. Over the graves of those who have died a natural death, the roots are customarily downward.

/98 cont./

775 766 give the appearance of a bird. Sometimes this bird is represented with iron teeth and appendages in the likeness of human feet (2), as in some representations of the swastika.

[126]

2. An example of such a memorial, brought from the lower regions of the Amur by the late acad. L. Schrenck, is preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.

775 ● 628 * 614 This frightful and at the same time unhappy bird, seeking consolation and return to the kingdom of its departed clansmen, wails of revenge at night and, of course, is quite capable of terribly avenging itself upon its clansmen who have forgotten their obligations.

Even where the affair ends with the payment of ransom, the bird remains unreconciled. Still another peace offering is necessary in the form of a dog, whose heart is given to the bird; otherwise it will take a cruel vengeance on both sides.

Since the soul of the slain man, like every other human soul, cannot exist longer than three generations, the obligations of revenge cease with the third generation. But until that time the pitiful fate of the soul of the slain man continues to torment the conscience of his clansmen and frighten them with the horrors of unfulfilled vengeance, giving them no rest. These same motives are predominant over the immediate instinct for repayment. That is why the wrath of the avengers never reaches to the destruction of the whole clan of the slayer, limiting itself to one, or two or three, of his clansmen; they carefully avoid the slaying of women and absolutely abstain from encroachment on property.

Nevertheless the imperative of vengeance is extremely intensive.

/98 cont./

* 614 ● 628 The news of a slaying in one moment unites all the clansmen into a unanimous whole, acting with feverish energy. A similar fever is manifested willy-nilly by the clan of the slayer. For the latter clan the matter is not merely one of protecting the slayer -- one man can always easily hide and await a peaceful solution of the conflict -- but one of protecting the whole clan, every clansman, for whom insidious attack lurks in every corner at all times and in every place at the hands of the avengers who are feverishly tracking down their victim. For them it is not necessarily the slayer that matters, but every male representative of his clan, even if he /99/ be a suckling babe. That is why mothers, in order to save their male children, at a moment of unavoidable danger are ready to resort to the most frightful expedients in order to disguise the sex of the youngster.

It is not difficult to imagine what both sides go through until the end of the conflict.

* 614 627 628 The most felicitous situation is when the representatives of both hostile clans live in the same settlement. In that case at least there is none of the torment of waiting. The affair is settled by armed conflict immediately after the slaying. The closest kinsman of the slain man, in the company of several armed clansmen, hastens toward the yurts of the clan of the slayer and attacks the first man he meets, to whose defense his clansmen immediately come forward, and then follows a general melee, which ends in several hours, and, if an equal number of victims fell on both sides, the incident is closed. There is also a more felicitous outcome when the representatives of a third clan living in the same settlement intervene in the affair, seeking, frequently not without success, to separate the foes and terminate the matter peacefully.

/99 cont./

* 614 ● 628 72 If the clans live in different settlements, however, there arises a state of war with all its consequences. Moreover, if the villages are located near each other, they place themselves in a full state of siege. There can be no question of routine activities outside the house; there can be no hunting or fishing, for an ambuscade may lie in wait at every corner. In extreme cases the men dare not leave their homes other than with women in front, ferreting in every bush, tramping down the grass, everywhere fearing an ambush. But these can only be palliatives; one fine night it will be necessary to meet the foe face to face in one's own settlement. Finally, where the warring clans live far from each other, it becomes necessary to undertake long expeditions on foot or in boats. This must be an imposing spectacle, when the multitude of warriors, dressed in their finest garments, with glittering spears in their hands and quivers on their backs, with knives and Japanese daggers in their belts, wrathfully brandishing their arms, make the primeval taiga resound with their wailing for revenge and appeal to the gods of all the elements for assistance:

Pal'- khurn myyá! Tly - khurn myyá!

Tol' - khurn myyá! Mif - khurn myyá!

"God of the mountain, hearken; god of the sea, hearken; god of the heavens, hearken; god of the earth, hearken!" -- brandishing their spears and thrusting them at /100/ every tree on their path with the cry: "Chkhar, myyá! -- O tree, hearken!"... But this exuberant mood soon gives way to a more subdued temper; as they draw closer to the enemy settlement, their enthusiasm is transformed into a concentrated seriousness.

The foe has taken his precautions; in his native territory he is more familiar with all the best places for an ambush, and at strategic points he lies in wait in artificial trenches ("little pits"), from which he pours a hail of arrows on the unwary enemy. There is also no lack

/100 cont./

614 of other obstacles in the path of the attackers. In hostile
628 territory all hunting is dangerous (in many clans it is even
562 prohibited, while some also forbid the use of water from
the rivers and springs); the supplies brought from home do
not last long, while an open, sudden attack -- bearing in
mind ambushes and the impunity of the women's sentry
duty -- is not always possible. With long patience and
severe deprivations they must await the favorable moment
or else in desperation resolve to take any risk.

Most frequently the defenders prefer to await the
562 attack in their own settlement. Then, abandoning the
female population, which enjoys inviolability, the men
gather in a separate yurt, from which, at the guards' first
signal of the approach of the foe, they steal through
secret passages and gather together beyond the yurts, ready
to meet the foe. In accordance with interclan customs,
the battle continues through one night or at most twenty-
four hours, until, finally, fatalities occur, after which the
enemy departs, and the survivors count the number of
fallen men on each side. If the defenders have lost a
greater number than the opposite side, a new caus belli
arises. The attackers must in any case consider themselves
satisfied. But the affair does not always end with a few
victims. Instances are known where a whole clan perished,
and only women remained alive.

There have been cases, on the other hand, where, to
avoid the destruction of a small clan incapable of a strong
rebuff, the self-sacrifice of one man has expiated the
general guilt. I know of one case where, at the very mo-
ment that news came of the approach of the foe, a youth
responsible for the conflict prayed his clansmen who were
gathered about him in the yurt to save themselves by flight,
offering to save the clan from destruction by his own death.
And when the clansmen, with downcast eyes, began to
leave the yurt, he, quaffing a cup of seal fat at one draught
for courage, flung himself headlong, brandishing his spear,
To meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers.

/100 cont./

000 to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers. Chivalry
*614 manifests itself in many other forms. Although ordinarily
●628 the raid of the avengers is too impulsive for people to be
721 able to think about any kind of formalities of attack,
[538] epics and legends have preserved many formulas for the
declaration of "war" through special intermediaries, about
whom we shall speak in more detail later.

The conventional formula laconically declares: "He
(the avenger) has irrevocably said that he prepares to come
to do battle with thee; if thou art stronger, thou wilt slay
him, if he is stronger, he will slay thee -- thus he spoke."

Military expeditions are undertaken for purposes other
than avenging the slaying of a clansman. Extremely fre-
quently they are on account of women. "Lovely Helens"
are the tragic causes of war among the Gilyak much more
frequently even than slayings. The latter are extremely
rare and never bear a mercenary character, being exclu-
sively a case of a momentary flare-up on the part of an
easily aroused "barbarian" because of a slight offense to his
vanity. But conflicts over women are much more frequent.
Either a group of clansmen undertakes a purely romantic
raid to abduct the beloved of their comrade. Or expeditions
are undertaken with the forcible recovery of the abducted
wife of a clansman as their objective -- a more serious
incident, because this action is as obligatory for the clan
(up to the third generation exclusively) as revenge and blood
money for the slaying of a clansman. Customarily they
strive to avoid bloodshed, choosing a time for the attack
when the men are absent, but the matter rarely ends --
either at the time of the abduction or during the pursuit --
without bloody conflicts, which inevitably bring on the
necessity of "raising the kindred bones," i.e., war with
all its consequences.

/101 cont./

●628 Now let us proceed to the institution of ransom, "tkhusind,"
which has in part taken the place of revenge and in part coexists
with "revenge," serving as its indispensable corrective.

The reasons that gave rise to the institution of ransom side by
side with the imperative of blood retaliation, which was finally
squeezed out completely by the former, remain completely un-
explained in science to this day.

Among the Gilyak, we believe, it is easy to find at least the
principal reason for this great transformation in social relations.
It rests on that special form of exogamy about which we spoke in
detail in its place.

*614 /102/ Each clan is bound to a number of clans, at least four,
692 by bonds of the most intimate character. It takes its wives from
628 the akhmal'k clan or clans, and from these clans came its mothers;
it gives in marriage its own women, daughters and sisters, to the
ymgi clan or clans. These clans, in the natural order of things,
are dear to it; mothers, daughters, sisters bind it to them in-
separably.

The clan of the slayer can easily turn out to be the one that
*614 takes its women from it, in which are its sisters and daughters, or
628 one which provides it with women. Hence the first great modifica-
562 tion: the inviolability of women in conflicts of vengeance.

But the role of the women does not end here. If the slayer
is from the akhmal'k clan, i.e., the clan from which come the
mothers and wives of the avengers, it is not difficult to imagine
that these women cannot be indifferent spectators of a war against
their own brothers and fathers. If the slayer is from the ymgi clan,
the wives of the latter likewise will not lightly reconcile them-
selves to the destruction of their husbands and sons at the hands of
their own fathers and brothers. In both cases the intervention of
the women is inevitable, and a few precedents of their pacifying
influence suffice to turn the precedents into a lawful custom, at
first coexisting with blood revenge and later squeezing it out.

Indirectly the influence of women in this respect must have
found expression in still another way, purely mechanical, so to speak.
Their inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degree
the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty, the

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
●628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habeas
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety
looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the
enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an over-
whelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the
expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance
of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the at-
tackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting,
of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and
the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
[784] participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt,
etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak
find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins
filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry.
Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death
by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily
conquers.

195 Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with
poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water
in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the avengers had to
depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus
small causes often lead to important consequences.

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
97 relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace
brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that
primitive man is not so sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing,"
that he would sacrifice with a light heart his own fears of punish-
ment for a breach of his blood duty to the voice of feeling, or

/103 cont./

*614 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an
771 already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the
gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in
other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the
opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material
*614 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious
●628 procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored,
771 and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not
preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall re-
count later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom,
which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the
form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the
killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with
their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.
537 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played
554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).
*614
[192]
[197]

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent,
orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak,
for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a par-
ticular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and in-
spires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible
influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the
ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even
apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a
talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a
windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize out-
standing orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen
[537] ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the
head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that
deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At
pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break
them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the
wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/104 cont./

●628 Most infrequently the khlaj-nivukh is a chosen one of the gods in
537 other respects as well: he is a rich man, adept in hunting, worldly-
554 wise, courageous, has a great natural wit, and enjoys authority
*614 among his fellow tribesmen.

Every clan, every settlement has its own small khlaj-nivukh,
but there are celebrities who enjoy extensive fame among many
nationalities of the region, and who, when necessary, are sought
after, just as renowned lawyers are among us. They perform
their functions rather honoris causa, because the customary
honorarium -- a Chinese silk costume and a Japanese saber -- can
hardly be a recompense to a rich man for the loss of his time and
the burden of the obligation. The clothing and arms presented to
them serve rather as their insignia magistratus, their official vest-
ment, in which they carry out their obligations during the dis-
cussions.

*614 And so, when the clan of the avengers has sufficiently worn
628 itself out in its attempts at a bloody retaliation, or if from the
537 first the slaying took place under conditions easily lending them-
selves to a reconciliation, then they begin to search for a khlaj-
nivukh who would undertake the negotiations and be able to ob-
tain the most profitable conditions. The khlaj-nivukh must
necessarily be from a neutral clan. One may not send a clans-
man: in the first place, until the reconciliation, it is a sin to
have anything whatever to do with the clan of the slayer; more-
over, in view of the naturally inflamed feelings of the parties,
negotiations through a clansman might end in another slaying.
The other side, in turn, selects its "orator," who is /105/ obli-
gated to defend its interests in the negotiations over the ransom.
Ordinarily the offended side takes the initiative.

One fine day a company of the armed avengers, with their
khlaj-nivukh at their head, appears at the settlement of the slayer.
In the adjacent taiga or on the shore of a river the avengers light
a fire and make camp, while the khlaj-nivukh in his regalia, with
a spear in one hand, a kettle in the other, goes alone to the
enemy settlement. Here, in one of the yurts, await the opponents
with their khlaj-nivukh at their head... Leaning on his spear,
or sitting down and lighting his pipe (only with "his own" fire) he
says: "I was sent to tell you that you have killed our man, and

/105 cont./
what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi;" /one rouble/ and value in our money at three rubles. -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

*614 if he were living, would he be content to take that much? 628 His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other 538 parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood 436 money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. Many his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel; again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and [101] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the [189] last moment, after the manner of the Tungu tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 When an agreement has been reached, the religious 628 feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure 538 of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to 536 conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/105 cont./

*614 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at
628 their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and
536 out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the
clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes
from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest
kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side
advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed
with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i
they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their
spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel,
of course, is fictitious, although there been instances
where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended
sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients
[189] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen
lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with
spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to
embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart
of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above),
while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the
628 yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the
tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken ma-
terials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the
payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, con-
sidering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On
the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the com-
mon property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it re-
places those valuables which were needed for the dead man
in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund
for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

608 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such
537 as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement
554 of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the
intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular
ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in
the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of
those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict
of the whole gathering.

/117 cont./

*614 But the worst of calamities -- a clansman has been slain!
628 War is inevitable! ... The whole population takes up arms.
701 There is no regular leader, no elder, and no elections. The
182 natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all; it
is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen, it is the so-called
"master" "ez" -- all eyes are turned toward him!

And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes
a military leader, gives orders, distributes weapons, fixes the
time of the march, etc., they obey him as they would a dictator.
If this natural leader has died or been killed, everyone knows the
one most worthy to replace him.

*614 Suppose a civil dispute has arisen between clansmen or be-
628 tween /118/ representatives of different clans. There are no
182 established persons who ex officio resolve disputes and difficulties.
Very often the accuser is himself judge and executor of the
sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obliga-
tion of his own free will, the accuser, not stopping to meditate,
unhitches a dog from the team of the debtor or climbs into the store-
house in order to take for himself something equal in value to his
claim. And the accuser considers this in the order of things. Of
course, such a method is not always possible. But even then the
affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It is
enough for the offended party merely to address himself directly
or through a khlaj-nivukh (see above) to one or two authoritative
individuals-"masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and the
matter is very quickly settled. They summon the offender, who
is usually escorted by his closest kinsmen, and sometimes by a
khlaj-nivukh. Even outsiders gather. From the hearing of both
sides and the opinions of those present, an opinion which is accepted
by the majority assumes the strength of a verdict. Usually the
offender submits voluntarily; otherwise, the managers of the af-
fair proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an adjudged
amount.

/127 cont./ But these ties prove of

*614 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
615 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
621 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the
*628 same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen.
Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not partici-
pate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties
in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when
the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently
happens, and we have already expressed in the section on re-
venge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself,
in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence
of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the
matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
609 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign
clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of
benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social
good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits
and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan
ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and
finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the
members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding
generations give to each other, has finally become the cus-
tomary appellation with which any member of another clan or
stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than
the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward
members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
504 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
538 crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not
[157] only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the
Oroč, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers,
the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have
done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts
slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

/276 cont./

534 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to aid thee,
583 although I have nothing.
534 Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me, wilt
thou not wish to help?

Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, is it not
so?

Pevn: Of course.

Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have
pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall also
have, is it not so?

Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Thus in
truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?

Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready to
give thee.

After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks and,
finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised to
give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a
son. Let us become akhmal'k."

To this Lakkan replies: "I have already given my word to
others."

Pevn: What if you did give your word to another man?
You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to
court with you.

After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the
583 business negotiations concerning the bride price.
[524] Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride
price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call
this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I be-
lieve, throws light on the very origin of the institution.

194 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the
583 word ar', ar'r from atimmd (?) -- to give as a gift, so that
192 literally ar', ar'r means a present, a gift, which the family
or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of
the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is shown
*628 from the following. In other ritual cases where compensation
with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of
ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a
murdered man -- the term used is ur'kind, which means

/275 cont./
194 "to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ ur'kind -- "to
194 pay" is derived from the word ur'kind, which in the middle voice
583 is a synonym of ukkskind -- to fight, to war (ijarkind is merely
*628 the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- ur'kind was
originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom -- peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered father, they ask him on his return: Pytk ur'kind joylo? -- "Did you fulfill ur'kind for your father (literally ur'kind -- "fulfill"), did you take vengeance?" He answers: "Ah khukhal" -- "I killed them all." Here the term ur'kind is used in the sense of the act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used in the sense of ransom. "Yvn nafkh ur'kim -- "For their (slain companion), they paid damages, ransom."

From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original
583 sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although
194 obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift
431 was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was
just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-
583 wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in
431 various values for several years, and they were very often no less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

[126]

1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pomy, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /sic/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /kettle/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

Amur

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Myshhy!. Ygna (Lang) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
193 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Orayr
(Ulcha from Sakhalin), name "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Atkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the
Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the
wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from
which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to
Chil'mi.

Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
117 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
103 khal killed claiming, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
● 628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The
Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a
chumashka with kaloga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man
opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed
him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to
kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then
that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they
broke the fire and bought a bear.

Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
117 Ahrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago
(1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language,
and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most
part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hôunchâ) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
193 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchaji on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

/338 cont./

752 784 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of the
will drown. After this they become friends. One must resc
[572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but
[614] drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is su
[628] rounded with sticks.
[766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shama
must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn
Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat resc
from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka a
make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear w
[777] be a god.
[776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get
into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first
boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is crem
where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling
the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of
cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon s
the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the strea

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sa
782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/355 cont./ A TRADING CUSTOM AMONG THE GILYAK IS connected with this steel. When a class is divided and part of it migrates to another place, the elders of the clan give the migrant breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new land. Only a part of the steel is to be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home hearth.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting of the seal. On this occasion, too, the operation of the shaman-ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of evening, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan gathers the women are excluded, given to the weakness. Here, in long rough, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then, all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful first: each tough at a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer, *Pur nimap-ximat* (= "God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the ceremonies begin, in which the women take part.

6. The *khlaj*-guarantees life and security to each of its members (with inconsiderate as long as the individuals of another *khlaj*). The means a clan vengeance.

The settling of feuds in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murderer man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (*pu'ny yapnadlu*), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his *khlaj*. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even two both children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/356 cont./ every means to mark the sex of the newborn child. Only women are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that men the first moment of the murder feel the burden of the burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer lives under a cruel sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any comer, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time, in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan of the murderer sends some people, a neutral *khlaj* (neutrality / neutral, a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and in any case not speedily, the avenger, having overtaken the murderer unit, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from among their clans a *ulu* (= "mediator") and a *ulu-ximkhlaj* (literally, orator -- from the verb "*khlaj-yadh*" -- to speak, and the noun "*ximat*" -- tongue, language). The mediators are between the parties. Each clan provides its *khlaj*-ninyakh with a silk gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, and tobacco in a Japanese tobacco. It is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation of *khlaj*-ninyakh proceeds to the avenger and the *khlaj*-ninyakh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. Then, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From here the *khlaj*-ninyakh of the avenger sets out for the village of the murder, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen (*khlaj*-ninyakh), with their orator at their head, await the embassy. The latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his own tiaras), begin to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the *khlaj*-ninyakh consists of stipulating as much as possible. The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the *khlaj*-ninyakh

/357 cont./ of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in anger. The *khlaj*-ninyakh of the murderer goes after him and begins to make concessions, and the negotiations continue. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the *khlaj*-ninyakh move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and the two sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his *khlaj*-ninyakh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other step the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his *khlaj*-ninyakh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the *khlaj*-ninyakh of both sides must be always speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is accomplished. The slayer and the avenger agree on the that minute the avenger has bailed over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arrows, run up and each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another yurtanet, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy, while the *khlaj*-ninyakh call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/358 cont./ It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains the variety of the objects of ransom. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happen that the *khlaj*-ninyakh move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and the two sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his *khlaj*-ninyakh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other step the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his *khlaj*-ninyakh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the *khlaj*-ninyakh of both sides must be always speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is accomplished. The slayer and the avenger agree on the that minute the avenger has bailed over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arrows, run up and each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /359/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another yurtanet, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy, while the *khlaj*-ninyakh call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/359 cont./ in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack is accidentally made in the morning, when the whole adult male population, armed, /360/ gathered in one yurt. The attack is made suddenly, at the same time in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the warrior, after killing one man, also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurt. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for the slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. It is notable another had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, by this attack, considered itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the clearest testimony of the heavy losses they suffered in firework, guaranteed today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than some decorations.

7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopt person from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came to their assistance with the *khlaj*-of-adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in one battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted as ransom. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/360 cont./ clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/361 cont./ against the enemy. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from their childhood, and the children spend much time in other parts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the warrior, after killing one man, also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurt. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for the slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. It is notable another had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, by this attack, considered itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

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428 587 171 000 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, the becomes free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In

(113) 3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Kirovlapkin*, "Etnicesk. ocz./The Yenisei District/", Zap. Imp. Rusk. Geogr. Obshch., 1865, I, Etn. and Stat., p. 178. Tret'iakov*, "Turukhansk. krai/The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Rusk. Geogr. Obshch. Po etnogr. Geogr., Vols. I, 1869, p. 403). Among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Sunland", p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

928 In 171 principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal 614 607 628 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal relatives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

/655 cont./

614 607 628 and then in swift flight to reach a safe hiding place offering protection, in order not merely to escape immediate revenge in this way, but also to make it more difficult or even impossible for the opponent to carry it out in the future and thus expose him to the unavoidable evil consequences of neglected blood-revenge. The Gilyak therefore usually executes an act of bloodshed resolved upon in his heart in the most treacherous manner with the ngguela-dhakho, the large knife which, always worn at the belt, arouses the least suspicion and which he can most easily and inconspicuously plunge into his opponent's side while he is sitting beside him in apparent peace and eating a meal or smoking a pipe. Having fled to his native village, he will henceforth avoid setting foot in the village where he committed the act of bloodshed and will also carefully avoid its inhabitants elsewhere. The victim, however, if he has escaped with his life, henceforth thinks only of how he can take revenge on his enemy without delay, for the more time is wasted, the worse he can expect the consequences of his neglect to be and the more fraught with danger the future looms before him. The power which this constantly nourished superstitious fear can exercise over the mind and the entire being 157 626 of a primitive man was vividly brought to my attention in one case. The Gilyak Nendjan, a respected man in his village (Alfof), who visited me occasionally in Nikolayevsk and to whom I owe many an interesting bit of information concerning his people, was one day, when he appeared before me again after a long interval, in a strikingly downcast and depressed mood. His otherwise erect and quite stately figure, such as I seldom found among the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and words would not come. Since I would not desist from directing various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /656/ "Not sick, and yet I must die soon." This thought seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following: On a trip to the Manchu, while trading with them, he quarreled with a Gilyak from Kaki. The matter finally ended peacefully, however, and he regarded it as closed and forget it to such an

/656 cont./

159 628 extent that after their return home he once traveled from Alof to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His host and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten the meal offered him, a man lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly thrust his knife into his side. Returning to Alfof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Langr the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the greatest trouble to find any trace of him, but he could not go to Langr itself, because from the reverge threatening him, whereas his blood enemy would have the secure protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the constant fear of blood revenge weighing upon him, "and therefore," he concluded, "I must die soon." I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, nor did I hear anything about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death puts primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on his physical condition and his behavior in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally practiced logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge is constantly nourished and spread.

614 607 628 Carrying out blood revenge is in part made easier and in part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the ngafk, the paternal relatives. Without any qualifications and with all the consequences, they are faced with the obligation for blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or as a result of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

/656 cont./

614 607 628 grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No ngafk of the person slain can refuse to accept this obligation if it is his turn. On the other hand, if the person wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, he can extend the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but his ngafk have the duty to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping as much as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the ngafk of the perpetrator of the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponents and to protect their kinsman from the revenge threatening him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and homogeneousness in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily accessible proximity and also that those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the ngafk among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little signifi- 159 cance. The solidarity of

"The Russian occupation [LS
closed in a radius of thirty mil
smaller one around Korsakovsk

The island is divided into thr
and Korsakovsk okrugi. Each o
okruzhni nachalnik, over whom
great authority, but in his turn
oblast.

The biggest prison centre is
Timovsk dostroct has two, one
forty-four miles, respectively,

Immediately around these ce
villages dotted about in the fore

5: of Sakhalin] is practically confined to the dis
es from Alexandrovsk on the west coast, and an
in the south.
ee administrative districts—the Alexandrovsk,
f these is presided over by a chief of the distric
is the military Governor of the island. The lat
is subject to the Governor-general of the Pri-A

at Alexandrovsk. The next is at Korsakovsk, ar
at Derbensk and the other at Rikovsk, thirty-fi
by road inland from Alexandrovsk. [117]
ntres clearings have been made, and beyond are
st, with a population varying from 200 to none

641

641 CITIZENSHIP--conception of the relationship of the individual to the state; territorial versus gentile affiliation; distinctions between citizens and residents, and between different categories of citizens; rights, duties, privileges, powers, and liabilities of the citizen or subject (e.g. civil liberties, franchise, liability to military service); acquisition of citizenship (e.g., naturalization); loss of citizenship (e.g., through serious crime); notions of civic virtues; etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Justice 69
Immigration 167
Symbolic representations of nationalism and patriotism 186
Forced or indentured labor 466
Taxation 651
Public service 683
Voting 686
Treason 687
Military service 701
Social insurance 745
Ideas about political behavior 829
Legal majority 884

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

177 648 873 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the [463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 648 474 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

[641] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

[182] The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The 177 648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of 561 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fr ıers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help.

648

648 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries with other states; relations between sovereign and dependent powers; determination of foreign policy (e.g., influence of domestic affairs); establishing, maintaining, and breaking diplomatic relations; foreign services (e.g., consular, diplomatic); specialized personnel (e.g., ambassadors, chargés d'affaires, military attachés, consuls); prerogatives (e.g., diplomatic immunity); activities of consuls and diplomats; transmission of intelligence and diplomatic messages; negotiation of treaties, military alliances, foreign aid programs and trade agreements; economic sanctions (e.g., embargoes); adherence to international conventions; international law; peaceful settlement of disputes between states (e.g., arbitration, special peace tribunals); relations with international political organizations (e.g., United Nations); international power politics; peacetime espionage; etc. See also:

War 72
Codes and ciphers 202
Foreign trade 439
Travel 484
International sports 542
Behavior toward strangers and aliens 609
Informal intergroup justice 628
Dependencies 636
Punishment of espionage 687

1: Shternberg--171 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak R

/111 cont./

*614 [167] Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bea
designations, Tyvli-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Ty
M'yekhre-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhri), N
fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Nyenkhay), etc., altho
representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in th
above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their
with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only cl

[171] 1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunov came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants fro
the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans
the Tskharnung, the Choril, etc. And it is noteworthy that i
just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. I
the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces
origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear,
etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely en
countered.

*614 177 648 622 /112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the
important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. How
complex, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not kn
any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after th
the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institu
of elders, and at that not clan but settlement elders, but it h
no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode,
that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authoritie
were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthie
inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not
only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in som
*614 instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan
knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which,
cording to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated wit

wes--314 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
31 Russia
3

vsk, our destination, is the cnetre of administration of the Timovsk okrug, one three districts into which the island is divided. The most prominent buildings are ne wooden church, built by the convicts, a large prison, and the house of the chief. official ranks as the third or fourth man on the island, being responsible, like his er officers of the Alexandrovsk and Korsakovsk okrugi, to the Governor only."

6

634 DISTRICTS--politic
bracing a number of
English or American
(e.g., executive, a
(e.g., appointment,
prerogatives, functi

34

al organization of moderately extensive territories em-
settlements or municipalities (e.g., a subtribe, an
county, a French department); governmental personnel
visory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection
election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority,
ons, and activities associated with each position; etc.

Goldi RX3
Gilyak RX2

Go

177 The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts
166 which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[38] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Gi

131 Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi.
161 They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin,
101 and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots,
[167] and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established
[228] a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

186 The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that,
798 together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[39]

● 634 In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the
161 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

9: Hawes--314 I-3 (1901) 190
116, 631
636.63

"Rikovsk, our destination, is the cnetre of
of the three districts into which the island
the fine wooden church, built by the convic
This official ranks as the third or fourth m
brother officers of the Alexandrovsk and K

03 Gilyak
Russia

administration of the Timovsk okrug, one
is divided. The most prominent buildings are
ts, a large prison, and the house of the chief.
an on the island, being responsible, like his
orsakovsk okrugi, to the Governor only."

636.17

him at Ayan [Okhotsk Sea]; and when on
the Baikal hove in sight, Muravyof went
When near enough to be heard the gover
shouted back: 'God helped us. . . we have
Sakhalin is an island. It is possible to e
by seagoing vessels either from the nor

From 1849 to 1855 Nevelski and other Russian
the waters and harbors of the Amur and Sakhali
sailed into the Amur from the north in [264] 185

517. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Mu

518. De Sabir, C. Le Fleuve Amour, 6

boat Wostok, coming from Japan, entered the r
These important discoveries were known to
was maintained for fear of exciting China and a

the morning of September 3, 1715,
out in a small boat to meet her.
nor called for news, and Nevelski
accomplished our important task. . .
enter the gulf and the river Amur
th or the south.'

n officers were exploring and charting
n. A channel was found, and the Baikal
0. (517) Three years later (518) the gun-

raveef-Amurski, vol. i, 274.

3.

iver from the south.
very few people. The greatest secrecy
rousing the hostility of other countries,

636.17

"Russia's success on the Amur is due
Nicolai Nicolaewitz Muravyof-Amurski.
Muravyof set about extending Russia's p
burg he selected Nevelski, a sea captain
to help him carry out his plans. Throug
Russian Government to undertake a secr
to explore the northern part of Sakhalin,
and the gulf and mouth of the Amur. (515

515. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai

in Kamchatka, and, as soon as he discha
carefully surveyed and charted the north
no longer able to find a channel for his s
his southward course to the mouth of the
his achievement, he pushed on still farth
Broughton, thus proving most convincing

516. —Ibid., vol. i, 198, 222-224

in large part to one of her great statesmen,
Appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1847,
ower on the Pacific. Before leaving St. Peters-
in the service of the Russian American Company,
h his efforts Nevelski was commissioned by the
et expedition with the following objects in view:
the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland,
) Early in the spring of 1849, Nevelski arrived

N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. ii, 37.

arged his cargo, he sailed for Sakhalin. He
ern point of Sakhalin and the Amur Gulf. When
hip Baikal he went into a small boat and continued
Amur which he entered. Not yet content with
her south to the most northerly point attained by
gly that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula. (516)

. Muravyof was anxiously waiting for

636.17

particularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof suspected an
He accused her of desiring t
Pacific and to deprive Russi
that England had designs on
In 1853 he predicted that the
ican possessions, and sugge
the United States and Russia
N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol.

d dreaded England above all other nations.
o become the leading power in the North
a of all influence and power. He believed
the Amur and that her ships had been there.
United States would secure Russia's Amer-
sted that an alliance should be formed between
against England [Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai
i, 323; vol. ii, 38, 46, 55]."

636.27

"Many of the peoples of these northern c
stance the Yakuts, who manufacture a spir
sidered an exception. There is, however,
them from the 'burrs' of birch-trees. The
of the wood, of the size of a lump of sugar
beverage. The decoction is sweet to the ta
the organs of respiration.

To-day Russian vodka, though prohibite
and frequently obtained."

limes make intoxicating beverages, as for i
it from toadstools. The Gilyaks may be con-
a decoction, but little heard of, made by
se exude a black juice so strong that a piece
, is sufficient to make a big cauldron of the
ste, and has a welcome softening effect on

d by the Government, is eagerly sought after

636.62

"The Gilyak on Sakhalin. . . . . wi
European. The chief causes of the dy
narrowing limits of their hunting-gro
inability to adapt themselves to anoth
being forced upon them. The Governn
recognizes them as Russian subjects,
organization, and prohibits the sale c
but hardly to be expected from officia
is a patriarchal government which sh
conditions."

ll surely die out with the further inroad of the
ing out of the natives is [LSS: sic] disease, the
und, the decay of the spirit of the race, and thei
er mode of living which is gradually but surely
nent's attitude towards them is a 'correct' one.
, interferes as little as possible with their scant
of intoxicants to them. What is really required no
ls whose function is the safeguarding of criminal
all interest itself in the race and its changing

/248 cont./

Chekhov's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others to Mauko, still others further to the south. The sable in their homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-vent sea voyage, driving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hamlets. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Tymovsk and the Tymovsk and at that time the Vast River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther to the north. We have been some reasons which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /249/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of hundreds only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural game trails in the forest, or crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island with its game.

1; Shternberg--499 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/249 cont./

Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling of a interesting fact only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, the place were the place closest to the continent: half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent; the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kalaga Atlantic herring, the Pacific of salmon, ~~сиг~~, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their homelands. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Tymovsk and the Tymovsk and at that time the Vast River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther to the north. We have been some reasons which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /249/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of hundreds only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural game trails in the forest, or crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island with its game.

1; Shternberg--500 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/250 cont./

Mauko reached them also and installed elected starosti. There are such starosty, for example, in Tangui. It was from the Mauko that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

I shall not at that time enter into the question of how long the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sledi (snowshoes), without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have appeared on the island as soon as they were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the island first was such a cradle.

The Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their fellows on the continent, have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous ovens in the Russian manner. They master japanese sabers and the more expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and short trade of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and smoke tobacco. They also have a special variety of potato. They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to smelt iron, but are incapable of making tools. Iron is certainly iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sledi do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

1; Shternberg--533 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2

/327/

Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well, as the stream, and the bank, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. In the first place, the sable is the property of people who recognize their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the remote Gilyak settlement. A few individuals inhabit sable wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole man of intermitable lawsuits. Moreover, the Gilyak were not particularly zealous in exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak are not particularly strong among the Gilyak of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among sons on the same principle as other kinds of real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worth of note that sables, being the remote divided among the brothers and clammen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-allotted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay of or eating and not giving to others. Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or from one place to another for fishing tools. Land is not certainly iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sledi do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

1; Shternberg--545 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2

/383 cont./

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from childhood, and the children are shown the uphills with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display great activity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals inhabit sable wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole man of intermitable lawsuits. Moreover, the Gilyak were not particularly zealous in exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak are not particularly strong among the Gilyak of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among sons on the same principle as other kinds of real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worth of note that sables, being the remote divided among the brothers and clammen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-allotted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay of or eating and not giving to others. Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or from one place to another for fishing tools. Land is not certainly

To make some money,

individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamiyvo, Vishvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is the company, which, in addition to the others. Potatoes are raised by the Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among them of at least one Russian with whom they could plant potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the intensifying competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. In the second place, starting from this point, the Gilyak were successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the Gilyak dwellings, which are built in the form of small huts of different clam for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief cultivators of land lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men in mentioning the "Gilyak-Orochi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "Ishay-orinkhi" be of various clans. Tymovsk is the place where the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

2; Schrenck--216 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1886 RX5 Gilyak RX2
Gold, RX3 Tungus RX5

/105 cont./

3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungusic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/, ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gur becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tungusic peoples, the Ainu and Japanese, indicate that it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur regions, just as the other Amur peoples, in their more essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, arose, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kilgak and Gilyak. And then there arose the Gilyak-Orochi (1789). Perhaps strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tungusic word by the Chinese, is adopted by the Russians and the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic in origin.

After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Vasilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Usuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Russians encounter the Gilyak for the first end. who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. The Russians went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

1; Schrenck--217 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1886 RX5 Gilyak RX2

/105 cont./

the late season obliged him to winter over. At what place among the Gilyak this first wintering of the Russians occurred cannot be ascertained with certainty: perhaps on the left bank of the Amur at Cape Tschuyrach, or Tschchyrkach, as the Gilyak themselves call it. for there in the ground overgrown with dense forest and strikingly luxuriant underbrush I saw envenemes which could very well have been the remains of former earth huts. In the summer of 1645 Pojarkof went from there to the sea and along the coast up to the Ulja /Uljа/ River, which he /108/ reached after twelve weeks and on which he again wintered. not to return to Yakutsk until the following year (1). No details, however, are known concerning this sea

(1) 1. Miller, Samml. Russ. Geschichte, Vol. II. 1758, p. 302. The name, "Nachtiffden von dem Amur-Fluse." in Blähing's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 6. Hamburg, 1778, p. 1786. Cf. also Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II. 1768, pp. 788, 789. For Pojarkof's original report, see Dopolnenie k aktam istoricheskim, sobr. i izdanns. arkheograf. Kommissiey /Supplements to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archeographic Commission/, St. Petersburg, 1848. Vol. III. p. 55 (the pertinent place in the report).

(2) voyage. I shall also give here the reports of Pojarkof's successor insofar as they pertain to the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, in order to compare the statements and add a few remarks concerning them.

In 1651, Jerofei Chabarof /Khabarov/, going down the Amur by boat, entered its lower course. Chabarof was still Djutschoren living at a distance of a seven-days' journey from the Sungari, and then at a large village located on a mountain on the right bank the Atschan (Achan) people began to appear, whose territory. several days' journey farther down. Chabarof

1; Shternberg--541 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2

/383 cont./

2; Schrenck--145 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1886 RX5 Gilyak RX2
Historical Manchuria, A62

/71 cont./

1. (cont.)
kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 334 and other).

Nothing is known of the Gilyak, who live in the lower Amur, sparsely populated bank of the Amur and also the left one from its last bend to the east is closed to them. Chinese -- Manchus -- as we shall see -- zealous traders themselves, nevertheless permit no Chinese to enter their territory, perhaps out of the just fear that the natives will learn the way for the raiders. On the basis of their own experiences on their trading trips to the Sungari, it is natural for them -- the Gilyak -- to regard the Manchu and Chinese, in the same way as the other Amur peoples, as identical with respect to political power and ruling position, -- though they distinguish between them with regard to nationality. They also see no great difference between the Chinese with the name of "Manchu" -- a circumstance that gave rise to much confusion concerning these peoples on the part of travelers (2).

2. For example, Orloi (cf. Tishmen'ev", Itor. obozr. obsaz. Ross.-Amer. Kompi., St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 84 and others), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.), Berezin (ibid., pp. 91 ff.), Anachinsk ("Eksp. v" Ameriku," Morsk. Sbornik., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, pp. 115-118, 125, 126; No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 332 to 337; No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 190, etc.), and others constantly refer to the Chinese Manchus from the lower Amur (Gilyak, Orochi, Tungus) as "Manchu." The same is done by Fargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poezdka izum. prirody" ibid., Part I, Ann. "Vestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.", Part XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 169) with

/106 cont./

175 stopped on September 29 and at a place on the left bank where there was a large village he erected a fort, Atschanksi gorod, for a wintering place. From there one could supposedly by a
131 ten days' journey reach the Gilyak, who lived all the way to the sea and around it (2). Chabarof, however, did not visit them.

2. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., pp. 320 ff; Fischer, op. cit., pp. 808 ff.; Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, pp. 364, 368.

but in the next spring, after successfully enduring the siege of his fortress by the Djutscheren and Atuchanen, set out again upstream with his expedition. On the way, however, presumably in the region of the mouth of the Sungari, he missed the Cossack Iwan Nagiba who had been sent to look for him and to inform him of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 28 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Bambalajev gorod (above the Deeja /Zeya/) for four weeks; then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther
175 downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a
648 guide. but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to break through the ranks of the beseigers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as

114 3. Acc. to Müller, op. cit., pp. 328 ff. Here Müller gives June 28 as the date of Nagiba's arrival at the mouth of the Amur.

/106 cont./

175 3. (cont.)
648 and at another place (Büching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the
114 Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip. as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 837) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Uwarof, a participant in the expedition
113 (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these details are lacking except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that after traveling for ten days they already found themselves amidst many Djutscheren and Natkem, who thereafter kept attacking them and gave them no peace; the siege by Gilyak vessels on the Amur is said to have lasted only two weeks.

195 well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they
648 built themselves a larger vessel and began the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1). however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2).

1. According to Uwarof's report (op. cit., p. 355), on the tenth day.

2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Ohhotsk as inconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

/107 cont./

175 2. (cont.)
648 others, we know that it is a characteristic
114 feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea
133 of Ohhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II.
113 p. 756 and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Ohhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., Ser. VII. Vol. XXI. No. 3). p. 10.

195 during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammuni-
648 tion and only after much hardship succeeded in saving their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel. with which

114 3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account.
136 but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Ohhotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days. by rowing they reached the Utschlada River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Iwan Uwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassaschnoje Simowje," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (1).

/107 cont./

195 4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account
114 that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose
113 names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak
195 648 which we know about from this period of the first Russian mili-
114 tary expedition into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutscheren territory. In the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the

113 5. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., p. 343. In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyzhenskij (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 524), it is said "v" Dyuchenskoi zemlie, ne doplyv" Gilyatskie semii, that is, in the country of the Djutscheren, above the Gilyak country.

"Syn bojarskoi" Fedor Puschtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutscheren to the Gilyak bordering them (6). Shortly before, the latter had killed a

6. Müller, op. cit., pp. 354, 355; Fischer, op. cit., p. 849.

company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Ohhotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof. Moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kosogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, toon from the Gilyak

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

/107 cont./

175 7. (cont.)
648 "Kosogorskoi"; see Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851. p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs. and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Pasckhof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur. wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

ստաս however, is certainly not the case (4). When Russians

192 4. In Gilyak "island" is pölio-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Luchin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandanskij."

195 When the Russians
648 under the Cossack Semjon Scabara first came to the Shantar
114 Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited;
136 on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample food and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

195 /109 cont./
114 purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak
(224) origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

113 3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars con-
175 firmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second
131 trip, in 1715, under the Syn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

3. Müller (Samml. Rus. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. According, therefore, the statements by Sokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

/109 cont./

195 5. (cont.)
131 p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar
648 Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Thro
195 carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the isla
131 caught fire and as a result the sable disappeared there. On th
195 return trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do
648 some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tu
and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4

4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Sokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1862, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Iwan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1730, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

/295 cont./

III.

Legends about the Past

In connection with the excavations (1), the old man Toyon

1. Which Shternberg carried on.

said: "These are Korean. Long, long ago there was a war. Formerly Koreans lived here; then the Chinese came and drove them out.

"Long, long ago the Chinese lived in Puir on the Amur. The Chinese pursued them and shot at them with a cannon.

"There were at that time few Gilyak. By a cape on a hillock near the very village (Langr) they placed a cannon (the hole remained) and shot at the Russians around the boulder stones in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stones). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the forest burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it."

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, which "at night cried and went to drink water; now all the water has dried up," "vessel dry up," i.e., is lost.

One old man assures us that within his memory and the memory of his father the Gilyak and their neighbors have occupied the same places since olden times. The Manchu (the Chinese, Manzy) have come here since the Russian War. They did not build large towns; they settled in groups of one or two houses, and only in Tyr, Akhcha, and Mykhyl' did they have guards. Their governor lived in Tyr.

With the appearance of the Manchu, during the war with the Russians, the Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and other places, but upon the departure of the Manchu, they began to come back.

/295 cont./

173 [648] According to a different version, when part of the inhabitants ran away and another part was captured, three persons (two men and one woman) saved themselves, /296/ who killed two suns. When they came back, they found mountains where the Amur had been, and they went back (from Shul'gin Khokfing, 80 years old).

The Manchu fought with the Russians who had come down; in the spring during the run of the hump-backed salmon, some Russians hid themselves in the taiga, and they could not be found.

The Russians from the Amur saved themselves on the Amgun; the Manzy pursued them, but unsuccessfully. Then a Chinese general asked the god for snow, and snow fell knee deep, and they found the Russians by their tracks and slaughtered them.

After the war with the Russians, the Chinese set up a post on the upper Amgun (the Burukhan) -- "while the post stands, the Russians are not allowed to pass." Now the post has fallen down.

On the Amgun there is also a mountain, "Namnakhan," 19 kilometers below Guga, with hoof prints. This is where the Manchu spent one night during the war with the Chinese.

There is a stone kettle and a boot on the cliff "Gulyakhan," the storehouse of the Shadrinkskiy mines.

According to a legend a Manchu inscription is preserved on one of the mountains.

The guides of the Chinese on the Amgun were Negidal from the clan Umkan, while on Lake Orel' -- N'as'khajl.

The Russians roasted children on their bayonets and ate their meat; they cut off women's heads (1896).

173 648 A legend has been preserved about the way in which the Amur natives fought the Russians. Once the Manchu pursued the Russians, but left a part. The Russians, on their way back, decided to attack Tyr, thinking that they were Manzy. The Gilyak placed stones on wooden boards and fastened them. When the Russians came up to the cliff, they let go of the rope, and all the Russians perished except one who started to swim; he was caught, and the Kern-khal handed him over to the Arn-khal, who held a bear festival in the taiga.

/296 cont./

173 648 The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement Kaki).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychkh-khotin). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagil, in his youth went without a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a fodder /kormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

614 796 Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ek:r: vytch. They come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present. They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivukh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says: "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

/341 cont./

VII.

Miscellanea

● 648 199 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone; she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

867 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygrys (1894). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about," "she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tongakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atk (see p. 222, IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

10 cons / 4. (cont.)

to the number of Russians originally present on the island, so that now the number of years of the way would have been assisted, for the island original reads: shi'ts ulk' 'bito na tom' ostrovie tam' e' ji, kotorye zdesiya' e' ti, ostrovie tiya' chisel' ne' ma.

This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (see 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others, Sakhalin) the island actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (cp. 1.c., pp. 130 ff.), is in doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schenkand on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated between the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. This, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schenkand, also, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place not only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself expresses no doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schenkand had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regrets being unable to give more detailed information about his trip because of the absence of the logbook.

Noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the temporary stay of the Gilyak on the Shantar Islands are inadequate and

/111 cont.)

stay visited the large islands within sight from their coast, namely wooded, and still uninhabited, on which they could peacefully pursue the hunting of the porcupine, the sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the mainland at first did not reach the Tugur and perhaps not beyond it, they did visit the Shantar Islands, even the westernmost of them, and Beie Island (Novokhitri) located beyond Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ngorkah," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (8), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ngorkah" /112/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nga = animal, and ph = rock, rock-like shape, stone, etc.
2. Similar Gilyak place names are Tchirkatch, Tchibokch, Tchirch, etc.

But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar Islands, since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the mainland is not large and since navigation around these islands is difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changing currents, the flowing ice floes, the frequent fog, the pounding surf, etc. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russian appeared on the coast there, and as they took possession of them, the Gilyak remained away from them, then, at least, in 1853, they were apparently not there. The month of the Tugur when a party of Russian took up winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Ulban (3). It is very probably

3. Kimmin, according to the accounts of the priest from Udskoi Ostrog.

/112 cont.)

2. (cont.)
(Ketchinskii), who learned of it while traveling through his diocese in the winter of 1859-1860 (Zap. Geog. Obsh., Part VI, p. 36).

that it was because the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed off the Shantars by the Russians that they appeared so hostile toward them when the latter advanced from there into their territory on the mainland. It is no wonder that they took advantage of their greater numbers to drive off and scare off the intruders. Now since, as Middendorff has shown, the trips by the Russians to the Shantars took place almost without incident, then, the Gilyak lost their former hunting territory altogether. It seems, then, that what they regarded as their proper and territory on the islands in the northwest of their area of distribution, they surrendered to the Russians without any resistance on their part.

Much less can be drawn from the oldest Russian reports from the lower Amur about possible border shifts in the south of the Gilyak territory. Here, at the time of the first contact with the adjacent neighbors and nation, and at most the number of days required to reach the Russian settlements in Gilyak territory, all of the statements run differently, in that, according to Popéof, the Sirinkes beside the Gilyak spoke, according to Chabarof the Achanzes, and according to Ispopof the Dyarskaves. The next question is how are these peoples to be identified with those known to us today from the lower Amur region and how are those apparently contradictory reports to be reconciled?

As Millier (3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320.

4. Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 309.

/113 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/114 cont.)

that one can hardly doubt that some there increased considerably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe that Schenck, who was interested in coming to know the Gilyak Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the Ainos, and they moved to the Amur Estuary and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

2. See p. 214 above /ustanovlenii/.

/114 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/115 cont.)

Gilyak, who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region. Sirinks, certainly much more numerous in Russian times, are dispersed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely represented everywhere, some living on the mainland along the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouths of the Sungari and the Sunja (Nurevaf Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting parties, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Dear, and, intermediate between the Sungari and the Sunja, Sirinks.

In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different from that on the Amur. Here, they have never been pushed off by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern, the Gilyak part of the island, and, in the southern part, settled on both sides by the branches of a warm current, a climatically very favorable region. The Ainos, then, must, which, especially on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely cold climate and consequently a very sparse population, from the time phenomenon may be in historical and political circumstances rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated by the Japanese, they were pushed back and driven away, and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainos moved out of their region and, as I have shown, have not represented opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese House, that certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

As early as April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak

/114 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/115 cont.)

/117 cont.) NEXT COMES THE OKCHAMAN, who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region. Sirinks, certainly much more numerous in Russian times, are dispersed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely represented everywhere, some living on the mainland along the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouths of the Sungari and the Sunja (Nurevaf Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting parties, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Dear, and, intermediate between the Sungari and the Sunja, Sirinks.

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As early as April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak

/118 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/119 cont.)

/118 cont.)

Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin vessels use

1. During my stay in the Amur region, among the numerous specimens that been crown with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Emperor Nicholas I (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wan or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the Russian mission, which, in the years 1840 to 1848, after he had spent the winter in Wan, was sent every year to visit the Gilyak. His colleague Venanti, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Amur and Sakhalin to the Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime, saw many of these medals between the crosses and medallions (Cmoc. Amaiam dos trayaps, Ibid. Ibid., Vol. XXX, 1851 (Vol. II), p. 218). To supplement the reports collected by Venanti, and Gilyak from Amur and Sakhalin, it should be noted here in passing that a number of these medals were also found among the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wan and Sofaxch, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited this place in my winter journey on March 19 (April 1), 1855. The already mentioned Gilyak in charge of the village of Wan was named for me as one of the Gilyak who had come to Wan to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck /ubiyat/ to destroy a piece of paper with

/119 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/120 cont.)

/119 cont.)

1. Venanti, "Excursion dans les parties inférieures de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Compte-Rendus des voyages, Vol. XXX, 1851 (Vol. II), pp. 218 ff.). Here, it is not difficult to recognize the Olcha villages of Adi, Polu, and Ochke in the Tschang-Sian-ur villages, mentioned by Venanti, "Adi," the first, going downstream, "Polu," and "Ochu." It has always been known that people without "ji" (Russian, 1894, note 1) that the "Kili-ula" belonging to the Tschang-Sian-ur, who living with the Hoit de la Brontes gave rise to Venanti's voyage, and other villages, "Ochke" also such as the crown (1).

1. Gerndel'st". "O protsessii. shiai. Amura" (Vestn. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 00, 1857, Sec. III Mixed Sciences, p. 1 ff.). 2. Bone, "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 3. Amurkoe" "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 4. Amurkoe" Izvie /Pitsy on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region" /Pitsy" in spite of the Treaty of Aigun, Ibid., 3. Trubetskoyer", August-December, 1859, pp. 1 ff.).

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, on the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, and on the Japanese, on Sakhalin, /ka/ /ka/ extend designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a sign of their dependence on the Chinese or the Japanese. In the western part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it now seems that the Chinese and Japanese, in the Amur region, the Chinese, and Ainu, only at certain points separates clearly related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

/120 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/121 cont.)

/120 cont.)

Gilyak, etc.). These peoples therefore regard the unshaved and

1. See p. 144 above.

influence in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could enjoy a relatively good life, and, in contrast to the neighbors, the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possession, they never have been pushed off by Chinese, along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the most necessary and simple goods of daily life, with their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their frontier and in their own interest, consequently.

Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must mention a little-known fact, namely, that the making in for sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, in contrast to the making of the Ainos, Orochon, Olcha, etc., are made of the Chinese, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the Japanese (1). The use of bone needles, which, in contrast, negin,

1. Steller's statement that the Kamchatdal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of these determinations, I have dealt with in my discussed above (pp. 871 ff.).

from bone, "the needle"; see Fl. XXIX, Fig. 12, was by the Ainos in the Sea of Okhotsk, and, according to Bone, they brought which a step provided with two nappes rum and into which the nappes are made. Among the Gilyak, however, in contrast to the Ainos, the upper one can be moved along it. If one lifts the

/121 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/122 cont.)

/121 cont.)

Gilyak, etc.) Their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountain, around the tributaries of the Sunari, along the Amur, Ussuri, and Sungari, and, finally, also in a little dependence on the Dear and indirectly on the Chinese (4),

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and in northern Manchuria, the Gilyak region more than the clothing of the Manchus, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and have, in spite of the Russian conquest of the original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshaven and either strung loose, or, in the back, tied in a bunch on the crown (1).

1. Gerndel'st". "O protsessii. shiai. Amura" (Vestn. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 00, 1857, Sec. III Mixed Sciences, p. 1 ff.). 2. Bone, "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 3. Amurkoe" "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 4. Amurkoe" Izvie /Pitsy on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region" /Pitsy" in spite of the Treaty of Aigun, Ibid., 3. Trubetskoyer", August-December, 1859, pp. 1 ff.).

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region and which, in contrast to the hair style, adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the indigenous peoples of the Amur, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear adornments, which, however, differ in order of only a little on the crown (1).

1. Gerndel'st". "O protsessii. shiai. Amura" (Vestn. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 00, 1857, Sec. III Mixed Sciences, p. 1 ff.). 2. Bone, "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 3. Amurkoe" "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 4. Amurkoe" Izvie /Pitsy on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region" /Pitsy" in spite of the Treaty of Aigun, Ibid., 3. Trubetskoyer", August-December, 1859, pp. 1 ff.).

Ainos, Orochon, Olcha, etc., are made of the Chinese, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the Japanese (1). The use of bone needles, which, in contrast, negin,

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/122 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/123 cont.)

/122 cont.)

and Gilyak, and nowhere coincides with the boundary of tribal and tribal boundaries, for example, between the Ainos and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the Ainos, and the Gilyak, and, finally, also the Amur Tungus on the Sakhalin Chinese or Japanese is of the Amur region and the Sakhalin Chinese or Japanese, and, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing and hair style, namely, the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear adornments, which, however, differ in order of only a little on the crown (1).

1. Gerndel'st". "O protsessii. shiai. Amura" (Vestn. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 00, 1857, Sec. III Mixed Sciences, p. 1 ff.). 2. Bone, "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 3. Amurkoe" "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 4. Amurkoe" Izvie /Pitsy on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region" /Pitsy" in spite of the Treaty of Aigun, Ibid., 3. Trubetskoyer", August-December, 1859, pp. 1 ff.).

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/A63 cont./

similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (5). /A65/

2. Hamsa Hmsh, "Tdatsi koko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not the originals Gilyak, but only with imperfect copies of Japanese pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Japan goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Aiaisi) near Kidzi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidzi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still further upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Umsa, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Hamsh had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Sulfu he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the native (2). This village, however,

2. Hamsh, "Putesh, na Amur" (A Journey to the Amur), p. 145.

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one a to believe Hamsa Hmsh's report, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and probably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the natives were likewise familiar with this industry — an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion

/A65 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

I do not specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations regarding the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and not learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art of the Olcha, Chilchi, and Akim of which Hamsa Hmsh spoke was of or in only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after the destruction of the pottery manufactories in the lower Amur region, on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the art of pottery for wooden implements; to turn their large bowls and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyaks and Olcha under the designation sangi-ge and bowls; respectively.

Among the Goldi the art of porcelain industry was destroyed along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tributaries. /A67/ According to the notes of the Chinese Ci-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

1. Vasil'ev, "Zapiska o Ningutie (Notes on Ninguta)" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1872, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also came there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

/A65 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

preservation and augmentation of their wealth, it is possible to the Gilyak to a high degree, for with the large number of participants at a hunt the hunter's expenses supply of /A66/ would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore, thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak, the art of pottery, in their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their relations with the Russians and Chinese, which may be hardly be equated in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and losing everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small wooden pots. The Japanese, their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels and the Ayghuzhin and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikal were added to the previous Gilyak settlers in the Tatarska Strait. Thus, at the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolaevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /A67/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyaks were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the mid-sixties we read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyaks, especially during their best festivals and other celebrations (1).

1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Gilyaken, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Fischfangs und Jagdwesens," Bull. de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 291; and Tsunetchine Pemor'e, 1866, p. 50 and elsewhere.

Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and the Gilyaks, Olcha, and Orok and Japanese have gradually become tolerant to it as an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As it is well-known, tobacco is native to the tropics of America, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the customs of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ascended the throne (1644), upon whose accession the Chinese also adopted the Chinese tobacco plant (1) and under whose protection the

2. Ibe, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Pommieroye, Voyage en Chine et en Tartarie, Paris, 1860, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 68. Wassiljew ("Chinesische Mandschurei," = Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Buch XII, 1857, pp. 92, 93) is of opinion that it was first introduced into Manchuria by the Chinese, who, in contrast to the Manchu, were accustomed to the use of tobacco and smoking.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (2).

2. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

he had no knowledge of the Orok migrations through the Tymy Valley studied with Gilyak villages in which there are many /A67/ Orok, and on these migrations, which take place every winter (for the purpose of trade with the Gilyak, Aino, Chinese, and Japanese, and, in recent years, also with the Russians) he has given a report in their direction and final aims (2), the Orok use, as

2. See p. 38 ff. above; also Vol. I, pp. 169 and 170, of this work.

has just been described in detail, the reinder for harnessing in place of the dog.

Although in the above I had to reject the idea that a change in the way the reinder was used could have taken place among the Orok and Gilyak living in the Tymy Valley, on the other hand, this seems to me quite undeniable much further back in time. Siberia, in the north, is the region where the reinder is native, and, in the south, it was domesticated and used in the Altai region, across the mountains and the Ural, in Europe, in the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, may have prompted them to use their reinder as their engine in the transport of goods. Among the Gilyak and Orok living in the Tymy Valley, that, in, between them and the Gilyak and Orok living in the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, the reinder, in contrast to the dog, is used for pack purposes, and, in the last decade, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Aino, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of [illegible] in the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the mouth of the Tymy Valley, at the time of the migration of the Gilyak and Orok living in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Pulajskol, who met them there at this occupation in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had first erected a well of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river all opened one-twelfth of the width of the river only as a result of his threatening demands, but then immediately above the first barrier they erected a second well in the middle of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

Tymy River, no less understandable, however, is the harm that they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of that river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living in the Tymy River, which, with the exception of the sturgeon, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets. During this /A67/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, and, indeed, in the ice, in the same way as sturgeon is then caught. In the cattle, lake-like wide places with a depth of two to three fathoms and more along the banks of the Amur River, and which are always connected with it by a more or less narrow channel, or, in other words, in the mouth, of course, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish; which are abundant in these small lakes.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its extraordinary importance and of its novelty, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the hanga fishing along the west and east coasts of Sakhalin. The Japanese, who, in contrast to the Gilyak, watchful Pall) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above, have, in the last decade, appeared in great numbers appear directly under the ice of the sea permits the Gilyak to employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All that they need for this is a span-long iron hook Gilyak kasch-kesu, Fl. XI, Fig. 2/1030/, Fig. 1) hung on a cord about three feet long which can be moved up and down by means of a wooden handle. The Gilyak fishing beside the hole in the ice catch with this short fishing-rod without any bait, in that he lets it down into the water and immediately draws it up again, pulling one fish after another onto the ice. In the few minutes that I stood by it it was not long before I had caught a fish myself. Thus, in the west coast of Sakhalin — my Gilyak pulled out several dozen fish, and the Japanese sometimes caught as that fish hung in their nets. Some far beaches

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

fish of fish, he lets the signal cord fall and draws together the opening of the bag, whereupon it is dragged ashore with the sturgeon. Sometimes, in the intervening between two sturgeon at the time, other fish, sometimes even sturgeon and beluga, are in these bag nets. Since such labor and troubles are connected with making a /A67/ the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time are according to the great multitudes, the Gilyak-tiche. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of year in which the Gilyak are most occupied with it, because the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

Nevertheless, the Japanese, in contrast to the Gilyak, carry out their reinder on the /A67/ paths made by their dog sleds through the Tymy Valley. Such a possibility for the Orok, growing out of their good relations with the Gilyak and enabling them to use the paths made by the Gilyak sleds through the entire Tymy Valley, and, indeed, across the mountains and the Ural to the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, may have prompted them to use their reinder as their engine in the transport of goods. Among the Gilyak and Orok living in the Amur, and, along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, the reinder, in contrast to the dog, is used for pack purposes, and, in the last decade, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Aino, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of [illegible] in the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the mouth of the Tymy Valley, at the time of the migration of the Gilyak and Orok living in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Pulajskol, who met them there at this occupation in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had first erected a well of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river all opened one-twelfth of the width of the river only as a result of his threatening demands, but then immediately above the first barrier they erected a second well in the middle of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

their reinder, however, the Gilyak invariably directed him toward warlike than toward gain and profit. Such made them recognize that they did not have to fear any curtailment of their wealth, because to the intimidating behavior of the Gilyak, a considerable gain, for the treasures of previous fur-[illegible] the Gilyak, in these bag nets. Since such labor and troubles connected with making a /A67/ the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time are according to the great multitudes, the Gilyak-tiche. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of year in which the Gilyak are most occupied with it, because the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

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/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

especially well-worked pieces and which causes them necessary use such pieces not to sell them, but rather /A67/ to store them away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them as an heirloom to their wife, or, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. More over, in view of the great importance of fishing, much time is spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody can have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region the village of Chyla (1), located on the Amur directly above

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/320 cont./ Маскина ТЫ МАНЕК ВУНДЫ ЗЫ ТИНЕМ,
Aino in Sakhalin [illegible] but their skill at forging iron
more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a
result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese goods.
We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had
another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably
would not or could not mention -- the apparent backsliding in
which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, con-
cerned with outright exploitation by the latter, under which
they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery,
and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were
in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance
of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances
and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence,
they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of
the Japanese and the idea (one which had bedeviled their neighbor,
the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and
more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or,
in consideration of a more distant path, perhaps more correctly
said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration
back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the
mainland, see pp. 316 and 247 above (tr-
translated/.

At any rate, the political independence which they were able to
maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and to the
Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful
lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being,
as well as for the further development of already acquired skills,
among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the
more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was
especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin,
the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of
it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

/388 cont./
the most numerous and generally most popular of all domestic
animals, simply as table hunting, among the peoples of the upper
Amur region; who say on hunting almost entirely for their food
and in large part for their clothing, the meat animals, elk, red
deer, roe deer, and wild pig, stand in first place as the objects
of hunting. Also comparing to this is the fact that the large
animals named first are also used for tributary payments to the
Manchu officials (6), and the young and still soft deer antlers are

6. I again draw attention to the fact that
the descriptions belong to the period of the past, a
a time when almost the entire Amur region
was still under Chinese rule.

an important trade item. To be sure, the precious fur-bearing
animals, especially the sable, are found in ever more and more
boots, and, accordingly, zealously hunted, by the upper Amur
people, too, but their number has so greatly decreased in the
course of time, both because of the constant and strenuous hunt-
ing and because of the frequent and extensive forest fires, in
part caused by negligence and in part intentional, that, in
addition to them, other animals formerly regarded as worthless
and ignored have acquired value. In particular, as the sable
gradually disappeared, the squirrels serving as food for it became
so much more common and numerous that along the upper Amur
and in /Ma/ tributaries the squirrels have always become
the principal objects of attention for the hunters, and, though of
little value individually, they reign their value and expense be-
cause of their great numbers. The Schilka and Argun Cossacks,
who annually in the fall and organized in small companies (sotsky
undertake long hunting expeditions lasting for weeks and months
in the Onochon and Manegir territories, therefore simply call
this hunting of sable, in accordance with its chief purpose,
"beltowje" (1), i.e., squirrel pursuit. Thus, another

1. Accordingly, the verb "beltowat,"
i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting,

/391 cont./
in that of the two civilized peoples with each other. Thus, they
in the Amur center, so to speak, at Nikolaevsk, and at Ma-
tions in the lower Amur region. This is especially true of the
Amur Gilyak, while those on Sakhalin and the southern coast
of the Sea of Okhotsk hardly less a peripheral position in
this respect than the cultic peoples of the region. The farmer,
however, are also favored more than the latter two by their
geographical position, in that, besides the sea route to the
Japanese by way of the Amur and along the west coast of
Sakhalin, they also have a second wattg artery on the Amur
River, which leads them to the Chinese living on it as well as
on the Sungari. Finally, in the trade with the Russians, too,
the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River,
occupy a central and favorable position, which, to be sure,
in contrast to the neighboring peoples, merely as a result of the
fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the
Russian started at the mouth of the Amur and the first settle-
ment were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the
Nikolayev post, which for some time remained the headquarters
of the Russian administration and from which the further explora-
tion of the lower Amur region and its peoples began.

If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with
which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seven-
teenth century, which ended only by the latter being the

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but
rather, far to the contrary, are malicious, spiteful, and deceitful,
while at the same time energetic and even ready to shed blood
if humiliation or greed are involved (1), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brunière by the
Gilyak mentioned above (p. 576, note 1)
is evidence of this. Shortly before my
arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

/391 cont./
2. (cont.)
whaler that had run aground in the vicinity
of the northernmost Gilyak settlement was
killed by the especially notorious Gilyak
from Tamankaw and the boat was
plundered. In 1895, among the Gilyak
of Pogbobi, I saw a bucket bearing a
number and an English inscription, which
presumably came from it.

that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians
with very few means in the beginning took place in such a
peaceful manner and so little bloodshed. Thus, completely the
love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very
generously contributed to this. The possibility was being able to
exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of
which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could
find no market, such as fish, game, beasts, etc., for wares
articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing
and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed
toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to
draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and
skill kept nothing from them, as they, as they themselves
and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them.
The Schlakeyev post became the most important trade center
of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /Mit/ that
the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of
Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the
Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely
distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the
Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Marawjof post in Aniwa
Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian
settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward
the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on
his guard against treacherous attacks. In the evening,
when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly
heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

/392 cont./
country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
express the opinion that they were now only exploring the
country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it
later and to push out of it and demoy all the Gilyak. At some
places, as in Tyk, Dut, and the upper-most Tymy villages, they
sometimes even show greater hostility and intolerance and hostility
in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or
to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal,
and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their
supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first
ones, because it could not be overcome by threats and force in
hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
I was always able to get my way finally. Thus, completely the
contrary could not resist the trade articles which I had with me
and produced apparently without design, and, if just one
yielded to temptation and made a small exchange, the ice was
broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had
find too many articles of what was needed. With the opening of
trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
ness, industry, and skill in trading. Only articles of luxury
practical utility excite their inclination to buy: on the other
hand, everything that they need, or, whatever been striking, is, to
be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated ex-
clamation of "ta-ma-ki," accompanied by striking the head with
the palm of the hand), but not acquired as a rule, provided, to be sure,
they can maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of
Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the
Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely
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when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly
heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

/392 cont./ Тунгусы ЧЕЛЕВЕКЕ, ОЧЕ ЧЕЛЕВЕКЕ, ЛЕ ЕЛЕВЕКЕ ОЧЕ ЕЛЕ
Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting,
and the Amur Gilyak, who have the men dealings with the
Chinese, also trade with them, and, in consideration, have long
along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them
the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak -- particularly the Tchomi Gilyak
too, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which
Chinese wares are brought into circulation throughout the terri-
tory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring
them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Orok, and even the Ainu,
and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from
it. There is not a single Chinese merchant in this whole area.
The northernmost and easternmost point in the lower Amur region
is an area where Chinese may not stay longer than a few days.
Located still in Chita territory on the Amur, near the Gilyak
settlement, which, only a few miles to the east, is called
Tschomi, via the oft-mentioned Tymi-Chaselach route from
the Liman (1). It was said that sometimes a Chinese merchant

1. See pp. 144 and 909 above.

meals through from Pulj along the deserted left bank of the Amur
to the Negda on the Angoni, he carefully avoids the right bank,
inhabited by the Gilyak, and, to be safe, he always, whether
he, will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and
3 years ago killed one who ventured in. Whether they amount
this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to
defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese
in order to shake it off is still unclear, but in any case it is
greatly to their advantage commercially. For the role that is
played further upstream by the Chinese merchants living among
the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur
region or visiting them, in that they act as middlemen in the
trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along
the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, inasmuch they
are not allowed to come, to the Amur Gilyak themselves, and
the latter perform their role of middlemen with great skill and
success. The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that

/406 cont./ They are not permitted
by the Manchu-Chinese government to go further upstream, just
as they are not permitted to cross the Amur to the south. Nor
are permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari,
the so-called Sachala River -- a prohibition whose observance the
Manchu officials stationed in Dshdag-Aibo at the confluence of
the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the
Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal
experience. Beyond this they know about the name of "Hajoch-
chanan" and "Sungaj-chotan" (Bhagatu) located, respectively,
the above-lower Amur and Sungari, and, to be sure, inhabited
tributary, which they call "Ungoj-chotan" (Bhagatu), the Manchu
and Tungusic, as a whole, simply means "river", as well
as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Amur.
River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they have
heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in
part perhaps through Dahian-Yakut traditions in Bodaisk. The
Gilyak, the Tungusic-speaking people of the Amur, do not
access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners,
and enter /Mit/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does
much for such a people, and, in return, it does not
does not yield either military or tribute-collecting officials to
them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves
as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons
of prestige, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the
refusal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the
other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the
Gilyak coming to trade in Bar-Aigun a tribute, or possible
for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first.
The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to its demands, if they
want to be able to participate in the trade, and to
have maintained the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/407 cont./
must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other
peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order
to achieve this purpose, they, the Gilyak, must, of course, gen-
selves cold me, toward them on their part just like the latter, that
is, they bend the bow before them in greeting or to make a re-
quest, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. The
Gilyak in Bar-Aigun put on an act of complete submission to the
Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this,
along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute and
probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and other-
wise leaves them in peace.

The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur region ap-
pearing amongst the Gilyak, and, indeed, somewhat of the
Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh,
inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and
shy Goldi, who live closer to them and are directly subject to
them, have to suffer under them. According to the description
of Chibiloff (1) and Bachmann (2), which I have followed up the Sungari

1. Khabarovski Uyezd. Rusk. Geogr.
Obshch., Vol. II, 1866, Sec. II, p. 227.
In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph.
Mitteilungen, 1867, p. 97.

2. Ir. Barabash", "Sungarlik. Eksped. 1872 g.
/The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Vostoc
Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tuna (Bo-duna) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay
for a permit for travel to Bian-xian and for the trading itself,
which was done in the village of Sunsu, lying somewhat below
the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sycoeen and
beaten cartridges and glue to the Manchu official stationed there.
Upon reaching Bian-xian, they first of all have to pay the tribute
(ashin) owed to the Chinese Manchu government, and, indeed,
may begin to trade with the Japanese, submit to a ceremony
introduced by the latter which consist of two or three blows
across the back with a stick received by each of them, as a

/411 cont./
land on the lower Amur west coast. A principal center for this trade,
however, is the village of Najero, not far from Bian-xian, to which
which the Ainu come for the purpose from considerable dis-
tances themselves, from Aniwa Bay and elsewhere (3). For

1. See, op. cit., p. 84. Schmidt,
op. cit., p. 92.

egoistical reason the Japanese view this trade with great dislike
and try as far as possible to prevent it, because they want to get
for themselves the profit from the trade in furs. Since they do
in a way which is very injurious to the latter, in that they bu-
ch good for below the place in part under threats of punishme
the Chinese merchants, and, indeed, sometimes by sub-
ing, as payment for alleged debts (3), the Ainu, whenever they

3. Bune, op. cit., p. 71.

cass, avoid trading with them and try to sell their furs, kept
hidden from them, to the Sakhalin Gilyak or, preferably, to
the Amur Gilyak and Olcha from abroad. The latter are said to
pay them two to three fathoms (atm span) of Chinese cotton
cloth for one sable pelt, depending on its quality, and yet as
much for one squirrel pelt and one fox pelt, depending on
skin, so that the latter, with a length of 1/4 arshin, which is
easily attained in a year of the unavoidable stretching of the
for in skinning, will bring about ten fathoms of the material
named (4) - prices which generally correspond to the value

4. Bune, op. cit., p. 84.

given above for these articles among the Gilyak.

Having reached Sunsunu, the Sunsu voyagers, before the
may begin to trade with the Japanese, submit to a ceremony
introduced by the latter which consist of two or three blows
across the back with a stick received by each of them, as a

/811 cont. /

[811] Nature of their administration from the highest Japanese officials. After this is done, the goods are taken away from them and brought to an official building of the Japanese, which no one except them may enter, in order to be subected to a close scrutiny (5). It can hardly be doubted that some of the pieces

5. According to Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's [illegible] Sbornik, chapter, Russkiie-amerikanskie Kompanii, Part II, p. 118.

and certainly not the worst ones, never find their way back to their owners. The Japanese, however, do not permit themselves to treat the newly arrived Gilyak and Oroka in the same arrogant and pedantic manner as they do the Aino, despite the reason that others-no they might emily they every abnegation from trading with them and the alleged communication that they [illegible] to them would be lost. Besides [illegible] this trade is all the more profitable for them because it is practically unstable, fur, and river-otter fur in, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their [illegible] [illegible] purchased at a little price from the Aino, as well as in furs, and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among the Japanese. They further owe great profit to the popularity of their iron kettles, provided with handles, among the Gilyak. Finally, their tobacco, tabe, porcelain and lacquered wooden bowls, and the like are equally marketable articles for them in this trade, in exchange for which they principally try to obtain from the Gilyak and Oroka those valuable, red and blue Chinese silk materials and the eagle tails likewise mentioned several times. How much the one as well as the other is among them can be seen from the high prices that they pay for them. According to [illegible] the Japanese are for a period of six months in the place of silk material seven fathoms long and one ninth wide five river-otter pelts, five fox pelts, and five sable pelts, and for an eagle tail three Kadzibuno [illegible] 12 otter pelts, and from the fat ten

/811 cont. /

[811] supply of such observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of the Ainam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin (Ainu-moshi) and separated from it by a narrow sea" (Opisch-Sakhalin, p. 11). In the years immediately following the occupation of the Aino region by the Japanese, however, the Japanese also tried to keep the traders from their own areas from Batamom and Endaigoro, the second most northerlyin the southern part of Sakhalin. At the same time, we extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian posts beyond it and especially any alienation of the Aino subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 152-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Batamom by the Japanese but only as far as Endaigoro, and in the following year the Gilyak were even prevented from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kunashiri and some went to Sakhalin and to the mainland (2). Under the

appointed hostess, or second elder. A black tea-otter fur was agreed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders were to bring to Japan (4). Since the Gilyak and the Aino are at the same time, and in fact, interwoven with gold and promised to sell them all the other skins commodities at a very cheap price. That "foot, linoleum, or boje," which, according to the map drawn by Batoshi on the basis of the original sketch by Sugiyamo Tokiusu and Mamia Rinshi (6), is near Cape Omiu (the southern

4. Atlas to Siebold's Nippon, Plate XXV.

tip of the Bay de la Jonquiette), is undoubtedly the Gilyak village of Dal, and that the whole of the above incident refers to the subjugation of the Sakhalin Gilyak, or making them tributary.

/811 cont. /

[811] [illegible] them as to how they came to be tributary to the Matanchi, he received the following information from several Sakhalinsk Gilyak: "Long ago, in the Gilyak language, "when they were not yet tributary, some Matanchi women came to them every year in order to buy furs. The Gilyak, however, hated them as unfriendly and disdainful toward the inhabitants of the island, and they, in turn, were consequently frequently beaten between them, whenever a great number of Matanchi landed one day, suspected the island everywhere, and much persecution of the heart of the inhabitants fled to the mountain out of fear, but some of them stayed behind, and the coast was surrounded by the Matanchi, who conferred with them and appointed one of them as their chief, called or elder. Chief Kaiyo, or elder, the wet coast of the island near Inn (Sushotan, Hyoi). Similarly, they invented two men from the northern part of the east coast with the office [illegible] and [illegible] Matanchi.

3. Mamia Rinshi also shows the names of these three [illegible] who were the first to become tributary.

become acquainted with one of the most distinguished Aino, the aged Inotsaburo, upon whom, as an Aino elder, the Japanese had conferred a number of rights and duties, and who is discussed written in the Matanchi language, which his father had received at one time from the Matanchi, and, consequently, the office of a tribute journey to Sam-min on the Amgun, and through which he, as an intermediary, was able to obtain a number of furs and a tribute, or, more accurately, a special statement in furs, was collected from the aos as from the other only in Sam-min for the granting of permission to trade. The Gilyak, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Matanchi-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Matanchi officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it [illegible] that the Aino and the Gilyak were subjugated Matanchi's tribute in the Amur region and made to bear-min on the Amgun. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Sakhalin Aino, according to his own words, had himself never been in Matanchi country.

/811 cont. /

[811] and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt (Voyage around the World), Petersburg, 1810-1812.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Kaidobita Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1803) — it was pointed out above (p. 67), as I mentioned, he was unable to distinguish the one — one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe and a Chinese cap. Since the Gilyak were, at the time, and "without doubt" was their chief — evidently, therefore, one of those [illegible] or [illegible] appointed by the Matanchi and Japanese officials. Collected by the importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt, who, in 1854, in Sapyo, in

1. "Histor. Berich," etc., p. 94.

Aino and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Matanchi likewise did not exist, and that there were none of these appointed chiefs or elders among them. "Since the Gilyak were subjugated by other tribes, they refused to pay tribute to the Matanchi. The former were visited twice in one year from the Matanchi, and, consequently, the office of a tribute journey to Sam-min on the Amgun, and through which he, as an intermediary, was able to obtain a number of furs and a tribute, or, more accurately, a special statement in furs, was collected from the aos as from the other only in Sam-min for the granting of permission to trade. The Gilyak, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Matanchi-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Matanchi officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it [illegible] that the Aino and the Gilyak were subjugated Matanchi's tribute in the Amur region and made to bear-min on the Amgun. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Sakhalin Aino, according to his own words, had himself never been in Matanchi country.

/811 cont. /

[811] no doubt that the greater moral austerity of the Gilyak is tied up with their greater wealth and the fact that they have been brought, namely, their greater energy, self-control, and moderation, which, as has been pointed out (1), they also show in their

1. See above, p. 719.

drinking of liquor. On the other hand, however, in comparison with the other Amur peoples, the Gilyak were always in a more favorable situation with regard to namely inasmuch as their dwelling sites were the farthest from the two civilized peoples of Ist Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, and the latter do not have any contacts with the Gilyak territory. Some demonstration as effect they have upon the native is evident from the fact that the Japanese and Chinese always come, the former to Sakhalin and the latter into the Usuri and lower Amur region, without their wives and children, always liquor and other compact commodities, try to acquire conclusions among the women and children of the Gilyak, or the Orochi, Oroka, and Olcha. It was therefore to the advantage of the Gilyak, see namely with regard to trade, but also in connection with the Aino, they refused to pay tribute to the Chinese and Japanese, but, in fact, in all evidence of [illegible] throughout centuries and energy (1).

1. See pp. 143 and 144.

with the exception of the Amur region by the Russians in the Ilhim, conditions changed, much to the disadvantage of the Gilyak, for the occupation begins precisely in their territory and they were the first and the most drawn into close contact with the new civilized peoples approaching them from the north, a contact which, in the end, was always of the Gilyak, a disadvantage to them, as it always is to a primitive people in such instances, and as subsequently, to a lesser degree, the Gilyak also found it [illegible] to tell his daughter as a countryman as a wife in exchange for the [illegible] of the Gilyak, or the Japanese, or the Russian [illegible] in some other form.

/811 cont. /

[811] people who themselves are obliged to bear the tax-yasik yoke, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Section 12

Social relations: political and legal position. Social organization on the basis of wealth. National communism. Inviolability of property. Hospitality. Caution and indecision in journeying and weather tests. Superstitious calming of storms. Greeting and expressions of thanks. The custom of giving gifts and return-gifts to one another. Reliability in business affairs. Time reckoning. Calender. Cosmic conceptions. Amusements: singing, music, dancing, games.

In connection with the family, the basis of all social organization, the most essential and important characteristics of the latter among the Gilyak and the neighboring peoples in the lower Amur region were discussed in the preceding section: morality, slavery, blood revenge. It remains for us to consider those aspects of their social life which are less directly and immediately connected with the family.

At the time of my stay in the Amur region the Gilyak were not subject or tributary to either China or Russia. At the beginning of the century the Chinese government had exerched some authority over them on the Amur as well as on Sakhalin and in consequence it appointed elders from among them, who were to collect a certain amount of tribute in their districts and deliver it to Deren. In the twenties, however, as was discussed in detail above (1), it relinquished this authority and confined it to

1. See pp. 970 ff. above.

those parts of the lower Amur region located farther upstream around the Sungari, so that the Gilyak and the Olcha remained only nominally subject to it. And since from then on no tribute was collected and delivered to the Manchu-Chinese government, the posts of village or district elders created by it automatically perished, too. For the Gilyak in particular, more conscious of their freedom, they had already in my time /664/ disappeared

from memory to such an extent that I never heard them mentioned by the local inhabitants of the Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russians, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held at individual points in the Amur region, namely, at Nikolaevsk, at Petrovsky, at Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-181 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions to deal with and to deal out justice in the order within the Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (Russ. starosty) appointed by them from among the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the district chief (Russ. starshy /Ispravnik/) residing in the nearest port. Dr. Seeland, who had already met such village elders during his stay in the years 1874-80 (Russische Revue, Vol. XXI, p. 238), failed to recognize the wholly Russian origin of this arrangement, and, therefore, failed to distinguish adequately between what was originally peculiar to the Gilyak and what they took over from the Russians -- and at that time this had already spread very far and deeply -- deprives his description of them of almost all its value.

This is my Time the arrangements made by the Manchu-Chinese for governing the Gilyak had already disappeared, and they had not been introduced by the Russians: the people were left to themselves and within the limits mentioned, could do as they pleased. The following remarks pertain

only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their primitive life.

Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak have no legal-administrative structure or organization of self-government. Their affairs are individually provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage war with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, they do not need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

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Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their dwellings, and these are in fact farther from the Amur than large and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschonsi Gilyak go for downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the seacoast to catch kaigu. It is true, the Tschonsi and the Tymy Gilyak have fixed frontiers with each other. Also, in the great forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

Like the communist, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of tobacco, or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur. I mean, I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langi, located at the entrance to the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small hatch boxes were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Jilyakizad Russian term for "to steal" (ukradnuch, Russ. ukrasti), and the Gilyak word (emgarunch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met persons, such as Kimuk in Tschach, Mradamin in Bachach, etc., whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

slight pinching. I had even greater confidence in the latter. Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in the form of three spears hewn from the large and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschonsi Gilyak go for downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the seacoast to catch kaigu. It is true, the Tschonsi and the Tymy Gilyak have fixed frontiers with each other. Also, in the great forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

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others were to follow (3). This method was at least more per-

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

ponsful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a dwelling-house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gestiue, nor it it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too. With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "adrkmu" and "pouchnachu" (see above) addressed to the hostess. Only in the presence of Tungusic and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to give them a sign that I wish to bring punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Sanatun and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference. But what surprised me even more is the fact that I never heard "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Czichon, who had more experience, should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which it in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and sentiments. On the other hand, it is true, I never heard that they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. As soon as the cry "nimach nimach" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwarn) was used to scrape and heat the stone from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and rna was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the guest of the day were discussed, in which the women also

customs may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Sanatun, as well as in Suiranusi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such capitular benevolentiae in their own interest and sympathy by the Manchu-Chinese Republic. Nevertheless, the energetic Gilyak paid no attention to the djiticr elders appointed by the Manchu-Chinese government for the purpose of collecting tribute and previously disliked by them, and permitted neither a Manchu official nor a Chinese trader to enter their territory. The gentler and more fearful Olcha, however, did not have the courage for such a decision; they were still afraid of a very strong Manchu-Chinese domination and of the events that seem to have followed the abandonment of the trade centers of Deren located in their territory (2). This fear can be explained in part by the fact that

2. See pp. 978-982 above.

the lower Goldi immediately adjacent to them and the Samagir on the Gorin still remained under Manchu-Chinese rule and the Olcha received many a fugitive and immigrant from there. In part it was also fostered by the fact that the Chinese trader mayting here and there among the Olcha, the Gilyak, and the Goldi control, such as had formerly been exercised by the Manchu officials in Deren, now treated the Olcha with even more imperiousness and audacity, especially since they found among them longcustomary, humble submissiveness.

The fear of a return of Manchu-Chinese rule and the accompanying insecurity with regard to property, as well as, on the other hand, the Tungusic nature of the Olcha with them in their industriousness and gain-seeking in comparison with the Gilyak, further explain the fact that greater, fewer prey-animals were by far play as considerable a role among them as among the Gilyak, and the social organization which has developed on the basis of it is more or less missing among them. Not that there are no wealthy individuals among them, for example, Tudo in Tschiloi, who was one of the few Olcha who even owned a lyax-fur coat (3).

3. See p. 979 above.

officials in Sian-min a certain amount of tribute in order to obtain permission to do so. Nevertheless there was a considerable difference in the position of these two peoples with respect to the rule over them, abandoned only recently and to a certain extent compulsorily by the Manchu-Chinese Republic. The energetic Gilyak paid no attention to the djiticr elders appointed by the Manchu-Chinese government for the purpose of collecting tribute and previously disliked by them, and permitted neither a Manchu official nor a Chinese trader to enter their territory. The gentler and more fearful Olcha, however, did not have the courage for such a decision; they were still afraid of a very strong Manchu-Chinese domination and of the events that seem to have followed the abandonment of the trade centers of Deren located in their territory (2). This fear can be explained in part by the fact that

2. See pp. 978-982 above.

ual phases of the festival. On the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different method of sowing and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low conical, snow-covered hemispherical dwelling with a smoke-hole on top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt. With a few ragged-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (kach) hanging down from their crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs, they do not have the most eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year in its skin used for the exterior decoration. Only in the front of the dwelling, some yurts also set up obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it a pair bundle of wooden curls (kach) (2).

2. See the woodcut. p. 1186.

I saw this. for example, in Tyk. Dul. Jelik. Pud-wo. and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin.

which were strung in a row by means of the Peramina vertebrae on the branches of the brush. and beside them hung Goldi birchbark bowls and baskets. such as are fouhd also on the grave sites. of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in the basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it. especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread. that. having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur. they found a home there for a long period. and only then. oppressed by the Ainu. migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /intranslated/. 247 /intranslated/. 889. and 892 of this work.

768 cont.

A rough little rod or a similar stick (wadžach) stuck in the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is buried. (Bm. I, p. 18.)

51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kulk discovered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited there. Near Kulk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed little house the ashes of a Nivkhi child had been put in one vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, p. 24.)

52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never be interfered with by outsiders, Russians, or Orochi. Therefore, though the Gilyak from Kulk bewailed and complained about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages where they themselves had moved from Kulk. (Bm. I, p. 56.)

53. Gilyak. Investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish finished and in an upright position: kakk, also tars. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it; a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk- or tars-rawk (Plate LXVIII fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir,

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-ainlk came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid, it consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship, but, in distinction to the Tungus-Manchu system, the specific terms of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of the group marriage. These relations were brought into play for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were related to one four ago groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (ytyk), the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) mothers and sisters (turngi) and 4) children (ata).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into a commercial enterprise, undoubtedly aids stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur and Sakhalin Nivkhi, who had long been in trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga tooth-boxes for tea, silk, and other luxury articles. They also bartered with the Russians, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tyzhing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Orok. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be drawn into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-4 slaves. The rich made a wide-price always included large quantities of imported valuables, but commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only the medium of barter and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's property was inherited by his children. Slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gyapsin-ulitge (like a village).

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi clan structure accelerated considerably. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-sharers." Nivkhs who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their view of supernatural was of a very primitive character. Fig. 2 shows a pole of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about the "master" of the earth, water, and fire. The kilor-khoir was in essence their thinking in yr-ngi "master" of their animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its "master" (ulyr-ngi): the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandi, or Tolyr'—the "master" of

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, as, indeed, almost all the Nivkhi lived, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

In the beginning of 1920, the laboring people of Sakhalin overthrew General Kolchak's appointees and reestablished the Soviet regime, which immediately began to carry out the nationalization of industrial enterprises, workers and peasants and the Nivkhi and other peoples of Sakhalin. However, the Soviets lasted only three months in Sakhalin. On March 31, 1920, Japanese landed on the island and occupied the city of Aleksandrovsk. The poorly armed Red Guard units were compelled to retreat and withdraw to the taiga. They became guerrillas. Based, as the classification system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of the group marriage. These relations were brought into play for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

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Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into a commercial enterprise undoubtedly aids stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur and Sakhalin Nivkhi, who had long been in trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga tooth-boxes for tea, silk, and other luxury articles. They also bartered with the Russians, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tyzhing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Orok. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be drawn into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-4 slaves. The rich made a wide-price always included large quantities of imported valuables, but commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only the medium of barter and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's property was inherited by his children. Slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gyapsin-ulitge (like a village).

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi clan structure accelerated considerably. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-sharers." Nivkhs who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their view of supernatural was of a very primitive character. Fig. 2 shows a pole of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about the "master" of the earth, water, and fire. The kilor-khoir was in essence their thinking in yr-ngi "master" of their animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its "master" (ulyr-ngi): the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandi, or Tolyr'—the "master" of

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the collective farm, which, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other collective farms also are progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered in the taiga. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But, in the large collective farms, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new ones proceeded rapidly after the beginning of the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well-planned settlements. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi, who lived in dugouts, and moved, most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu dwelling.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Almost every collective farm village is a member of public buildings: a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to some specialized branch of farming, e.g., a poultry-house, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a kindergarten—nothing the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private toilet-houses.

The material surroundings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one sees radios, sewing machines, gramophones, and, in the place of the birch-bark wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and bedspreads. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures; there are now quite a few stalls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping, and, in the past, wrestling, the living game of Sakhalin, and the game of the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective farms of Nivkhi who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old clan structure. Among the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution, the old religious ceremonies, the clan elders, and the "half-sharers" have the greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was cloistered and oppressed, and now only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. Now, along with the collectivization of her husband's labor, her effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to do so, they met with resistance from the husbands. Their wives, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their activities. In general, the women succeeded in overcoming the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. It was usually only a temporary hut. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help.

Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied in the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad, 3 studied in the Khabarovsk Institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Lisa Dakhat' of the village of Pal on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Takanul of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, engineers on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to high-ranking positions in the collective farms and industry; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is continued today by the collective farms and industrial enterprises. The best of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Noglikl, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinsky Rayon. The second cultural base of the people of the Nivkhi was founded in 1932 in the village of Pal on the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Russian children, and kindergartens and nine-year schools.

At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the Nivkhi are invited to the rayon and oblast' concerts. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who have lived near the Russian villages, were only the passive spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm villages, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

The Nivkhi are greatly interested in sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in swimming and other sports (especially rowing and canoe seasons) with a singleoar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping, and, in the past, wrestling, the living game of Sakhalin, and the game of the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective farms of Nivkhi who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old clan structure. Among the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution, The old religious ceremonies, the clan elders, and the "half-sharers" have the greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was cloistered and oppressed, and now only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. Now, along with the collectivization of her husband's labor, her effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to do so, they met with resistance from the husbands. Their wives, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their activities. In general, the women succeeded in overcoming the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. It was usually only a temporary hut. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help.

Golds KAS
Olcha

G /657 cont./
614 example, in the above-mentioned case of Nenjdan, drive one to
602 bloodshed, and then the instinct of self-preservation may keep many
628 a one from plunging into the hornets' nest of a strong and large kin-group. Quarrelsome and rapacious members of such a kin group, however, confident in the protective power standing behind them, may be goaded on all the more in their wantonness and may let themselves be carried away to commit acts that lead to blood feuds or that are a direct challenge for blood revenge, as, for example, is said of the Tammla-wo Gilyak on Sakhalin by their countrymen on the Amur. On the whole, however, this abuse does not nullify the beneficial effects which blood revenge with its rules has among the Gilyak, in that with the legal relations still unregulated, it gives the individual a certain amount of protection, and, to be sure, it strengthens the basis of every social arrangement and development, the family.

G
Gi
648 Concerning the family relations of the Amur peoples living
177 adjacent to the Gilyak, the only ones who, as was pointed out at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks about the Gilyak.

/658/ In the preceding chapters the high degree of equalization that has taken place between the Olcha and the Gilyak in all aspects of the external life has been discussed -- an equalization which must be regarded as an assimilation of the former by the latter. This kind of equalization has also taken place with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which, in fact, became the basis for the most penetrating and enduring manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally.
G
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[582] And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent mixed marriages which have taken place between these two peoples since the Olcha migrated to the Amur and, after the loss of their reindeer, settled down there as fishermen in the immediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, marriage which even today are concluded between them continually. In this manner the

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Gi /658 cont./
648 Gilyak family customs and organization
177 brought to the Olcha and in the course o
and spread in much the same form amon
they were bound to undergo certain mod
character, in that they were transplante
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Gi different people with respect to their nat
157 Olcha, a branch of the large Tungus trib
[101] Siberia and the Amur region, are by nat
hearted, gentler, more pliable, more ca
going than the Gilyak. They do not hav
energy of the latter, but, on the other h
having their avariciousness, treacherousn
G
Gi These original character traits of the Olc
[177] wise undergoing change as a result of the
people by the Gilyak -- and this has in p
but they appear time and time again, an
also in their family relations.

Among the Olcha, for instance, in
G
Gi erally customary purchase of wives, ther
648 of women, though by far not as frequent
Gi the Gilyak, primarily for the reason that
583 demands, they more readily come to ter
157 another and with their neighbors of the T
for abduction quick and decisive action i
in their nature, and, finally, probably a
of peace and fear of the evil and bloody
usually follow the abduction of a woman
however, they most often carry it out ex
from where they can most expect lasting
among the Gilyak, either because they h
intercourse with these neighbors of theirs
women have a special attraction for ther
hand, the high demands of the Gilyak fo
cially if they are to go out of the country
settlement impossible. In such cases, wh
told me about, bloody conflicts are unav

are constantly being
f time have taken root
g them. Of course,
ifications in their general
d in the soil of a very
tural disposition. The
e spread over all of
ure much more kind-
arefree, and more easy
e the perseverance and
and, they are far from
ness, and vindictiveness.
cha, however, are like-
e assimilation of this
part already taken place --
nd, among other things,

n addition to the gen-
e is also the abduction
and usually, as among
, with more moderate
ms in dealing with one
ungus tribe, and that
s required, which is not
lso out of a natural love
consequences that-
Strangely enough,
actly in the direction
revenge, namely,
ave the most active
or because the Gilyak
n, and, on the other
their daughters, espe-
, often make a peaceful
hich the Gilyak often
oidable, although they

G Gi /658 cont./
648 do not by far reach the proportions that blood feuds caused by
Gi the abduction of a woman and its attendant outrages among the
583 Gilyak themselves not infrequently assume. And this is again
157 attributable to the more peace-loving Tungusic disposition of the Olcha.

G Gi /659/ In general, all acts of bloodshed, and especially
648 those carried out in an unexpected, treacherous manner, are far rarer among them than among the Gilyak, and hence the occasions for blood revenge are far fewer. But it is even more characteristic of them that in cases where such an occasion arises the matter may have a peaceful outcome, for they can be persuaded to desist from blood revenge by a payment, which could scarcely ever happen, or only in the rarest cases, among the
Gi Gilyak. For example, the Olcha from Pulssa let themselves be
[628] bought off by the Gilyak Judin of Tebach for an act of bloodshed
[583] which his brother had committed among them, whereas he himself relentlessly sought to take revenge on an Olcha from Uchtr for the abduction of his daughter.

Gi If, as may be seen from what has been presented, many
648 a harshness of the Gilyak family relations is softened among the
157 Olcha by their gentler nature, so also, on the other hand, does
439 the moral austerity prevailing among the Gilyak undergo a considerable relaxation among them. To a large extent this is due to the fact that they do not have the energy of the Gilyak in refusing the Chinese merchants and traders entry into their territory, much less a more or less permanent stay in it. As has already been mentioned (1), there are many places in Olcha

1. See pp. 144 and 946 above.

territory where Chinese traders stay among them temporary or even almost permanently, and they have all the more corrupting an effect upon them because they have no dwellings of their own, but, with concubines taken from among the natives themselves, set up their domicile in their houses and in their midst. Also, the liquor that these traders always have at their disposal con-
000 tributes no little to the corruption of morals. Accordingly, the

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general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves. Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen. If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

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672 LIABILITY--conception of the liability of individuals and groups for breaches of legal norms; extension of liability to others (e.g., parents, spouse, sibmates); exemptions from legal responsibility (e.g., minors, insane persons, chiefs); recognition of extenuating or aggravating circumstances (e.g., youth or old age, sex or class status of aggressor or victim, accident, self-defense, intent, negligence, recidivism); liability of animals or inanimate objects (e.g., "the ox that gored"); etc. See also:

Collective responsibility of families 59
Collective responsibility of kin groups 61
Responsibility of a principal for acts of his agent 676
Sanctions 681
Moral accountability 812
Status of minors 868

/95 cont./

*614 628 It is quite another matter between men of different clans. Here the principle is implacable: the bones of the clansman must be raised! To raise the bones is the technical term for clan vengeance. Blood must be redeemed with blood, and only in very rare cases can blood redemption be replaced by ransom. This obligation is clearly colored more by a religious than an emotional element. Vengeance is obligatory not only for the contemporaries of the slain man, but, in the event of its non-fulfillment by them, for the two following generations as well. It is obligatory not only [672] in the case of premeditated murder, but for completely accidental murder as well, even one which is only indirectly connected with one or another person (1). And what is

*614 825 672

> 1. One Gilyak of my acquaintance brought vengeance upon his clan when his rifle accidentally went off when he picked it up from the bottom of a boat, accidentally killing the helmsman.

still more instructive, it is obligatory also with respect to animals. Vengeance upon a bear who has killed a man is no less wrathful than it is with regard to a human murderer.

The ritual of such vengeance is extremely characteristic for understanding the psychology of this clan institution, and we shall begin our analysis with it. As soon as the news of a man's death in a struggle with a bear arrives, the whole adult population hastens into the taiga, in order to catch up with the "murderer" by means of his fresh tracks. If they do not succeed /96/ in catching the real culprit, it is necessary to kill at least three other bears (his "clansmen"). If this is not accomplished during the winter, it is necessary to do it during the summer, and in addition the "mountain man" gives them a "tkhusind," in the form of a plentiful catch of every beast.

/96 cont./

*614 825 672 766 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-"murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

[778] 1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of shavings. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, 556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined 538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely 171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 432 437 427 426 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have the character of barter.

426 Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known [184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but [177] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The [614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con- [672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

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673 WRONGS--general definitions of acts which violate legal norms; major categories of breaches (e.g., crimes, torts, violations of contract, sins); recognized gradations in the gravity of offenses (e.g., malum prohibitum and malum in se, misdemeanors and felonies, venial and deadly sins); etc. See also:

Specific offenses and their sanctions 68
Sex perversions 83
Breaches of etiquette 676
Breaches of ethics 677
Taboo 784

6Z

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/48 cont./

174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic; see yokh on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price,
583 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone-
[693] ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
[689] the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
[682] eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
[192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
583 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands,for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could

/367 cont./

000 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
771 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[754] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

/367 cont./

577 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
783 clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/
673 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
688 there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
[682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[829] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/382 cont./

428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[768] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one, the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[768] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
428 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
597 time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age. With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
[606] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with his father up to the very time of his death, while the other brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the other brothers.

673 Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[674] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety. In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[422] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes tempted by the possessions of another, it is always in the field of

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
962 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
190 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

674

674 CRIME--prevalence and incidence of crime; common and rare offenses; crime statistics (e.g., number of reported violations, arrests, and convictions for various offenses); types of offenders (e.g., juvenile delinquents, criminal castes; narcotic addicts, professional criminals); motives in crime (e.g., greed, frustration, sexual jealousy); contributory social factors (e.g., poverty, oppression); criminology; etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Crime prevention	625
Neuroses and psychoses	188	Sanctions	661
Organized vice	548	Litigation of civil cases	691
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Juvenile delinquency	738
Banditry and piracy	579	Suicide	762

/382 cont./

428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[968] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one, the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[968] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
428 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
597 time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age. With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
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/771 cont./

766 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,
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† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266 /, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn,
[674] projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

778 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the
532 ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the
825 Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

[628]
[627]

1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
585
584

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

● 674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

675

675 CONTRACTS--conception of contractual relations; agreements, bargains, promises, and their enforceability; consideration; rights, privileges, and powers of contracting parties; procedure in the conclusion of contracts (e.g., presence of witnesses); terms and stipulations; types of contracts (e.g., legal forms, oral agreements, covenants); etc. See also:

Builders and contractors 331
Loans 426
Leases 427
Sales 432
Insurance contracts 456
Labor relations 466
Social relationships 571
Marriage contracts 584
Treaties and alliances 648
Penalties for breaches of contract 686
Religious vows 782

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
• [675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/272 cont./

584 The bride is not present during
184 the betrothal, the mother has the
[171] absolute right of veto, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
584 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not
174 at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motive of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of full freedom of choice, all the more because th marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

584 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. Th procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded b a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, wh the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at fir conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodk from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
• [675] longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that th host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

84 Even without invitations, however, there are always wit-
75 nesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes
known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of
86] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to
court, and this results in a large fine.

84 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot con-
76 ceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit
them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement.
03] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/379 cont./

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That a rich man s
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personal talents to
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556 their chosen one.
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living today, who
and robbery, a leg
had secured his we
down upon him wh
rain was, of course

675 Since the
432 exist among them
437 etc., but most fre
427 the character of b
426 Two words

426 does not borrow m
fulfillment of one
No interest is char
[184] only to the Amur
[177] even among the A
of money or sable
[614] popularity of debt
[672] sists, first, in the
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30-40 years before
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after the death of
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made good, in the

E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

is strange for people with a primitive mode of
and respect and even reverence in this feeling.
ould inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to
e feeling of some sort of reverence has its own
ot completely alien, however, to our under-
itive society the rich man ordinarily had his
thank for his material success -- hence the
But since all human success is at the same time
ls, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
atural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
ong them concerning a certain Tungus, still
amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation
end which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/
alth thanks to a golden rain which showered
en he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden
e, a favor from the god to his favorite.
Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally
contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
quently of all, of course, these contracts have
arter.
about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
oney; his debts arise principally from the non-
side of the property obligations of a contract,
ged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known
Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but
mur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan
skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
fact that there is no period of expiration with
mplaints about the payment of debts incurred
arose not infrequently), and secondly that in
solvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or
hese persons, the clan, in the person of the
for the debts. The fund from which debts are
event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

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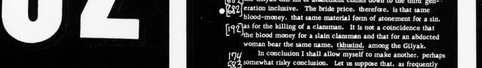
681 SANCTIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions;
punishment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembe
corporal punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanc
(e.g., damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule,
deprivation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment);
theory of sanctions; systematization of sanctions (e.g., wergild, crimin
codes); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, preventi
penology; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state
injured party); etc. See also:

Formal justice . . . . . 69 Informal justice . . . . . .
Social control . . . . . 626 Prisons and penal labor . . . . . .

usually concerns abductions of women or major transgressions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyak council of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiff, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of it. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the knife, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the sharp point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the knife. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry with which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called tayagdaki (i.e., hunters) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief destination for non-political criminals, these tayagdaki also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their parents-relatives and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened-criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest in entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they pursue is to reach the sea-coast in order to be recognized in case at rest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor. Not only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular



/48 cont./

This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law; he may not be our father's brother, which also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term ninh /Ncr see yehh on p. 78/, a term meaning a category possibly related to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan, because abducted, a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abductor. Thus the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation, namely, the bride price. Moreover, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin, as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood-money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhunal, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps [illegible] comments. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of V then remain /Ncr without husbands/for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the conservative spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; the entire universe, nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/94 cont./

"As among all nearly primitive peoples, murder within the clan among the Gilyak goes unpunished (1). The clan

1. In clans that have combined with Aino, which retain polygamy, in cases of murder within the clan the brother of the mother of the slain man and the closest agnate of the latter (father, brother) obtain the ransom, which they divide in half.

cannot shed the blood of a kinsman, which is the blood of an ancestor. This is not only a religious principle, but a dictate of self-preservation, a categorical imperative of the existence of the clan itself. The strength of the latter is in its numbers and internal peace, while every incident of vengeance within the clan would inevitably be the cause of /185/ new vengeance by the clan-mates of the punished man and would thus lead to endless internal war, which would end in the physical and moral destruction of the clan.

Murder and any serious infraction of rights and laws by a clansman do not go completely unpunished, however. In fact, in other peoples, capital death, the ultimate penalty, is compelled to leave the clan and move to a distant village, thus being deprived not only of all the benefits of the clan union during his lifetime, but of still weightier ones after his death, since the privilege of cremation is extended only to clansmen. In general, however, slaying within the clan are extremely rare; the many speech prohibitions among clansmen discourage the causes for quarrels and litigations, while the extensive communal conjugal rights weaken the fire of jealousy and make superfluous the abduction of women, which is the most frequent cause of bloody disputes and vengeance. Thus, the very practice of the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel. he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/252 cont./

The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not only do the Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed /or bor, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be given by the attention given to the bride price, because their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are the existence of the clan itself. The strength of the latter is in its numbers and internal peace, while every incident of vengeance within the clan would inevitably be the cause of /185/ new vengeance by the clan-mates of the punished man and would thus lead to endless internal war, which would end in the physical and moral destruction of the clan.

Murder and any serious infraction of rights and laws by a clansman do not go completely unpunished, however. In fact, in other peoples, capital death, the ultimate penalty, is compelled to leave the clan and move to a distant village, thus being deprived not only of all the benefits of the clan union during his lifetime, but of still weightier ones after his death, since the privilege of cremation is extended only to clansmen. In general, however, slaying within the clan are extremely rare; the many speech prohibitions among clansmen discourage the causes for quarrels and litigations, while the extensive communal conjugal rights weaken the fire of jealousy and make superfluous the abduction of women, which is the most frequent cause of bloody disputes and vengeance. Thus, the very practice of the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel. he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/277 cont./

of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which accompany the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not obviously prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price thus became but a payment for the right to attribute for appeasing the souls of the dead, which, in the violation of the clan taboo. By this alone can one explain why the Gilyak reject a dowry in favor of the compayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slayer of a clansman. Such a payment is a material reparation in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

In the Gilyak idea of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. Bride price among the Gilyak consists of compayment of a dowry of a different kind (valuable, in spiritual and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian knives, and, finally, Chinese and Japanese money. Moreover, in the Gilyak environment, has land which serves as a bride price. Within half a year the unfortunate woman banged herself. There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her husband, hanged herself, has land which serves as a bride price. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

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From an Amur Gilyak named Tyr', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mibyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, fell the desire to marry the wife and were married. Mibyl' and the husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a cost-price of 1 Chan (the standard of the Amur). Urgayn and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless or does not bear anything, but when the woman has borne her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak

(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an older tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth." And the first fell down and became the Gilyak. Settlement of Bulava. Dus (Kugi /Amur/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Magar. When these people arrive, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'o. Mongol -- Shala -- Djakhul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

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Settlement of Myakht'. Tgna (Lang) -- Kugi from Rui (now Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).

Settlement of Lyvvo (third part). Dea to Koyma, pure Oroyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Ahkha. Atkhung Bugi (Alim). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them; they gave a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Ahkha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kenyakhal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khokhal killed Kalimlg, an inhabitant of Kal'mo, over a woman. Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen: "Give me your daughter or you leave me alone." Then Kal'mo people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumakha with kahga /Hono dourions/ oil. Then an old man spoke: "I know for him, and he jumped out. The brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a canes bell. It was then agreed: Khok-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave him his wife; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

Settlement of Tvavo at the mouth of Pervotsky Bay. The Aleng clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago migrated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

(1896).

In Tsura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Nogda speak their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak, they have been better if you had killed a bear and treated it. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in fight of your wife." The women in particular are brave. Now at the present time, however, the descendants of the Kugi people are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Tebba.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/299 cont./

calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he replies quietly: "Pilavon khal pural hohkagin on" krygyn" (1).

1. krygyn -- an Ainu slave; ahh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your father, while there you have Chinese blood."

/300/ If a krygyn bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, as economy, and yet he wanted to be considered a krygyn, he was free. Every krygyn was considered a kibal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifice. A good krygyn is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khiaj-[illegible]ivaqh, elder women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygyn woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Non can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, ahh, has the same rights as the krygyn. A free one is kinrylygr n'ivuhh ("pure"). The killing of a slave is considered a crime. Women say to their children: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila kon -- big mountain bear, mer ede -- tiger), fight with him: I would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated it. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in fight of your wife." The women in particular are brave. Now at the present time, however, the descendants of the krygyn people are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Tebba.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

Sakhalin

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

A representation of twins -- tongch; -- is placed in a little
[832] storehouse or hut. If one of them dies, they place a tongch; while
[978] of both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chuk-chugund
[982] is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen
and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[976] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Piludskii, the same is done with the father of twins.

[1098] The tongch; helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
[1224] The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
[1232] (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'gyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
753 but each of them takes a mik not from his kingdom.
776

/338/ A mik can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

Kikhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw
753 and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is
614 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it
682 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar)
164 breaks off a piece of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
[615] of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
[1025] ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
[502] ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kor ulongn-khlal" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
682 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
628 another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.
[177]

The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bons" (nyn-vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

614 /356 cont./
682 every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only women
628 are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that
[1025] from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful,
burdensome feud between the two clans. The clan of the murderer lives under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any comer, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time, in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necessarily neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and, in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for
614 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from
682 among neutral khal'-s an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlay-nivukh" --
628 literally: orator -- from the verb "khlaynedzh" -- to speak, and
537 the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries between the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a silk
[892] gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, and sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. Then, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village of the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-nivukhi, with their orator at their head, await the emissary. The latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as possible. The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-nivukh

614 /357 cont./
682 of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in
628 anger. The khlay-nivukh of the murderer goes after him and
[1025] tries to enter into negotiations with his comrade-in-arms. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the khlay-nivukhi move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and, after to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and both sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his khlay-nivukh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other steps the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his khlay-nivukh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the khlay-nivukhi strictly restrain the adversaries, speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is not merely a ritual, for there have been cases where in that minute the avenger has boiled over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw their arms, run toward each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another variant, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy; when the khlay-nivukhi call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

614 /357 cont./
682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the
628 condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the
[1025] murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A murder within the clan finds its avenger among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their
614 fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said
682 of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and
[537] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Revenge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven
[1162] to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between
614 clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but
682 the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell
172 of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the
[177] most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/367 cont./
507 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
682 clear conception of sin ("umgyuh"). It goes without saying /368/
[1025] that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are, from your point of view, a great number of other, indifferent from the point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
• [682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and fires, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[821] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

9;Hawes--234-235 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 682, 692, 756

"The cham of the Gilyaks resembles, in many respects, the shaman of the Oroktis, the Golds, and the Tungus on the mainland. Both are addicted to superstitious practices; but the primary function of the cham would appear to be the judicial one for that purpose he is elected. He it is who pronounces sentence in the criminal 'court' of elders, and afterwards carries it out. Legally these were the limits of his function; but [235] actually his moral influence does not stop there, and the criminal's fate largely depends upon him. Probably he was chosen because the death of a murderer, though necessary in olden times, was much against the grain of the kindly, jolly Gilyaks; and the cham, with his powers of exorcism, could clear himself of any sin which they involuntarily felt must attach to the killing of a human being. The penalty of death now no longer obtains, but is commuted in practice to a fine."

681

TIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions; capital
hment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembering);
oral punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanctions
, damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule, pillory);
vation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment);
y of sanctions; systematization of sanctions (e.g., wergild, criminal
); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, prevention);
ogy; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state,
ed party); etc. See also:

nal justice 69
al control 626
Informal justice 627
Prisons and penal labor 697

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

/298 cont./

A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /ayat/, kinsman
or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the kokhal keeps silent,
but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by the
offender for reconciliation (urla lymydek).

A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear
festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl,
while the old one is used for meat and the liver. Some can
prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is
bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear
is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side
opposite the door, is called pokrov-n'ir.

When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
The bear is greeted with zaka-chadir music. When the master
feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'rur humyjit!
Wingan drur humyjlive-!" (live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon
as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while
he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

When a bear falls sick, then they hold pying-cyvyk and pre-
pare uig, mos', foam all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk; -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
in a wooden frame near the lening where the bones of the bear are
placed. Some claim hang bear heads on trees. This place is
called kork ogangof.

V.

Slaves

The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head
is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the
feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
Then he is a kokhal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

/299 cont./

calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
replies quietly: "Pilavon kokhal purat kohhagin on' krygyn" (I,

1. Krygyn -- an Amu slave; ahh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to
your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygyn bought himself free and his master had
to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would
still be considered a krygyn, impure. Every krygyn was con-
sidered a kokhal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was
avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygyn
is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the
income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlay-
n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they
are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel
sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beat-
ings.

A krygyn woman cannot demand a share in court, because
she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her
husband.

A Chinese slave, ahh, has the same rights as the krygyn.
A free one is kinyivgy n'ivuh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer:
"If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila kotr --
big mountain bear, mer ede -- tiger), fight with him: it would
have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do
not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage
in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him.
Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
krygyn are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of
former slaves still stood in Takhta.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase
of Amu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/383 cont./

the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the
taiga, and disappeared.

Chnyr-chhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
chhinaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chhinaj
is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If
it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chhinaj is
hung up over the plank bed and fed.

For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for ex-
ample, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened
to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting
in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for
him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the
things.

The shaman Koyuyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a
rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day
the woman died.

● 683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chhhakirvand),
or pay tihusind, or take something by force. Frequently they
kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhaind, with a kettle.
The parnkhaind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings
straight, one has his face made; if to the side -- one has not his it.
If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chhinaj, hang it
around his neck, and feed it.

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delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to
the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this char-
acteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked
me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace.
And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak.
The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes
out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself).
Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which,
in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to
no one. Not will any physical sufferings impel him to such an
act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal
grief and take his life.

Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated
that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for
his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as
prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian
justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The
Gilyak youths, feasting being borne away by passion, have begun
to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But
Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in
an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders com-
mitted deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or
conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as
lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have be-
gun to disappear.

● 683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon
among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In
the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones
for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

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and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to
this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally popula-
tion of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most
remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom
at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in
deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable
lawsuits. The court and mediation of the classmen, still exerting
authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the
quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have
the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-n'ivukh"
of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified
Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension
and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian
administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise"
and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-n'ivukh" by election,
regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority,
etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-n'ivukh" be of vari-
ous clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect
men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected
court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

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periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
have influenced one another, they actually belong, speaking in
the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with
the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak
this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
seem to be anything special. A Gilyak generally buy one or
rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are re-
garded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
tion, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and
not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
families, each living in relation to its own particular interests.
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband,
wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses.
When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself
or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing
with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal.
Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a
whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call
a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their
fathers (yik), and these call the former their children.

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who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of
the tribe. With regard to this group, she is pirnari and vice versa.
Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are
so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the
Hawaiian islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of
Gilyak marriage.

The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly ex-
pressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity
with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood
vengeance and is regarded as a crime against the Kiranate
delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons
of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever,
causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the
seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse
between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an ex-
tremely rare exception.

More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabi-
tation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed
between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a
Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and
most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the
same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations be-
tween the latter and the wife of his elder brother were so secret to
anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical
tenderness and enjoyed equal tenderness from the latter, and,
when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly
regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could
buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder
brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part
of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted
about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melan-
choly would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never
saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

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*614 by virtue of that same proposition concerning the unity of the
602 "adoption." All those women who enter the clan are
agnate kinswomen to one another, either sisters or aunts and
nieces, so that both elements -- male and female -- each
separately and both together, are cemented together by the firm
intimate bonds of kinship, which, of course, are profoundly
reflected in all the social relations of the members of the clan
among themselves.

*614 No influence has been exerted upon these relations by
these circumstances that we mentioned, at the time, by reason
of which it became necessary for individual mem-
bers of the clan to take their wives outside the confines of one
original kinship clan; the general spirit and the general
norm have remained.

But the element which strengthens the union of kinsmen
in the indestructible organization of the clan does not rest
only on the formal consciousness of a common origin and
kinship, and not only on the formal norms of marriage, for by
themselves these are not so strong as to hold people from gen-
eration to generation in a closed hereditary union. The reasons
go far deeper. First of all, there is the religious sanction,
which plays what is a decisive role in the eyes of primitive man,
originally not the sanction of the clan union itself, but of those
[582] marriage norms which created the clan. The principle that
which must take wives from the clan of the mother, that
the wife must be a blood relative of the husband, is a religious
principle, intimately bound up with the cult of the ancestors,
in particular with the cult of the mother. The seizure of a
*614 married woman is a religious offense against the clan of the
abducted woman equal to the slaying of a clansman; the
struggle for her sake, or at least the demand for a ransom,
is obligatory, as in matters of vengeance, to the third generation

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makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately, there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, *moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of* pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

"Murder is not an
upon the slightest pr
dictated by superstiti
punished by the frien
death, generally by c
notion of justice."

uncommon occurrence among these people, being often committed
ovocation. They are governed by no established laws except those
ion, which differ in different localities. A murderer is usually
ds of the deceased, who are bound in some manner to avenge his
counter-murder. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is their

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35 marriage, and without the instinct of sexual repulsion or indifference for persons of the forbidden categories, the majority of the prohibitive norms would lose their strength.

How were these powerful instincts, or at least semi-instincts, able to develop?

35 367 In the development of these instincts a powerful influence was exerted by the classificatory system of kinship. From earliest childhood the little boys and girls know exactly whom they should designate by what term, and what sexual rights-obligations are bound up with those terms; thus from childhood they begin to regard certain relationships with certain individuals as something established by nature itself and as immutable. Just as our training develops sexual indifference toward parents, children, and own brothers and sisters, in the same way among the Gilyak, owing to the class terminology and the prohibitions mastered at an early age, there is developed a similar feeling with respect not only to own father and mother, but also toward all "fathers" and "mothers," toward all the brothers of the father, toward all "sisters" and "brothers," sisters of the mother, agnate cousins, etc. And in just the same way a baby knows from childhood the rights of the pu category to its an'g:ej; once he knows from childhood that every tuvn has the right to his individual an'g:ej, then when he is an adult he will be able to look indifferently enough on the sexual relations of his own wife with his tuvn and her pu. But at the same time 35 64 he is far from indifferent when such relations take place with outsiders. Then his wrath knows no bounds: /186/ he kills an adulterer in flagrante delicto, and in other cases he furiously fights a duel with his rival. And moreover, if even his own tuvn allows himself to break the established etiquette -- non-publicity -- in his relations with his wife, he does not remain indifferent, but forces the offender to withdraw from the settlement.

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831 [192] words signifying "my man, my woman," - n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider l of life which everyone must experience in view is very well conveyed in a song which on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own y

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine ow
let me be!")

831 882 593 Parents, however, never reproach thei amorous passions. When the youth do hear their elders, it is most often due to purely tions, since during the period of passion the neglect their work and become careless an general it is not even permissible to react sexual passion of the children, maidens inc [684] father or brother finds out about the fornica or sister, he not only may not use force aga but it is even forbidden to summon him to may not even be angry with the daughter. amorous passions of the children as a perfe phenomenon. The mother in particular is confidante of the amorous secrets of her ch [533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, son address their mother, sharing with her their ings, seeking advice as to where and how t Serious remonstrances by the parents, activ [835] [762] going to the point of pitilessness, are encou the case of love for a person of a forbidden such cases, the parents themselves urge the 584 593 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of t of the father, becomes manifest when love advantageous marriage, one which has bee

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832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
846 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

843 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846]
[171]

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
509 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
77 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had be-
fore that behaved properly. The causes for that may be
found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated
individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain
extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. How-
ever, this fact has in recent times been badly misused
and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have
pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to
put themselves in the place of strangers as well as
fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one
must remember that, where strangers are concerned,
moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of
pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever
make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that
tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed,
77 vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
82 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
27 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le
Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by
way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was
robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But
this case was and has remained an exception. The
village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants;
at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or
eight men took part in the crime, of which none is
living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are
caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives
of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge;
now, however, they usually file complaints with the
Russian administration. [226]

48 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
37 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
84 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself
be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself
is not too much offended, provided only that there
are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity
have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not
taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself
completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about
them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what
I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have
already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which
people live together does not permit such delicacy; however
the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers.
Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the
open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of mem-
bers of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in
urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard
against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had
some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was
taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawn-
ing and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not
make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are
forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the
Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of
course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the
Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating
expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-
Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the
streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has
deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can
be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about.
In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent
that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably
partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they
want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they
love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen
that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

685

685 PROPERTY OFFENSES--definitions of and penalties for stealing (e.g., theft, poaching, robbery, burglary, fraud, embezzlement); definitions of and punishment for property damage (e.g., trespass, arson, malicious mischief); etc.
See also:
Property . . . . . 42 Sandluy 879

/302 cont./

578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must
(present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only
in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second
-- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh.
If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They
are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another
and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last,
farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the
object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost
of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[437] a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of
dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or,
if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-
law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for recon-
ciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back,
but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to
try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a cer-
tain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten
because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him:
"You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan
money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and
two bottles of vodka.

695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
685 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825

One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons
on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where
is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz'? ennikh -- heel, tongz --
tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az' tongz'
shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/303 cont./

685 dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft.
695 They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz´u n´ivukh,
825 and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the
424 Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If
614 outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja´, mygja´, n´i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigry´ tuur pugutá enan´ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral´ó, sidz:jejmraló cherakh jot´in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n´ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n´ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n´erakh elvg:az´ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

● 685 /304 cont./

695 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorá mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n´erokh tokh elyvgujá. Chi narl´ar: chan majg:okhanā. Mykyz" mra lytyng ivg:aj huktókh elyvg:az´o."
685 While they argue, a crow (ves´) and a cat are thrown into the fire
695 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi tajrodz: furará n´ivykh lerý mra chi unakhana uikhyndor hy nivukhdokh elyvgujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan whose k:khal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
754 thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz´ nyngjá -- look

Amur

/304 cont./

● 685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

629 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n´ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
881 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
30 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
1178 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
881 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
585 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
841 themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tûgurmam
[302] (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

191 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
834 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

● 685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
[774] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
774 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand), or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/359 cont./

614 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered i
597 the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had be adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appear from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must b fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ tim this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the
422 debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of
428 a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, th clan is the heir).

614 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. W
736 have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a
768 Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gath
[763] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the
627 participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settle not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals o different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the
● [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/369 cont./
baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.

In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/370 cont./
684 his wife half to death. Even his ruvn, in such cases, does not
[184] escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak
[614] even the ruvn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante
[197] delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with
128 a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife grad-
583 ually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

/634 cont./

583 of the parents of the desired girl, calmly makes use of the customary hospitality, and seizes the proper moment, when the host and hostess are very busy or have gone off, to flee with the girl on a waiting sled or boat. He follows the same procedure in abducting a woman who is unfaithful to her husband. As soon as the wronged father or husband notices the theft, he pursues the fugitives with a few relatives or villagers. If they are overtaken, the abducted woman can be brought back, but not without a bloody fight with the abductor and his helpers, in case he has provided for some, since both parties resort to knives and spears. In most cases, however, the abductor was clever enough to provide for an escape with his willing booty. Then the feud continues and may be prolonged for years, since, as a result of the blood vengeance practiced among the Gilyak, which will be discussed later, revenge is demanded and an opportunity to carry it out is sought both by those who have suffered directly by the abduction and by those who have been injured in the fighting. Whole villages may thus become involved, so that the inhabitants of them, in order to avoid the danger of a surprise attack, carefully avoid each other and /635/ intercourse between the villages ceases entirely (1). In the face of such complications and dangers, the

1. In my time, for example, the villages of Tammla-wo and Talwantigr-wo, along the Liman coast of Sakhalin, were engaged in such a feud, and the inhabitants of the latter, as much the smaller, had to be on their guard against those of the former.

Gilyak rarely undertake the abduction of a woman in a neighboring village, but, as a rule, select a more distant field of operations. It most frequently happens that Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk and from the Liman coast of Sakhalin abduct the daughters or wives of their countrymen on the Amur, either because, in view of their distant habitation sites, they need have less fear of their revenge, or, as a result of their being less well off, are unwilling

/635 cont./

583 628 684 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

[533] [126]

583 114 Another point with regard to the abduction of women must be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

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2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/360 cont./

among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The intervention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fishing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

/669/

Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the seacoast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc., whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

igar missing. I had even greater confidence in the latter. ince I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop ected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared r me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chim- y over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and nce might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had anned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the llage of Ssabach for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak radamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied cross- se by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the lyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national princi- e. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me. ey are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned out their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to pre- nt me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my tol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the yak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and refore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a ter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous nections, from which they could see that I meant well and always friendly toward them, they became friendly and pitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there always a great difference according to whether it was a ian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: on as the cry "nibach pritsch" rang out, the fire, stirred up he women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece ood (Gilyak warwars) was used to scrape and beat the snow the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was pre- d. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

343 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild ani-
685 mals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping
415 goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles,
777 knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

257 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

231 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

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686 NONFULFILLMENT OF OBLIGATIONS--penalties for breach of contract and nonpayment of debts; definition of and sanctions for criminal negligence; etc.
See also:

Borrowing and lending	426	Enforcement of contracts and debts	696
Contracts	675		

/88 cont./

Externally the clan unity of the fire finds expression in the following ways. Only a clansman has the right to light a fire in the hearth of a clansman. Only a clansman - has the right to take fire out of the yurt. A member of another clan may be killed for this. The fire at the clan hearth may not leave the yurt until he has finished his pipe. Any infraction of these rules of the inviolability of the clan fire by a member of another clan inevitably incurs dangerous consequences for the clansmen and the obligation for the member of another clan to pay blood money.

Each clan has its clan steel, guarded by the oldest member, and only with this steel can the fire be lighted when bear meat is cooked at the bear festival, which plays such an important religious and clan life of the Gilyak. When it becomes necessary for the clan to divide, i.e., when a part of the clan is compelled to emigrate to a new district place, the oldest member of the clan breaks the clan steel and entrusts one half to the oldest of the emigrants, and only after this is the clan formally divided.

The bear festival, the chief religious festival of the ashmak's clan, plays quite an important role in interclan relations, binding, through her cult and protection, the clan in whose territory she lives and to which she gave birth with the clan from which she came; from generation to generation she brings into the daughters of her brother and their descendants.

3. One mountain, mao, sea man, etc. -- the common benevolent clan masters of the mountain, sea, earth, etc.

In the section on religious beliefs we have already explained the nature and significance of this type of deity. There are not the fantastic heroes of the classical clans, not the vague, impalpable whose clan celebrations were a simple traditional ritualism, but clansmen close to each living generation, who either died some kind of unnatural death (in the water, slain by a forest bear), and so forth or,

1; Shternberg--144 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/91 cont./

very great sin; one might die.' It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear; the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with the clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-ancestors. It is not by chance that in all this the "sin" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the hearth; they, as it were, serve as the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal

/106 cont./

7. One sin. Although the norms and customs of religion and conduct are almost the same for the whole tribe, nevertheless each clan has its own complex of obligations and prohibitions, obligatory only for its own members. The first extensive category of prohibitions relates to sexual norms. For the members of each clan certain categories of women are prohibited for marriage and sexual relations, for example, all the women, without exception, born in the clan. Further, the wives of one's younger brothers, all women who are called ayo and ama, all women who come from the clan of the "nom-in-law"/ nyat ya/, etc. /107/ so that to know what women are prohibited for one or another person is enough for infallibly paying to which clan he belongs. In this category the prohibitions of speech may also apply. For the members of each clan there are certain classes of persons with whom it is prohibited to speak; such classes are the tuvn (brothers and sisters of all degrees of kinship), the achk (mother and aunts of the wife), and others. A third category of prohibitions deals with religious norms in the narrow sense. Each clan, as we have seen, has its own clan gods and sacrifices, its own sacred objects, its beliefs, and, consequently, its own ritual of the clan cult, common to all the clansmen but having no religious significance whatever for members of other clans. These numerous rites and objects of the cult demand the greatest care. The slightest sin, with which is vented the wrath of the offended deities, answers and therefore each member of the clan is not only obliged himself to avoid infractions of his taboos, but to defend them against infraction by outsiders. For such such infraction it is necessary to exact tbhunin. Hence the customary difficulties with members of other clans over an accidental defiling of the enclosure of the hearth, over the taking of fire from the yurt, a bear bone dropped during the festival banquet, the infraction of the sexual taboos, the accidental trampling of the bear festival -- the pots to which the bears are tied, the poles with their heads, the storehouses for festival utensils and bear bones, etc.

/186 cont./

Psychic prohibitions. But side by side with training and, I would say, the hypnotic influence of the kinship terminology, a still mightier force acts on the development of the above-mentioned instincts -- prohibitions of a special kind, prohibitions on psychic intercourse, prohibitions on speech, glances, and familiar address (joking). Corresponding to the two different instincts necessary for the realization of the sexual norms, these prohibitions are of a dual character. Some are created for persons between whom it is necessary to weaken the instinct of jealousy to the last degree, others -- for those who must would having sexual relations with each other. Both forms, both the prohibitions of sexual intercourse and the prohibitions of psychic intercourse, act not only as factors of hypnosis and habit, but it is probably also as an instinct of aversion. To violate one or another of these norms, in the eyes of primitive man, is a dangerous as the most dangerous blasphemy. The strength of the taboo on psychic intercourse in particular and what instincts they can develop in the soul of primitive man can be seen even from Ishhel'sen's /Ischelson/ tale about a Yukagir who by mistake allowed himself familiarities with respect to his own brother, but when he realized his error, he passed away on the spot out of horror.

This is the way Ishhel'sen tells this amazing story, entirely in keeping with Gilyak psychics.

"There were two brothers. With them lived the husband of an older sister, with whom it is permitted to talk. Therefore, both brothers frequently joked with him and played pranks... The brothers, as usual, had a non-speaking relationship. One time the older brother, upon returning from hunting, found the young people in the settlement playing games and dancing. His younger brother, who happened to be dressed in the fur clothing of his brother-in-law /ryat/, was in the

/186 cont./

The younger brother quickly turned around. The older brother realized his error and fell dead then and there "from shame." As usual, they performed an autopsy to /187/ learn the cause of his death, and his heart, according to the legend, was found to be broken in two" (1).

1. Ishhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, XIII.

Let us proceed now to the prohibitions themselves. The prohibitions of the first kind, i.e., prohibitions established between individuals of the same sex in order to weaken the instinct of jealousy, usually cover those persons who are joined in one class by group marriage; among the men, the pu classes, i.e., the classes of persons who have the right to sexual relations with a certain class (women), and, among women, the ar'gwi classes, i.e., women having common husbands. All these individuals, all these group husbands or group wives, among whom outbursts of jealousy might so easily flare up every day and every hour, are fenced off from one another by the impassable wall of the strictest prohibition on psychic intercourse, a prohibition beginning at the threshold of life and ending only with the grave, and creating an instinct of restraint which does not yield first place to the strongest instincts of nature.

The prohibitions of the second category, as we have said, have as their aim the hindrance of sexual relations between persons of different sexes of the forbidden categories. For this reason prohibitions between persons who are mutually in the classes of "husbands" and "wives" (pu and ar'gwi), even if not in a state of individual marriage, are superfluous; any man freely converses not only with his individual wives, but with his group wives, for example, with the wives of his brothers without distinction (in some classes or only with the wives of his older "brothers" (in others), in a word, with those women whom he calls ar'gwi and with whom he has the right

/297 cont./

but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate a common bear festival." Each kihlal should buy one, or better, two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare tmgt. The bear is fattened as fat as possible; they feed it about two years; they prepare meat and kvas for the festival. The time for the festival finally arrives: they play games, wrestle, then kill the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected -- he does not have to be the bear's master; he is the nga tkmd' - ni'vuhk; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi pilf pal' urgu p'ach ado; kuhuf pshylava:r chapidogul!" -- then, big mountain (mountain man), make off well our Gilyak dust. Turn around so that I can see you."

They killed it, cut up its meat (the bones must not be broken), brought it home, and prepare kvas and meat. Men compete in a "race" -- vandzy. They call together both clans, men and women, and distribute the bear meat to all. As a rule, the elder consults with the master on how to divide the bear. The main bones are the two tibial bones -- terenq, and the two pelvic ones -- pyjhh. The tibial and the pelvic bones are given to the most honored persons. It is a sin to give the tibial and the sidneys to the young people, the kidneys are very important. The ishla n'vuhh then says: "Kihlal ni'ahkr; dlgro kihkfigo

/313 cont./

to about: "Ytk-ik?" -- Is it enough?" -- "Ytkr?! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

The customary tabu of a hunter is the individual sig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the festival), the vopund kymlyate assemblies, and they judge him; they demand a bear or a lar -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yr' -- the master of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have made two piece, he takes his piece and eats it.

When they build a pila nigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is no sidneys to buy a bear, they must kill a lak -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a pot falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila nigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for their clan, they take the bear bones and tie together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chdzigo.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several nigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an nigryf.

/335 cont./
Improvisation of a storyteller-shaman. To compose, ty'ŋund, is not allowed; it is a sin. This is a legend, truth.
N'a'ŋund may (be told) by a ŋ'a'ŋun'-u'lvukh (storyteller) or a shaman, who is helped by a special kind of ketkn (mif-'lvukh-ketkn, who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When inquiring about the possibility of improvisation, Kolmyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and began to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that this was inspiration by the richness and elastic quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyum listened with ecstasy and with interest asked for explanations.

Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanies ŋ'a'-ŋund; there is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In places a quiet tenor vibrates beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in placer flows into the thinnest pianissimo, while thricks and artificial throat vibrations sound with tremendous dissonance. The entire song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of a stanza the shaman comes to the end by abruptly cutting off with the words "hand fan" -- "that it is said." Frequently, he finishes his song covered with perspiration.

Declamation and singing in narration. 1. In a nar'-ŋund, a) first humming, b) then -- monotonous, vibrating, doleful singing with all one's might, ending in c) fortitude with exhaling.

2. In descriptions -- a single-tone recitative.

3. Dramatism: the artistic communication of conversations in a rhythmic recitative is especially good. If one becomes accustomed to it, it is very melodious.

4. Those present support him with yells: "Ola' epo), epo)" etc.

The kenchkh is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull on a thong with the kenchkh during the song. Two men (one a shaman) cast a rope, and the kenchkh seizes it and pulls over the people.

/335 cont./
of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four nan. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Ungur s'ŋd, pehkinŋ kan k'khalaf khavyt hunivayoh" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kaftong ashk -- "the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small nan are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with yaranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -- four chihnai, two male, two female, all nila hejmar -- old men.

Tavyzing tugur ysing. This ysing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt heads, the tugur must not be touched.

If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyrh-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, hails crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

Means for love. There is medicine to make another person fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies); or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/363 cont./
deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlements. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the tower, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ ever more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting, or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/367 cont./
In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a clear conception of sin ("omgyn"). It goes without saying /368/ that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person, for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt, otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other misfortunes. The Gilyak think that hailstorms and lightning have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

10: Coxwell--128 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 224, 539, 688

"THE GILYAK WHO MATED WITH A TIGRESS

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.120-121.]

Sternberg says that after every successful bear hunt, a religious ceremony must be performed; part of the meat being eaten and part carried to the relatives on the mother's side. In our story, the hero carries away meat to the forest; such an act being a great crime punishable by the gods. The Gilyak was induced to behave thus by something extraordinary, namely his love for the tigress, a creature more powerful than any bear; and he married her. The largeness of the sacrifice in the story corresponds to the importance of the tigress."

689 SOCIAL OFFENSES--definitions of and punishments for quarrelsomeness, disorderly conduct, and commission of nuisances; practices for drunkenness and abnormal behavior; patterned punishments for lying and other breaches of ethics; punishments for indolence and noncooperation; etc. See also:

Lying contests, red rackets	311	Breaches of etiquette	678
Meanness and quarrelsomeness	320	Breaches of ethics	677
Mischief and pranks	321	Ingroup antagonisms	676
Laziness and loafing	323	Social control	838
Mental self	678		

/48 cont./
This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term nihk /ŋiet see yoŋh on p. /6/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wifer and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the unusual custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted. a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abductor. Among the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same "blood-money" that same material form of atonement for a sin, as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tlhinind, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of Clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands.For the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the supernatural spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods. arranging the comedies. sometimes cruel. of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

In his world view the Gilyak. like every primitive man. is an animist. A dead. unmoving nature does not exist for him on the contrary. all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel. he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/48 cont./

691 LITIGATION--incidence of civil actions; statistics of civil cases; causes; types of litigation; abuse thereof; arbitrator, ambiguous charging; etc. See also:

Ingroup aggression	676	The business of criminal actions and criminal	
Informal justice	677	Informal	
Torts	872		

/273 cont./

584 675 Even without invitations, however, there are always witnesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of [686] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to court, and this results in a large fine.

584 576 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot conceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement. [203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

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583 182 of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the [686] [682] nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

583 686 538 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

583 422 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd [439] (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In [104] ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

/281 cont./

583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
614 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[596] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

688

688 RELIGIOUS OFFENSES--definitions of and punishments for blasphemy and impiety; penalties for specific sins of omission and commission (e.g., ritual offenses, violation of taboos); etc. See also:

Fear of supernatural sanctions 626
General definition of sin 673
Expiation 783
Taboos 784

695

695 TRIAL PROCEDURE--types of court procedure (e.g., summary, criminal, civil, appellate); arraignment; testimony (e.g., witnesses, rules of evidence); arguments and summations; special tests (e.g., oaths, ordeals, torture, judicial duels); judicial decisions (e.g., by judge, jury, arbitration); judgments and sentences; appeals; etc. See also:

Court records	817	Judicial abuses and dead punishment	687
Crossbows	344	Martial law	720
Deicity	620		

Informal judicial procedure at the community level 827

/302 cont./

578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /syat'/
629 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn-k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost
[437] of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /syat'/, in case of a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /syat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
620 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

● 695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chihyz'u
685 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (emnikhongz'"n emnikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jengaz' tongz' shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/303 cont./

● 695 dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft.
685 They seek a man who understands the oath -- chihyz'u n'ivukh,
825 and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the
[474] Chhiyzyl clan; it'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If
[614] outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A third frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'yu -- clammen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryia', mygia', n'i heg:at phlalgun polagun
[825] pryd:rá chigry' tuur pogutá enan'ivukh, jogut prydókh kaukrá,
[825] par:á pryd:rá. Ni sidzymral'ó, sidz:ejmralá cherakh jor'in
[825] (pryd:rá) helá egur pkhogo jakhgujá." i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n'ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The chief sends a khimu-n'ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n'erakh elygvaz'ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: yurará. Navat takó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

/304 cont./

● 685 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajor'á
695 mykyslu jagjyd-lu ta-n"erokh tokh elyygujá. Chi nar'"ár chan
[825] majgokhanó. Mykyz' mra lytyng iyg:aj huktókh elyygaz'ó."

685 While they argue, a crow (ver') and a cat are thrown into the fire
695 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi ta:godz: furará n'ivykh lerj mra chi unakhana uikhyndor by nivukhdokh elyygujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan whose kikhal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a whole one is left, then it does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
[154] thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz' nyngá -- look

701

701 MILITARY ORGANIZATION--purpose of military organization (e.g., defense, internal police, prestige); composition of the armed forces in peace and war; standing army and navy (e.g., size, disposition, state of preparedness); eligibility and liability for military service (e.g., age and sex qualifications); status of warriors (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); military leaders (e.g., qualifications, mode of selection, authority, functions); extent of differentiation of military from political organization; coordination of armed forces (e.g., of a war party, an army, a complete military establishment); hierarchical organization (e.g., gradations in rank, chain of command); system of payment, promotion, and retirement; furloughs and leave; special organizations (e.g., military societies); etc. See also:

Prestige and nobility	56	Military technology and equipment	71
Political organization	62, 63, 64	Leadership traits	157

/117 cont./

But the worst of calamities -- a clansman has been slain!
● 614 War is inevitable! ... The whole population take up arms.
628 There is no regular leader, no elder, and no elections. The
● 701 natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all; it
182 is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen, it is the so-called "master," "vr" -- all eyes are turned toward him!

And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes a military leader, gives orders, distributes weapons, fixes the time of the march, etc.; they obey him as they would a dictator. If this natural leader has died or been killed, everyone knows the one most worthy to replace him.

Suppose a civil dispute has arisen between clansmen or be-
● 614 tween /118/ representatives of different clans. There are no
628 established persons who ex officio resolve disputes and difficulties.
182 Very often the accuser is himself judge and executor of the sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obligation of his own free will, the accuser, not stopping to meditate, unhitches a dog from the team of the debtor or climbs into the storehouse in order to take for himself something equal in value to his claim. And the accuser considers this in the order of things. Of course, such a method is not always possible. But even then the affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It is enough for the offended party merely to address himself directly or through a khlaj-nivukh (see above) to one or two authoritative individuals "masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and the matter is very quickly settled. They summon the offender, who is usually escorted by his closest kinsmen, and sometimes by a khlaj-nivukh. Even outsiders gather. From the hearing of both sides and the opinions of those present, an opinion which is accepted by the majority assumes the strength of a verdict. Usually the offender submits voluntarily; otherwise, the managers of the affair proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an adjudged amount.

714

14 UNIFORM AND ACCOUTERMENT--ordinary garb (e.g., hair style, body armor, body painting, amulets and charms, uniform); description of personal equipment (e.g., canteen, haversack, helmet, gas mask, first-aid kit, shields); distinctions (e.g., according to rank; between different corps and services, between parade and field uniforms and equipment); etc. See also:

Clothing and accessories . . . . . 29 Military medals and badges 703
Adornment. 30

/147 cont./

I found it already in use among the few Russians at the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts. Nevertheless, it is certainly not of Russian origin, as Maack (5) and Ryllkin (6) seem to believe. At any rate, I have

5. Putesh. po dol. r. Usuri, Vol. 1, p. 9.

6. Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1.

no idea how the Russians would have arrived at such a name, whose etymology is wholly unknown to us. /148/ What argues quite decisively against the Russian origin of this name is the circumstance that we find it, though in a form which at first glance is hard to recognize, outside and earlier than any connection with the Russians, from a wholly different party, the Japanese. On Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1809) heard of a people on the mainland named "Kordekke", in the following year he met a few individuals from it, and, to be sure, as foreigners on the Amur (Manko) above Kidzi and in Deren, that is to say, in Olcha territory, to which they had come downstream to trade. He found them dressed exactly like the Santan (Olcha). They are the ones, according to him, who manufacture the armor consisting of iron disks fastened together, which is so highly prized by the Smerenkur (Gilyak) and which will be discussed later, they build vessels for the Smerenkur, etc. (1). Siebold is of the opinion that the

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 169, 172, 174, 194, 198).

Kordekke are "undoubtedly Koryak" (2), but he evidently decided

2. Op. cit., p. 199.

on this only because of a fortuitous similarity of sounds, for how did the distant Koryak, living on the northern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and on Kamchatka, get to the Amur River? And what

/403 cont./

3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Sabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer weaving.

/572 cont./

of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons.

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap, a piece designed for the protection of the neck from injury from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

1. Op. cit., p. 194.

/573 cont./

that it is known under the name of "betni," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

2. Cf. Neuhof. Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Nutsch) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

/573 cont./

emperor himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Iakinf, the well-known member of the Russian mission in Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts prescribed by law which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances it is

1. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, proxviesch. /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 164.

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the lower Amur region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Gilyak, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transaction, the purchase of a wife.

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsô specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kordekke" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only objects that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

/574 cont./

to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

The net armor (Gilyak kâ-petsch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it; otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Nikolaev in Sabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me shows the signs of great age, and in its aged former owner was of the opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
181 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
177 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

69

I

692 JUDICIAL AUTHORITY--extent to which the settlem
injuries, and application of sanctions is withdrawn fr
and vested in some constituted authority; degree of i
of judicial and executive authority; specialized judge
tem (e.g., courts of original and appellate jurisdicti
equity, civil and criminal courts); jurisdiction of eac
powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:

Judicial authority of executive and administrative officials 63, 64
Concept of justice 677
Informal justice within the community 627
Constitution . . .
Legal norms . . .
Special courts . .

2

ent of disputes, redress of
om the parties concerned
dentification or separation
s and courts; judicial sys-
on, courts of law and
h type of court; judicial

. 642
. 671
. 698

/299 cont./

567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
683 when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
614 replies quietly: "Pilavon k:khal purará hokhagirn os´ krygrys" (1).

1. Krygrys -- an Ainu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
195 slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a k:khal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys
• 692 is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n´ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys.
682 A free one is kistylygy n´ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
614 is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila k:otr -- big mountain bear, mer edr: -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
162 krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Takhta.

582 Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

682, 692, 756

The cham of the Gilyaks resembles, in many respec
Golds, and the Tungus on the mainland. Both are ac
the primary function of the cham would appear to be
purpose he is elected. He it is who pronounces sen
rs, and afterwards carries it out. Legally these we
[235] actually his moral influence does not stop ther
ends upon him. Probably he was chosen because the
essary in olden times, was much against the grai
cham, with his powers of exorcism, could clear hir
ntarily felt must attach to the killing of a human be
er obtains, but is commuted in practice to a fine."

cts, the shaman of the Oroktis,
ddicted to superstitious practices;
e the judicial executive, and for
tence in the criminal 'court' of
ere the limits of his function;
re, and the criminal's fate largely
death of a murderer, though
of the kindly, jolly Gilyaks; and
nself of any sin which they in-
ing. The penalty of death now no

177, 578, 692, 756

Iis [LSS: The cham or medicine man] moral influen
ng ground, as the Gilyaks come more into contact wi
to a Russian, 'A cham tells very many lies.'
hen why do you call him in?'
e is needed. If he got angry it would be bad for us,'
is true that it may result badly for the Gilyak, not b
ne anger to fall upon his head; but when the Gilyak h
sed of crime, the cham may remember his [240] on
ast word, he can make the punishment very severe.

ce among his tribe is certainly
ith the Russians. One of them

was the answer.
ecause the cham can cause the
as a misunderstanding, or is
nission or insult, and as he has
"

/575 cont./

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak käpetsch or a similar one. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Nordische Presse, 1871, No. 214, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Ditmar ("Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen /The Koryak and Chukchee/." -- Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee use armor made out of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It is their so-called mungtsche (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 3), a roundish or slightly angular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mungtsche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn, in the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called muketschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

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- Old armor-shirt of the Gilyak; 2 -- old Manchurian helmet;
- piéce of an old Manchurian armor-shirt; 4 -- Gilyak bow;
- the same on the inside.

/100 cont./

614 628 ● 72 of other obstacles in the path of the attackers. In hostile territory all hunting is dangerous (in many clans it is even prohibited, while some also forbid the use of water from the rivers and springs); the supplies brought from home do not last long, while an open, sudden attack -- bearing in mind ambushes and the impunity of the women's sentry duty -- is not always possible. With long patience and severe deprivations they must await the favorable moment or else in desperation resolve to take any risk.

Most frequently the defenders prefer to await the [562] attack in their own settlement. Then, abandoning the female population, which enjoys inviolability, the men gather in a separate yurt, from which, at the guards' first signal of the approach of the foe, they steal through secret passages and gather together beyond the yurts, ready to meet the foe. In accordance with interclan customs, the battle continues through one night or at most twenty-four hours, until, finally, fatalities occur, after which the enemy departs, and the survivors count the number of fallen men on each side. If the defenders have lost a greater number than the opposite side, a new casus belli arises. The attackers must in any case consider themselves satisfied. But the affair does not always end with a few victims. Instances are known where a whole clan perished, and only women remained alive.

There have been cases, on the other hand, where, to avoid the destruction of a small clan incapable of a strong rebuff, the self-sacrifice of one man has expiated the general guilt. I know of one case where, at the very moment that news came of the approach of the foe, a youth responsible for the conflict prayed his clansmen who were gathered about him in the yurt to save themselves by flight, offering to save the clan from destruction by his own death. And when the clansmen, with downcast eyes, began to leave the yurt, he, quaffing a cup of seal fat at one draught for courage, flung himself headlong, brandishing his spear, to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers.

/166 cont./

602 606 by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward an ymg:i, though only potential, the "fathers-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

[574] For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily [224] pass their time in the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," [431] finding in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies; and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the [796] catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "sons-in-law" are in the foreground among those who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in war-● [72] time, the "fathers-in-law" and the "sons-in-law" are obliged to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

602 614 606 From the kinship terminology we know that the clan of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan from which a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which even one kinsman has chanced to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

/201 cont./

161 199 614 931 * 194 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families, but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an immediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

161 614 ● 72 * 194 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and various other causes. Although according to the interclan rules the women are spared and the number of men who are killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

* 194 199 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The [582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

/247 cont./

000 152 224 152 ● 72 [614] [578] [463] weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their 831 [152] emotional energy should be principally directed toward sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we 836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited 481 836 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akimalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my [122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to 836 574 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news, the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours [203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/358 cont./

614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer

614 628 682 participates in the payment, each according to his means. A murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i. e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 628 628 [537] The khlav-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re-

[762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 628 72 [100] One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/358 cont./

614 628 72 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each

[342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attack-

[501] ing side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 597 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came

[929] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

721

721 INSTIGATION OF WAR--frequency of war (e.g., common, rare, unknown); military preparedness, scale, severity, and duration of wars; small-scale military operations (e.g., raids for slaves or cattle, headhunting, privateering); conception of war (e.g., as glorious, as holy, as wrong but inevitable, as less debilitating than peace); prevalent motives for waging war (e.g., vengeance, self-defense, aggrandizement, prestige); predominance of offensive or defensive warfare; material gains through war (e.g., booty, trophies, slaves, women, mercantile advantages, territory); decision as to war (e.g., deliberations, negotiations); methods of initiating hostilities (e.g., challenges, declarations of war, attacks without warning); etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism	186	Feuds	628
Cannibalism	268	International relations	648
Prestige	554	Revolution	669
Raids, piracy and banditry	579		

/100 cont./

000 to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers. Chivalry

*614 manifests itself in many other forms. Although ordinarily

628 the raid of the avengers is too impulsive for people to be

721 able to think about any kind of formalities of attack,

538 epics and legends have preserved many formulas for the declaration of "war" through special intermediaries, about whom we shall speak in more detail later.

The conventional formula laconically declares: "He (the avenger) has irrevocably said that he prepares to come to do battle with thee; if thou art stronger, thou wilt slay him, if he is stronger, he will slay thee -- thus he spoke."

Military expeditions are undertaken for purposes other than avenging the slaying of a clansman. Extremely frequently they are on account of women. "Lovely Helens" are the tragic causes of war among the Gilyak much more frequently even than slayings. The latter are extremely rare and never bear a mercenary character, being exclusively a case of a momentary flare-up on the part of an easily aroused "barbarian" because of a slight offense to his vanity. But conflicts over women are much more frequent. Either a group of clansmen undertakes a purely romantic raid to abduct the beloved of their comrade. Or expeditions are undertaken with the forcible recovery of the abducted wife of a clansman as their objective -- a more serious incident, because this action is as obligatory for the clan (up to the third generation exclusively) as revenge and blood money for the slaying of a clansman. Customarily they strive to avoid bloodshed, choosing a time for the attack when the men are absent, but the matter rarely ends -- either at the time of the abduction or during the pursuit -- without bloody conflicts, which inevitably bring on the necessity of "raising the kindred bones," i. e., war with all its consequences.

/371 cont./

583 [98] no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal,

721 it was in quite recent times. The wars of which Gilyak tradition

tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of women, and they developed the practice of reconciliation by

177 583 way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russians into the Amur region has led to a considerable diminution in the number of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduction of a woman, the display of a paper from a Russian office will incontrovertibly result in the return of the abducted woman. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russian under the term kalym. The bride price is ordinarily paid in articles, money, and labor. As bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is an "accomplished woman" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair. Here is an example of a not very considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitnidvo paid for his wife with two Japanese kettles (one large one, costing 60 rubles) one spear with silver fretwork, a fox-fur coat, ten dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after

583 which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /372/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Laban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes to himself a son-in-law who agrees, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The son-in-law, customarily a complete pauper fishes and kills seals, and all this constitutes the common

116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense
nearest approach to it was a prescripti
place snares along certain creeks. The
freely recognized; but they would have
and backwaters by the Tungus and Oroc
they would have simply gone elsewhere
and tracks for snaring had been made i
sanctioned by time are seldom transgre
prowess of the pioneers, yielded little
according to the number of snares whic
a dispute arose, and was settled by ref
duels. In the latter case the disputants
straight blade; but as they were always
batants were parted when either becam
a fatal ending."

of the word the Gilyaks have no conception. The
ve right, sanctioned by immemorial custom, to
right of all to roam over the land in hunting was
resented the placing of snares in chosen creeks
hons, although, rather than provoke hostilities,
. As among themselves, the division of the creeks
n olden [301] times; and the customary boundaries
essed. The abundance of game, coupled with the
cause for quarrel, and spots were simply annexed
h the owner of the hut possessed. Here and there
erence to the klenu, the elders in council, or by
fought with a weapon like a hedge-bill, with a
surrounded by a goodly concourse, the com-
e exhausted, and the duel was not allowed to have

72

neral statements dealing with several aspects of the conduct and re-
ontests between independent political units involving the use of or-
ilitary force. For ingroup violence see 578; for revolution and civil
69.

/99 cont./

*614 628 ● 72

If the clans live in different settlements, however, there arises a state of war with all its consequences. Moreover, if the villages are located near each other, they place themselves in a full state of siege. There can be no question of routine activities outside the house; there can be no hunting or fishing, for an ambuscade may lie in wait at every corner. In extreme cases the men dare not leave their homes other than with women in front, ferreting in every bush, tramping down the grass, everywhere fearing an ambush. But these can only be palliatives; one fine night it will be necessary to meet the foe face to face in one's own settlement. Finally, where the warring clans live far from each other, it becomes necessary to undertake long expeditions on foot or in boats. This must be an imposing spectacle, when the multitude of warriors, dressed in their finest garments, with glittering spears in their hands and quivers on their backs, with knives and Japanese daggers in their belts, wrathfully brandishing their arms, make the primeval taiga resound with their wailing for revenge and appeal to the gods of all the elements for assistance:

Pal'- khurn myyá ! Tly - khurn myyá!

Tol' - khurn myyá! Mif - khurn myyá!

"God of the mountain, hearken; god of the sea, hearken; god of the heavens, hearken; god of the earth, hearken!" -- brandishing their spears and thrusting them at /100/ every tree on their path with the cry: "Chkhar, myyá! -- O tree, hearken!"... But this exuberant mood soon gives way to a more subdued temper; as they draw closer to the enemy settlement, their enthusiasm is transformed into a concentrated seriousness.

The foe has taken his precautions; in his native territory he is more familiar with all the best places for an ambush, and at strategic points he lies in wait in artificial trenches ("little pits"), from which he pours a hail of arrows on the unwary enemy. There is also no lack

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

/116 cont./

* 614 Or: one or another family is temporarily impoverished.
476 There is no special /117/ organ that must take care of them; it
182 is unnecessary, because the family will find hospitality and
assistance in any house they choose, even of the most distant
[574] kinsman, until the hard times change. And this is not offensive
to anyone, for it is a rate thing for someone neither to enjoy
hospitality nor to offer it to someone else from time to time.

* 614 Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and ex-
476 pensive clan festival. There are neither collections nor coercions,
796 no organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each
182 person prepares as much as he can according to his conscience,
each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is a little
richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrange-
ments. Everyone takes to his house the prepared viands and
purchases; they meet at his house to share in the prefestival work.

During the bear festival, dozens of additional persons as-
semble from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not
only the people, but also their many dogs. How much trouble,
how much expense! Nevertheless, everything is arranged simply
and to the general satisfaction of all. Each guest prefers, of course,
to stay with the one who is closest to him in kinship or sympathy,
where they take him in, not as a duty, but because they want him;
but in any home at all every arriving guest finds a sincere, cordial
reception, because during the days of festive enthusiasm everyone
wants to display his sympathy and to have broad intercourse with
new people.

● 731 Hunger has appeared, the specter of terrible misfortune,
574 which can carry off the whole population of a village! All the
476 hungry ones who have not succeeded in dispersing to more fortunate
182 areas gather at the home of the man who still has some supplies,
and the laws of hospitality are just as strong on this black day as in
days of plenty.

476 /122 cont./
615 blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds,
585 the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection
591 with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear
796 festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of
615 the bear (the akhmal'k') and his ymgi each sets beside himself
476 an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are
also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual
sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in
hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic
* 614 visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some
476 economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in
574 addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present
[606] to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage,
[431] when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending
on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for
men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There
* 614 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman,
476 because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all.
574 Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn
606 them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at
615 hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers
up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels
in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement
of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first
minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and
drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/,
of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another,
but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the
long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time
when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is
impossible to increase them.

615 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi
204 are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.
225 The most important of these require the participation of
476 several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it
* 614

During

* 835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite
careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of
clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding
of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo,
where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for
some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father
shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin,
and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another com-
monly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka,
who married a woman from the clan of his ymgi, i.e., from
the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka
[177] was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the
police service and regarded the customs of his people super-
ciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settlement
177 of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvn,
* 835 compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding,
587 as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should
768 pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder
brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are
the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the
community.

684 In the first two cases the violators had to go into volun-
tary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a
lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings
associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite
[177] exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the
influence of an alien culture (1).

* 835
183
587
768
● [731]

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

/201 cont./

161 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We
177 are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families,
614 but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This
● 731 process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an im-
* 194 mediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first
Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples,
together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought
the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an
especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive
surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects
of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans
died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans
in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne
in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means
strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may
remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable
number of its members.

161 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and
614 various other causes. Although according to the interclan
rules the women are spared and the number of men who are
77 killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle
* 194 the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee
can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

* 194 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more
177 highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive
manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens
intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious
imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks
down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representa-
tives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own
institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate
individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they
gradually begin to draw after them many others. The
[582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians
their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But
even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had
contact with various other peoples.

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Kegn -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Kegn arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the
Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The
Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago
their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants.
Their clan is in Chil'bi and Keshrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbi-
fing are the Ornyr from Keshrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from
Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in
any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An
Olcha married a Kegn widow, and then he bought a bear for
a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to be-
come a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing
and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden).

[361] Settlement of Yali (Egi:li), four kilometers below the
settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran
(one house); 2) Chling-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably
Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the
Khungarli, Jegni and Njenkhafing. With regard to the origin
of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi
brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of
Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer
left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
103 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
● 731 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
[361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910).
3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says
that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near
Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the
first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past
this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).
117 Settlement of Chikharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
103

/308 cont./

765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your
mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are
said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
769 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
796 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:. " "What
624 sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up
your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski
like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's
clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half
a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have chil-
dren for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the
grave.

● [731] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not
cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/313 cont./

796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

● 731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzigr. This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn
788 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog. Tol -- sea master -- a
[372] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur.
[354] If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

798 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtâs',
782 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are
324 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, agi:a (akhydz') -- a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/ 319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-pame, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the
[782] master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year)
[796] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
958 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

● 731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
953 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
[143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

Gi
H-M. /314 cont./

105 2. (cont.)
731 (Goldi) on the Ussuri. Smallpox is said to cause
113 heavy devastation there at times, even attacking old people 70-80 years of age and recurring among some persons four and five times (De la Brunière, "Excurs. en Mandchourie, en 1845." -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XVI, 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 113).

SS. course in the opposite direction, from the Sungari down the Amur,
175 but found extremely fertile soil in the lower river area and on
648 Sakhalin, where the natives in many instances had already
731 emerged from their natural condition as a result of the Russian colonization. Toward the end of December 1856, the epidemic,
SS proceeding down the Sungari, was at its mouth (3). In June,
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731

3. Just at the time when the merchant Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/, traveling up the Amur, passed this place.

1857, following the lower Amur, it reached Kidsi, in July Uchtr, in September Nikolayevsk, and during the winter months of 1857/58 it raged at the Amur mouth, along the Liman, on the Sea of Okhotsk to beyond Kulj, and on Sakhalin. According to the description, which I owe to Dr. Pfeiffer, an eyewitness of these events, the disease throughout bore the character of a devastating epidemic appearing on new ground. Whereas individual Gilyak
G villages, such as Tebach and Allof, remained completely un-
● [731] touched in a curious fashion, others, such as Kulj and Langr,
[165] lost half of their inhabitants, and many yurts died out completely. The number of victims was all the larger, because the sick, still completely unfamiliar with their uncanny visitor, often sought cooling, half-naked, in the snow and wind, in order to escape
G the heat of the fever. Dr. Pfeiffer thinks, on the basis of the
[731] statistics collected by him, that this epidemic killed about 20
[165] per cent of the Gilyak population. A few years later, in the

SS /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak
162 population on the island in former times is indicated, among
G other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two
174 villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village,
161 the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of
361 the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

G 3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel
SS Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of
[113] Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of
G Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which
[114] broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has
● [731] nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

SS
162 Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the
[132] continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks con-
161 cerning the more or less large population of the various parts of
114 the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find state-
SS ments concerning the total number of individuals for particular
[175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

361 /330 cont./
342 3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and
184 Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and
115 Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the
114 Liman.

A few years later
114 (1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made
342 a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature
184 of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they
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161

4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's.

342 This depopulation which took place after my time is fully
36 explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic
184 which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter
114 of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely,
16 and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no
● 731 more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself collected.

/331 cont./

114 description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tataren") at the time
361 it was August 15/27 -- lived in their summer yurts. Somewha
342 apart, however, lay other, apparently better built houses, pro
vided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) -- evidently the above-described winter

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 182.

houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschadryf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

114 4. In order to supplement and verify my above
361 data and at the same time to make it possible
103 to compare them more precisely with Glehn's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Poghobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the names of the villages exactly the same, but it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also
● [731] adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glehn, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pomyr-wo, where Glehn himself visited most of the points and counted their yurts. The following villages
114 lie north of Poghobi:
361
103
342

Wismeryf . . .	with	1	earth yurt
Warsj	"	1 (1)	"
Ngyith	"	1 (4)	"
Dshongi	"	1	Chinese yurt
Loktschi	"	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jûgdama	"	1 (1)	"
Pyrki	"	1 (1)	"

/85 cont./

*614 597 [927] This took place in various ways. It might happen that an epidemic depopulated the clan and put a handful of people face to face with all the vicissitudes to which unions weak in numbers were subject. The clan might be depopulated after a severe war, leaving a small number of men and a mass of widows spared by the victorious foe by virtue of the international law of the Gilyak. And if under these conditions there existed remnants of some other clan that found itself in a similarly helpless position and not standing in the relation of akhmal'k and ymgi with respect to the first clan, then a fusion was effected to their mutual satisfaction. The adopted individuals ordinarily married the widows of clansmen and thereby united themselves with the clan fire and the clan union. But these are more or less extraordinary cases. The most common case of adoption is that where the person adopted by the clan is a member of another clan, fleeing for some reason from his own clan and settling down in the midst of an alien clan. Long residence, habit, sympathy, assistance given at clan festivals, and, finally, marriage to a local widow lead to the final adoption. An extremely curious case of adoption is that where two persons of different clans are married to two sisters, which, according to the law, can only take place with members of one clan. The influence of the clan principle of a "common father-in-law" is so strong /86/ that the children of such persons are considered brothers and sisters, call their aunts mothers, and cannot marry each other. A fiction of clan relationships results. Under favorable conditions, when, for example, such persons live together in one village and one of them is completely severed from his clan, the result is that they help each other at clan festivals, or even arrange them together, lay the bones of the bear in one place, and, finally, in the second or third generation the union of the clans is completed.

/358 cont./

614 628 72 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each [342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the [501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 597 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came [729] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

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/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak ar on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 580 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support he although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons i the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under n circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore 614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages [829] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From thi it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of th [867] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of th [623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 73 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the in capacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the perso is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. " do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

731

731 DISASTERS--prevalence and major types of disasters (e.g., earthquakes, demics, conflagrations, typhoons, tornadoes, floods, droughts, famines, plagues); explanations and rationalizations; incidence of disastrous accid (e.g., train wrecks); reactions to disasters; organization of relief (e.g. public); role of special relief agencies (e.g., Red Cross); emergency m reconstruction, preventive measures (e.g., flood control); etc. See also:

Relief agencies	74	Adjustments to famine	
Cyclonic storms	132	Water supply	
Areas of volcanic and seismic activity	133	Municipal fire-fighting services	
Occurrence of epidemics	164	Reconstruction of war damage	

724

724

S--wartime procurement of military supplies; logistic planning; or-
of land, sea, and air transport; expediting of supplies; depots, dumps,
y trains; etc. See also:

port . . . . . 49 Military vehicles, naval vessels, and
air transport . . . . . 50 military aircraft 71
Organized commissariat and supply services . 705

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out th
628 spirit more than the most active resistance
562 corpus, day and night they go about the en
looking into every bush, every blade of gra
enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do
whelming number that makes it possible to
expectant enemy, they will never succeed
of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the
tackers, worn out by boredom, the march,
of necessity breaks on the passive resistanc
the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the import
[784] participation of the women in the struggle
● [724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is fo
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of i
etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of
find it necessary to set off on an expedition
filled with water and as much food supplie
Under such conditions every extra day of w
by famine, and thus the vigilance of the w
conquers.

175 Here is one of the examples known to
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overlan
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol'
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilan
poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching
in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and
depart with nothing and terminate the mat
small causes often lead to important conse

*614 Tylor was right when he asse that
[97] relations between clans and introduced pea
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that
brought to life the very institution of exog
primitive man is not so sentimental, he is
that he would sacrifice with a light heart h
ment for a breach of his blood duty to the

ie foe and weakened his
. Utilizing their habeas
virons in perfect safety
ass, in search of the
not possess an over-
fall openly upon the
in eluding the vigilance
patience of the at-
the torment of waiting,
e of the weaker sex, and

tance of the passive
of the clans, it must
rbidden to light a fire
ts rivers and springs, hunt,
Gibeon, the Gilyak
n loaded down with skins
s as a man can carry.
aiting threatens death
omen necessarily

me. In 1851, 30 men
d to take vengeance on
for the slaying of a
longer and more fruitless
ce of the women, with
the locality, the water
the avengers had to
ter peacefully ... Thus
quences.
exogamy weakened the
ce, although he pro-
the aspiration for peace
my. It is true that
mainly too "god-fearing,"
is own fears of punish-
voice of feeling, or

727

727 AFTERMATH OF COMBAT--number and nature of casualties; treatment of own casualties (e.g., retrieving and disposal of dead, care of wounded); treatment of enemy casualties (e.g., despoiling, mutilation, killing); taking of trophies; treatment of captives and prisoners (e.g., slaughter, torture, mutilation, release, exchange, holding for ransom, adoption, enslavement, sacrifice); punishment of enemy leaders; military occupation and military government; homecoming after war (e.g., return trip, reception of returning warriors); home reactions to victory and defeat; victory celebrations (e.g., dances, feasts, memorials); demobilization; resumption of normal life; reconstruction of war damage; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments 211
Cannibalism 266
Mutilation 304
War dances 535
Slavery 567
Colonial administration 636
Prisons 697
Mortuary practices 764

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
703 myg:nga igagù syktymu yz´mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
● 732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder.

The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- k:akhtr, ag:nî, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn´ is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a litt
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, w
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chug is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsm and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n´gyvyn, wh
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fash in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounde with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cre- mated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is don with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
224 The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
764
782 (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a b the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n´igyvyn or by Tol-n´igyvy
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becor lively, "as if he were walking."

● 732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas´ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets we

9: Hawes--250-251 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 732, 828

"Yungkin announced Gilyaks. A party were returning to Chaivo, and seeing our fire had stopped for a warm, a pipe, and some tea. They joined us around the cheerful blaze, talking volubly, and taking some pleasure in pointing out to us one of their number, who, they said, had a devil in him. He was an idiot, one glance at his face was sufficient to determine that, and without showing any violence continued to make the strangest contortions. His presence completed the weirdness of the scene, this group of uncouth figures of a primitive people crouched round a fire on a desolate island on a wild night. The madman, who was known as 'Oto,' lived in one of two huts which are on the opposite side of the Strait of Chaivo. He was not [251] allowed to work, but his comrades supplied all his wants, for they regarded him as a kind of sacred person singled out or set apart by the unseen powers. He was not, however, permitted to have a wife."

: Hawes--254 T-3 (1901) 19
6, 225, 731, 776, 782

oung seals, which will be equally divided a
est wind drives away the ice-floes and the

among them. This continues until a south-
ir passengers."

9: Hawes--256-257 T-3 (1901)
116, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of foo
is necessarily of great importance to
generally consumed by December, and
arrival of the seals in April there is o
aeglefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gil
shore and gazes seaward, he will see
the figures of men wrapped from head
In their [257] hands are sticks with big
coming to the hole made in the ice, an
a man has been known to catch as man

d, the 'bread' of the Gilyaks, the summer supply
them. The winter stores of sun-dried kita are
l then comes the hard time for them. Until the
nly one other visitant. This is the haddock (Gadus
yak tongue, kan-hi. If one is sledging along the
black specks among the gleaming ice. They are
to foot in skins, and they are hooking haddock.
g hooks attached, and the hungry and stupid fish
d grabbing at the hook, is caught. By this means
y as 300 in a day."

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy account people, but four died from accident, of whom o already mentioned hanged herself, and another

ed for most of the deaths among the older
ne was frozen, another drowned, one
was beaten to death by her husband."

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

735

35 POVERTY--prevalence and definition of poverty; causes (e.g., low income, unemployment, sickness, alcoholism, improvidence, indolence); social attitudes toward poverty; begging and beggars; poor relief (e.g., almsgiving, private charity, public relief); special institutions for the poor (e.g., almshouses); support of institutions (e.g., municipal, ecclesiastical, private endowment); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Laziness 461
Wages 465
Housing 362
Gift giving 431
Income 434
Standards and levels of living 511

"It often happens that by the time of the arrival of th
quite exhausted, and hunger reigns in the village; neve
fête held in honor of the first catch; see category 116,
with all due ceremony. On the following day the whole
groups begin to gather up the 'fragments,' including th
and reverence, are cast into the sea. The flesh and fa
has plenty of raw, are offerings to Tol ni vookh, with
permission to use the products of his domain, the sea;
offering in acknowledgment of the god's goodwill in s
Gilyaks to open the New Year's fête with the due and p
bones the great Tol ni vookh will make many more sea
the bones to the four winds, thus making it more diffic
Tol ni vookh would in that case have to recreate entire
has only to reclothe them with flesh, and lo, the seals

The offering is cast into the sea in complete silence
Uichkha rush, or water daimones, who, if they should
would spoil the whole affair, by seizing what was inten

After the day of the offering, the Gilyak is free to fo
ful is he with his harpoon that a canoe of five will som

e seals, the winter stores are
ertheless, the fête [LSS: The seal
pp. 252-254.] must be celebrated
village turns out, and the family
e bones, which, in deep silence
t, boiled or roasted, for the god
the request that he will give them
and the bones are the thank-
ending the seals and allowing the
roper ceremonies. With these
ls. It would be a sin to scatter
ult to create for want of material.
ly, whereas, given the bones, he
are complete, alive!
, because there are many
overhear the Gilyak praying,
ded for the god.
llow up the hunt, and so success-
etimes take as many as fifty

"The older Gilyaks say that during th
famine had occurred before the Russia
there have been many repetitions. In th
1897, there were successive bad times,
be given to the natives by the authoritie
tion of the usual stores of dried fish, a
worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in wh
during that year. So terrible was the st
every hut,' and in the hope of stemming
famine, he took upon himself the respo
most cases it was already too late, and
[275] condition of the huts, and the acc
the ravages of disease and the exposure

Such a state of things presses hardly
of mortality among them. There being
tion, we can only gather from tradition
statistics of recent years, the gradual

The figures already quoted show, for
tween Arkovo and Cape Maria on the w

eir time, and their fathers' before them, but one
ns came, about eighty years ago, but since then
e winter and early spring of 1896, and again of
, and around Rikovsk special assistance had to
s. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumula-
nd was followed by another very bad winter. The
ose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim
tate of things that he found 'one or more dying in
g the tide of disease following on the ravages of
nsibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in
l large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy
umulations of winter, aggravated the effects of
e to the severities of the climate.
on the children, and accounts for the high rate
no statistics of the early years of Russian occupa-
and the shrinking of villages and from isolated
diminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.
the population of the Gilyak villages lying be-
est coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

422/278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
[174]

[773]

1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s'if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium.
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian
554 objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.
583 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly
735 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence
[556] of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

/278 cont./

583 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is anot
554 side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to set
735 down with a family, and, consequently, an independent econo
But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the pos
bility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers com
[183] to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down wi
[614] his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-
[496] clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every
has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has
died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work.
Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which
there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the
son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a mem-
583 ber of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of
554 lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife
452 is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until he
735 majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installme
buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A
583 curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment
735 with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case
554 The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka.
He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his
widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his
future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka
was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter
in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletu

583 As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the cla
614 At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes
[627] necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part
with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed amo
the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as
heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides
this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before
his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the
shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

7G

32

relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

142 posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
516 to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
732 formities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

142 Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
302 serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

142 Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
304 also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

526 As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
516 below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

/359 cont./

614 599 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had bee adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, th clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gath [763] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settle not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

743

743 HOSPITALS AND CLINICS--number and availability of special institutions for medical care; organization and operation of clinics and hospitals; personnel (e.g., administrative and medical staffs, nurses, orderlies, technicians); equipment; special services; charges and fees; sources of financial support (e.g., governmental, ecclesiastical, private); ambulatory clinics. See also:

Physicians, nurses, and medical care 75
Hospital buildings 344
Care of war veterans 729
Institutions for the care of defectives 732
Care of alcoholics and drug addicts 733
Sanatoriums, convalescent homes, mental institutions, and leproseries 734

/531 cont./

795 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
787 him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

794 The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[231] large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.
[935] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make
[825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

795 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-nigyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-nigyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shreik at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

795 The night bird takhch is of the size of a crow and just as
825 black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say atk.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

/666 cont./

556 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

426 When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of
• 735 necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly
[439] think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed,
426 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

/667 cont./

426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

• 735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence
181 of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the
[186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense
421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries,
735 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in
421 case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/667 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still
[182] very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with
423 long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

57 /672 cont./ with regard to me,
123 however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I,
too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not think-
[735] ing now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to
431 exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer,
123 perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, sev-
431 eral buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not
[439] by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

758 Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than
763 it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly
735 become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

752 In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak
766 to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two
609 exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

[241] In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 [433] to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal [231] husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

177 An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and develop-
648 ment of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly
474 scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often
361 consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log
648 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds,
474 etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a
36 school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable [342] storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are
648 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages
474 have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti-
342 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered
353 with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They
177 also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the
29 continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the [294] traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, [292] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater
262 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products.
758 The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically im-

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751 PREVENTIVE MEDICINE--conception of health and hygiene; health regime protective measures (e.g., sun tan lotion, amulets, charms, spells, proph laxis, immunization);etc. See also:

Incidence of disease 164
Diet 262
Exercise 526
Public health and sanitation 744
Fetishes 778
Taboos 784
Health insurance 456
Personal hygiene 515
Magic 789
Infant care 854
Child care 855
Prescriptions for longevity 886

3 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
9 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
7 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

1 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

1 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

6 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
5 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

5 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
8 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
6 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
1 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

736

736 DEPENDENCY--incidence of dependency (e.g., orphans, widows, deserted and divorced wives, families of defectives and alcoholics, families of invalids and criminals); attitudes toward dependency; care and support of dependents (e.g., adoption, support by relatives, private charity, public relief); special institutions for dependents (e.g., orphanages); etc. See also:

Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Insurance 456
Levirate 587
Status of widows 589
Adoption 597
Treatment of motherless infants 846

/410 cont./

302 [171] 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however, [753] [761] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and 302 765 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and preserved by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

302 515 136 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the ● [751] presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about 515 825 his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi- [123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy,

/744 cont./

778 755 532 [126] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p.1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of childr

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not ex- [782] cepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

778 532 ● 751 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalż and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing end

/744 cont./

778 run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
●751 lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
532 another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

778 The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
776 figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
532 cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[753] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
[761] him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
775 wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
766 the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
776 to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

778 I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans,
532 if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the
[751] purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/768 cont./

764 A rough little rod or a similar stick (wadžach) stuck in the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is buried (Bm. I, p. 18.)

764 51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kuĭk dis-
648 covered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited there. Near Kuĭk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in
764 the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed
648 little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one
●751 vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

764 52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or
[778] a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never
[784] be transferred to another place. This would be uĭtsch. Therefore, though the Gilyak from Kuĭk bewailed and complained about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which they themselves had moved from Kuĭk. (Bm. 1, p. 56.)

53. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an upright position: kakk, also tars. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it; a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk- or tars-rawż (Plate LXVIII /p.1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir,

2:Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

1. Iron circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). 2. Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to prevent sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal figures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak child's toy representing a dog.

25 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
76 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
54 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
61 If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
25 are five oarsmen, one pilar and one other man, then the pilar
76 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
61 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
85 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl skuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl skuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pilar is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pilar tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pilar Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and t, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

25 [82] As mentioned above the pilar performs mu-ziyd
89 and t aj.
74 Mu-ziyd is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
51 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform ziyd on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

25 mu-ziyəd on the boat supports the assumption that at one
89 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
74 a living thing. Mu-ziyəd on the boat serves, it seems, as a
51 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.

82 Aside from mu-ziyəd, tŋaj is performed on the boat. Tŋaj
78 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
32 a branch of rowan (qosk-yəks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
25 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
89 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at th
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these tŋaj elsewhere

82 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
89 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
25 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
72 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the
outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks
with the branches so as to elvlaf-pək-əzd --"lose bad places
(evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the
sea and are off.

35 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
02 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
54 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
ous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and
quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in
the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
7 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
resentation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines tŋaj. They
will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its
outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the
hunters left the shore for home.

5 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
3 first go to Uiy-krə "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
6
2

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop con-

On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be unknown among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards. Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

/72 cont./

G 796 171 262 Gi 796 171 262 773 An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G 776 Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and "kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G 776 761 753 Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/73 cont./

776 761 753 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people would not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result of the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the Gilyak will never touch a sable that died in the taiga, even though his skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil assuredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gilyak, lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him, so an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every step, 753 in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil being 776 who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick man dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from within, easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ is not functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortness of breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has got inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It is imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is effected in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending with the most complex.

755 Here is an example which quite graphically illustrates the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman, who was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was placed in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clean fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of rags, canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus saved. But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others require stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened by extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightening appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to beat his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unnatural voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end /74/ he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a state of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), chews

/ 319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how th master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year) [782] [776] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 758 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring firewood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

731 753 766 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of the graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 562 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

158 [143] Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literall everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[795] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
224 The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
164 (Slyavo).
782 Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

• 753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmàs'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/338 cont./

• 753 The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw
159
[122] 1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmàs'ind.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

752 Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face
[782] is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

752 A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was
789 rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrá --

/410 cont./

302 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur
[171] in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however
• [753] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the
[761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them ha his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gily Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and whic he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* wh

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

302 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are
515 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check
136 the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the
[751] presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about
515 his health and took him back again. In connection with this,
825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi
[123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to wh they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

: Hawes--193 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 177, 531, 751, 778

I turned my attention to two or three 'works of art
nto the forms of a disc and a crescent hung from a
nd the moon, and were used as charms. There we
imilar to the one I have described as protecting th
vil spirits; but these particular ones, I learnt, we
ould ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there, no graven im
isible to mortal eyes. Charms there are, though v
uence and the contact with Russians these are losi
ilyaks, and they laugh when questioned about them
rking sense of fear at the bottom of their hearts.'

.' Two small flat pieces of wood cut
beam. These represented the sun
re also two sticks, with shavings on,
e canoe during its construction from
ere for placing over a sick child, and

nages, for the great 'Kiskh' is in-
vith the decline of the cham's in-
ing their value in the eyes of the
by the foreigner, yet not without a
"

751, 756, 778

he cham, or medicine-man, exorcises spirits which take up a temporary abode in arms made in the shape of a human being. Otherwise even this anthropoid kind was used an amulet. A pair of these, carved from wood, which I have (p.194), are intended to worn on the limb or part of the body affected; for a sore throat, for instance, the le figures would be tied round the neck."

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

752

752 BODILY INJURIES--theory of the causation of mishaps and accidental injuries; first aid; treatment of wounds, cuts, burns, frostbite, bruises, and sprains (e.g., ligatures, bandages, poultices, massage, cauterization); treatment of snake and insect bites; antidotes for poisoning; treatment of fractures (e.g., bonesetting, trepanation); surgical operations; use of sterile techniques; adjustments to pain (e.g., anesthetics); dental surgery; etc. See also:

Obstetrics	84	Accident insurance	456
Incidence of accidents	164	Bloodletting	757
Mutilation	304	Wound doctors, surgeons, and dentists	759
Surgical instruments	413	Ideas about human anatomy	876

/338 cont./

752 789 [572] [614] [628] [766] thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is surrounded with sticks.

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 [775] [776] A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will be a god.

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

752 782 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices a dog to Pal-n"ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

823 973 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin. Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 761 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary. Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 825 [782] A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n"igyvyn. No one may look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

784 825 [261] In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and they treat him like a killed one. When they set off somewhere (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

773 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

787 /753 cont./

756 825 782 [534] that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

825 753 29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

[752] 2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as toll-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magá, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuik. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

758 Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than
763 it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly
735 become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

752 In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak
766 to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two
609 exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

●752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary. They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

●752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks, splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal, the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

753

753 THEORY OF DISEASE--extent of the attribution of disease to natural causes, to sorcery, and to supernatural aggression; prevalent theories of the supernatural causation of disease (e.g., soul loss, spirit possession, object intrusion, poison, evil eye, violation of taboos, pollution or contagion); special notions about loathsome diseases (e.g., leprosy); scientific theories of disease (e.g., transmission through germs); etc. See also:

Religious and magical beliefs	77	Development of biological science	815
Incidence of disease	164	Knowledge and beliefs concerning	
Medical research	742	human physiology	827
Conception of the causes of death	761	Interpretation of mental disorders	828

/338 cont./

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1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

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V.

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/744 cont./

run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifically: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the reports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans, if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/753 cont./

that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as toll-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magá, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuik. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

/754 cont./

sick and dies,
of the mipitsch
is a shaman.
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A sick man we
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is striking, sinc
magá. (Bm. I

30. Gilyak
shaman perform
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tion of the sorc

if he does not use the proper means to free himself
. The only means that can help him, however,
He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes
om the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch
haman himself or by someone else at the order of
hung around the patient's neck and must be worn
son from then on to protect himself in the future.
ars a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The
lways carved out of wood, especially the wap-
only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp.
at a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found.
y the women, but the wooden ones are always
en, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupa-
e men, while the women are skilled at cutting
figures out of cloth and therefore also out of

of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mä(r)ngai) are
e concerning the toad and snake, except that much
tributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head
person and is removed in a way similar to the
man and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalź) (1)

See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

d. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on
the region of the temples; in front, closer to the
is a human figure on either side, supposedly in-
on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at
on the forehead, the lalź bears a frog shape. This
e the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not
, pp. 44-46.)
. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak
ns are chiefly the means by which he wins admira-
n among his countrymen. The more these acts
e natural course of things, the greater is the reputa-
erer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

9: Hawes--239 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 753, 776, 782

"The Gilyaks explain the visitation of disease in this way. The sick man must have offended the good spirit kiskh, who thereupon deserts him and leaves him in the power of the evil spirit. The offering made to the latter is a bribe, whereby the sufferer coaxes the evil spirit to quit him.

The Gilyak makes no offering to kiskh, the creator, the great spirit, the god of the moral world, for he does not know where he is; in fact, so vague is his notion of him that it can only be said to exist in his mind as a nebulous conception. With regard to the position of the cham, the evil spirit cannot but be angry at the trick he has been played, and the want of respect paid to him; but we need not be anxious for the healer, since he is secure in his knowledge of many exorcisms."

844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
843 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
62 women. The location of these bushes is always
41 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

44 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
83 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

844 When the won
291 ready for her,
the weather is
only distinction
the woman in la
that Gilyak wom
844 Usually an ol
835 through several
If [757] such a
at hand the hus
place; but unde
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younger brothe
to the customs
wife of his olde
way her husban
the child.
844 The Birth.
753 During the de
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pain, it is the
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had become a c
quiet while in l
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She was not abl
845 If the labor p
suffers too bad
and forth in fro
down from abo

nan in labor goes to the place made
she is clad in old soiled clothes. If
cool she takes more clothes along. The
in clothing worn during labor is that
bor takes off the trousers, a garment
nen wear in summer and winter.
der woman who herself has gone
childbirths helps the woman in labor.
midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not
band of the woman in labor can take her
no circumstances may another male
family take this place, not even the
of the husband, although, according
of the Gilyak he has a right to the
r brother and considers himself in a
d and certainly the second father of

livery the woman in labor sits and
her legs. The seat is erected at the
the bed in the yurt, that is about half
floor. During the whole period of
man in labor is supposed to keep quiet,
t in pain, not to try to get up, not to
side or the other. If, during a hard
oman is not able to stay in the
tude by herself and starts writhing in
luty of the midwife or husband to hold
houlders in order to prevent her from
bidden movements. The Gilyak believe
try to get up during the delivery
ase which causes a deformation of the
as even shown a young woman who
ripple because she had not stayed
abor. Her spine was really deformed
ak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd).
e to walk and died a few years later.
ains last too long and the woman
ly, a piece of clothing is moved back
nt of her face and somebody blows
ve on the part in her hair.

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground; they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child, tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.

753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone, squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is considered to be a consequence of the mountain spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says "tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is tormenting".

784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions, they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow household articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the new one.

842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the transference of physical peculiarities from one man to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an explanation for the superstitious remedies they use for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who cannot bear children must ask another very fertile woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be transferred from one person to another like a contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel which had been used by the sick person.

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On feto-
996 days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course
is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day ar-
rives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival
by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies
carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones,
and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil
spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all
who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these
ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon
a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were
more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet
among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, espec-
ially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the
high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy.
823 Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with
739 great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply
is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used
to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves
about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles
for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Man-
jours kept the market good.

756 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia,
are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the dou-
ble function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical
and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken
sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the
shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct
spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a par-
ticular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman
contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse
than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic
manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To
accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his
voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

754

754 SORCERY--ideas of the causation of disease and death through witchcraft and sorcery; actual and reputed prevalence of sorcery; motives for practicing sorcery; methods (e.g., bone pointing, manipulation of effigies, exuvial magic, invocation of spirit aids); employment of sorcerers; witches, wizards, and sorceress; physical, social and mental characteristics; sources of power, training; organization; special types of sorcerers (e.g., werewolves, vampires, individuals with the evil eye); evidence as to the efficacy of sorcery; reactions to sorcerers (e.g., witch hunts); etc. See also:

Ingroup antagonisms	678	Familiar spirits	776
Sorcery as a factor in social control	628	Uses of magic other than for the causation	
Punishment of sorcery	683	or cure of disease	789
Counter-measures to sorcery	755		

/256 cont./

143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often con-
fused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic
instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known
to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement
of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak,
Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a
certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum
virile was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing.
Later the membrum virile attained the proper development,
and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.

143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
588 met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a
woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed
that the latter very much resembled a man in the face. My
companions explained that only a year ago she had been
wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was
very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing
together. They had to spend the night together, and then the
hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that
time on they began to live together and ended up by getting
married, although people strongly urged the young man against
[538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given
● [754] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details
concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a
girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that
he was developing a membrum virile, which would some-
times grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes dis-
appear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who
came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his
words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the
course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was
definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully
developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

685 /304 cont./
695 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorś
mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n´erokh tokh elyvgujś. Chi narl´ăr: chan
maj:okhanś. Mykyz" mra lytyng ivg:aj huktokh elyvg:az´o."
685 While they argue, a crow (ves´) and a cat are thrown into the fire
695 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing
him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat,
while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told:
"Chi tajrodz: furarś n´ivykh lerş mra chi unakhana uikhyndor hy
nivukhdokh elyvgujś." "You do not know, you will suffer for a
petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak),
following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan khal is a wolf -- kekhr; ping
chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The
wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the
estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank,
bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They
wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it
go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear
attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round,
attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times.
This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule
there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf,
but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters,
having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf
spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil
them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by;
they leave yukola, mor´, and so forth there. The Chnarpung
may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile
and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
● 754 thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a
rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They
bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and
knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz´ nyngiś -- look

685 /304 cont./
695 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
● 754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins
to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it
happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed
to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyt´) -- about an arshin in length with a human
chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then
they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the
balagan of the khlaj-n´ivukh´s (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mer´ăh); formerly men also pierced their
ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
781 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
585 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
541 themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŭgurmam
[302] (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
834 commodates a guest under one blanket.

943 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam)
844 in winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer --
three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband
at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during
birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole
year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before child-
birth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in
stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches,
and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold
water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/309 cont./

766 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
766 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
● 754 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinys n´ich: "Go eat human meat!" He
rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys.
Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through,
a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has
approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a
sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or
(to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in con-
stant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into
the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following
day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies.
Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two
summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed
right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make
real tolr´ir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.

756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) paĭŭokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at
n´ivukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions
to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives
answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his paĭ´pang: a
(a wooden figure which is bound with white drel´, and with shavings
on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the
figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie
tobacco wrapped in white drel´ to the stone. It advises the
shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
[755] to which particular paĭ (i.e., paĭ of one's own or of a different
clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it
can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with
regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during
sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans
steal (tempt away) their major kekhr from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
777 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/328 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
529 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
84 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
756 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shanikh-chokh. A
666 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
578 away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
833 ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
774 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
776 She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth
158 with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/328 cont./

769 The favorite dog, "pryski" (every man has his own pryski)
23 is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

766 Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after death are buried directly into the ground.

764 In Ady-Tymi, if they suspect that a person died from magic,
●754 two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place
184 of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then the ormi-milk, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

764 On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog slied deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenirs).

Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boxes. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, which in both winter and summer is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no crying; kissing the deceased is a sin. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No signs are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are inau put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dogs and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Boats and so forth are broken over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the
[769] deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

/367 cont./

002 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
791 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
●[754] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

755

755 MAGICAL AND MENTAL THERAPY--individual therapeutic efforts (e.g., acts of faith, self-analysis); resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., divination, interpretation of symptoms); therapeutic procedure (e.g., shamanistic seances, analytic couch); methods (e.g., interpretation of dreams, countermagic, exorcism, recapture of soul, sucking out of intrusive object, resort to spirit helpers); prescriptions (e.g., medication, purification, expiation, imposition of taboos); prognosis; ritual banishment of disease (e.g., ksapgoal); faith healing; scientific systems of psychotherapy (e.g., psychoanalysis, psychiatry, mental hygiene); evidence as to the effectiveness of magical and mental therapy; etc. See also:
behavior processes and personality . . . . . 18 Soul concepts 774
Shamanistic dances . . . . . 328 Spirit possession and dream interpretation . . 787

/37 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices. In order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy. I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[776] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
●[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
776 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
●[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[056] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the
[614] clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[014] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

176 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people w
161 not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result
753 the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the
will never touch a sable that died in the ta[illegible], even thou
skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil
suredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gily
lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him,
an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every
53 in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil
176 who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly
eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick m
dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from wi
easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ i
functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortn
breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has
inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It
imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is ef
in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending
the most complex.

55 Here is an example which quite graphically illustr
the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman,
was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was
in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clea
fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of rags,
canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the
woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and
prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus save
But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others
quire stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened b
extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightenin
appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing
methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to be
his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unn
voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end
he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a st
of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), c

/744 cont./

708 755 532 126 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p. 1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

782 All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

708 532 51 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalž and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

708 532 825 755 /749 cont./

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

[195] 19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's [126] head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

708 532 825 20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic; see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal 708 825 532 755 reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chaž, or, as an idol, chaž-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

708 532 825 755 /750 cont./

figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259/, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy [126] many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256/, Fig. 4), several human figures had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

[126] I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pōmi-tscho) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256/, Fig. 5), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human [126] figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could 708 415 532 not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261/, Fig. 1). This vessel [126] was called tschobrā and was used for the same purpose. No amount [784] of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that it was uitsch and would cause her death.

825 753 /754 cont./

sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however, 755 is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes 756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch 532 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of [187] the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-322 mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp. 462 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found. 824 This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

753 755 825 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mā(r)ngai) are similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalž) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196/.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalž bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magá. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 554 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

764 /770 cont./

the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

[178] The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265/, to the right in the middle distance).

[784] There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

764 766 [195] 57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

[195] the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The 764 burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods 262 are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. 755 Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The [169] depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure

/771 cont./

000 years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
766 of a person killed by an att (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
[262] lar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
[755] remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

764 184 59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk, and Tchilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages
[162] named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p. 8.)

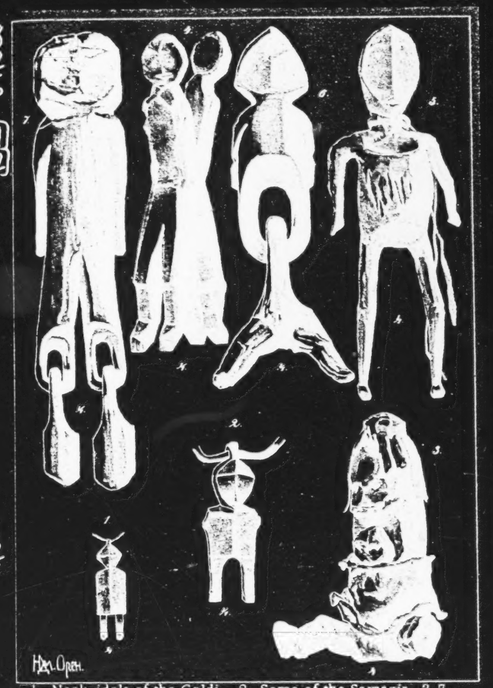
60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh
[778] Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shavings (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

766 61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
778 (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
532 in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

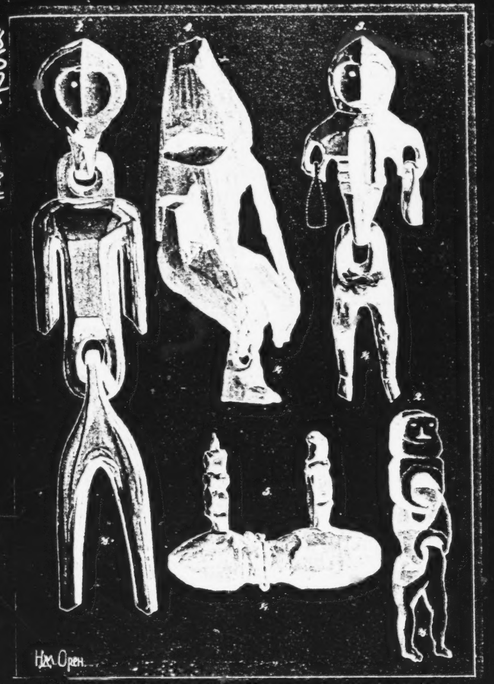
G 778 532 755 G [844] [782]



Gi 778 532

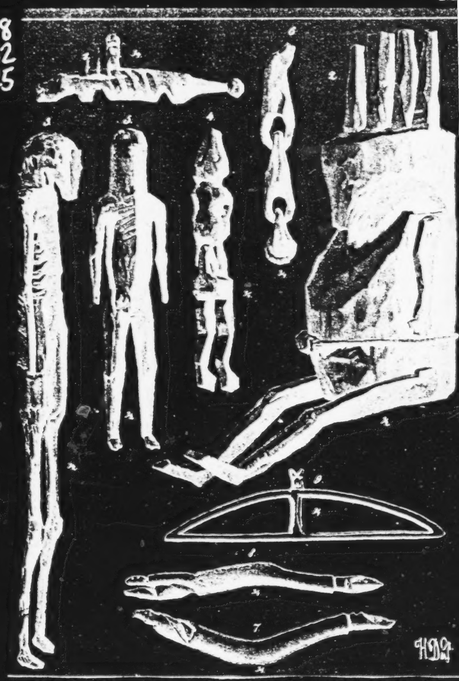
1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

778 755 532 789 856 532



1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

778 532 825



[755]

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal forms combine
1--human being and tiger; 2--human being with tiger head
3,4--human being with bear head; 5--human being with o
head; 6--human back-joint with bear head and paw; 7,8-
Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9--similarly,
bow with human head.

/75 cont./

755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
776 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new
calico (por) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside be-
fore the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the
755 seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the priest dish "mos'," a
776 potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will be
787 treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a
corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is
hung in a circle, and a kettle with a nail in it is placed near
the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found
its way into the milyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping
it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it
into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be
placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run
back through the floor.

755 /76/ The third method of curing is at a distance.
776 When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no
shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the
shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts
with all his might; "Charmnay, nikhovlatyngra n'ronyuya,"
i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then
supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn,
and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine,
but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which
has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man
will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the
details of the wonderful night.

756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
[191] the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur
River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even
here. I was often shown places from which shamans were
lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew
up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers.
I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resur-
rected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.
ooo Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
[155] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[BM] 1. On another page of the same notebook,
we find the following notation: "These sticks
kyz' nyngydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and
nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers
to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
prung, two kiong z'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
strips (pylng z'akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special
shape (m'erlan), and attachments for the cradle -- pitur'. When
they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bitur' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
785 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] and hang it on a tree. O'ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make
when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj
is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[824] for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/309 cont./

764 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
776 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
784 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinys n'ich: "Go eat human meat!" He
rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys.
Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through,
a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has
approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a
sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or
(to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in con-
stant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into
the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following
day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies.
Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two
summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed
right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make
real tolrfir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.

756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toidokh urly cham;
787 2) pai'lokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at
n'ryukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions
to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives
answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his pai'pang: a
(a wooden figure which is bound with white drel', and with shavings
on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the
figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie
tobacco wrapped in white drel' to the stone. It advises the
shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
[755] to which particular pai (i.e., pai of one's own or of a different
clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it
can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with
regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during
sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans
steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
776 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/310 cont./

755 Mainly it is necessary to treat leprosy -- khachudz, and
skin diseases.

The treatment of a leper. The shaman asks that a dog be brought
into the isba. The sick man sits up with his legs hanging from
the plank bed to the floor. In front of him there is an iron
kettle with the opening upward. The man holds the dog, while
the shaman moves around the yurt and kamlaet (shamanizes);
then the shaman spits -- "emits the spirit," takes a small worm
out of his mouth and carries it toward the dog. The dog jumps
back -- it has been pricked. Then the angry worm is brought
over to the sick man; the shaman stands opposite the sick man
with the worm in his hands, and the head of the shaman turns
into a large woodpecker -- ves'khr; -- black, with a red forehead --
and, squinting his eyes, he begins /311/ to look closely at the
face of the sick man in order to determine where to peck a bald
spot, i.e., to learn where the worm of the disease is (the shaman,
having squinted his eyes, sees through the man, and the sick man
sits "all naked"). The shaman finds a soft spot, pricks it with
the worm, and pulls out of there another worm, which he throws
into the kettle. He thus pulls out all the worms from the entire
[761] body, leaving only one worm, samuir. Without a worm, a
[825] person cannot live, but this worm cannot propagate. Those
who have seen these worms in the kettle say that they look like
tree worms. This kettle is covered with other kettles. At the
same time he orders his kekhn to keep watch at night over the
cup. On the following day he orders the Gilyak to bind the kettle
tight with a kaluga net and to bury it in the ground, while he
himself shamanizes. The shaman carries it away over five
rivers and five ranges. He sings, so that the small mountains
become large, and the streams -- large rivers. There he digs
out a pit, where he places the kettles together and binds them.
Those who go must count five narrow valleys and five ranges.
And the shaman sings once again, so that the dried up little
springs turn into large rivers, the rivers -- into cliffs, and the
kaluga net -- into the dense

/321 cont./

776 upon himself. Ge-n'ivukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way: His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chkhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Tanu -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (lyg narla n'ivukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Alekksy caught a goya with three worms adhering to it by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing. But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chkhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/

756 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sick-
776 ness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mightiest master is Tlykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115] 1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman. S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifice to make. So far he has only pal-n'igyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

/322 cont./

G 756 Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a
776 shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

G 756 Shamans make chkhnaj (a wooden image of pal-n'igyvyn),
778 inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists
782 of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it, however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chkhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

G 755 When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake
776 and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

G 755 If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to
756 Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the
776 soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will
794 live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Omyr, i.e.,
G' 755 by the Orok. They ask the chkhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chkhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chkhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chkhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chkhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/324 cont./

●755 During the seance of the curing of a sick man, a looped thong -- ishyng -- is tied over his bed, and on the floor before him is placed a kettle (nich) with a nail (trofvar). With this thong the kekhn catches and ties up the sick man's soul in Mlyvo, places it under his arm, brings it to the yurt, sticks it in the kettle -- otherwise it will depart through the floor into Mlyvo-khuty -- and pierces it with the nail. The nail and the thong are taken by the shaman.

756 The kenchkh and shaman conjuring. The kenchkh helps the
783 shaman only in conjuring -- lemd; the shaman pierces his breast
776 with a knife, but in reality he pierces the kenchkh (chekokhin' pes'pind). They bind the shaman's hands behind him with a thong, and the kenchkh comes and unties it and throws the looped thong to its Gilyak owner. The shaman's robe, fully buttoned, slides off over his head and flies (sits on a plank bed).

The shaman puts a noose made out of a slender thong on his neck, and two men on each side pull the noose tight while he continues to sing songs. Finally the shaman's head falls to one side and his torso to the other. Then the Gilyak begin to tap, while one beats a tambourine. Finally, one hears stamping outside the door and in comes ken'chkh-yz'n in the shape of a large cow. He walks up to the big kettle, drinks up all the water, eats all the meat of the shaman, and new meat and a head grow. Then the soul of the shaman gets up on the crossbeam over the hearth and begins to sing Kyu-kyu songs. Then the head grows onto the body, and the shaman again comes back to life. In 1897 /325/
756 there were shamans in Pylvo--1, in Tekhrvo--1, in Tyrmych--2, in Chayvo--2, in Kekhrvo--2, in Ornyr--one female shaman, an old woman. The biggest shaman is the old man Kymysk in Tyrmych.

/336 cont./

854 A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days
1844 and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung --
789 ekhl-chugir(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride
784 along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows,
854 ●755 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of
789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and
[776] the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for
845 Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small
782 quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

771 /741 cont./
174 tradition, reaching any pretensions of a religious one or completely
812 driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[124] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. 1, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kägn and tschngai (1).

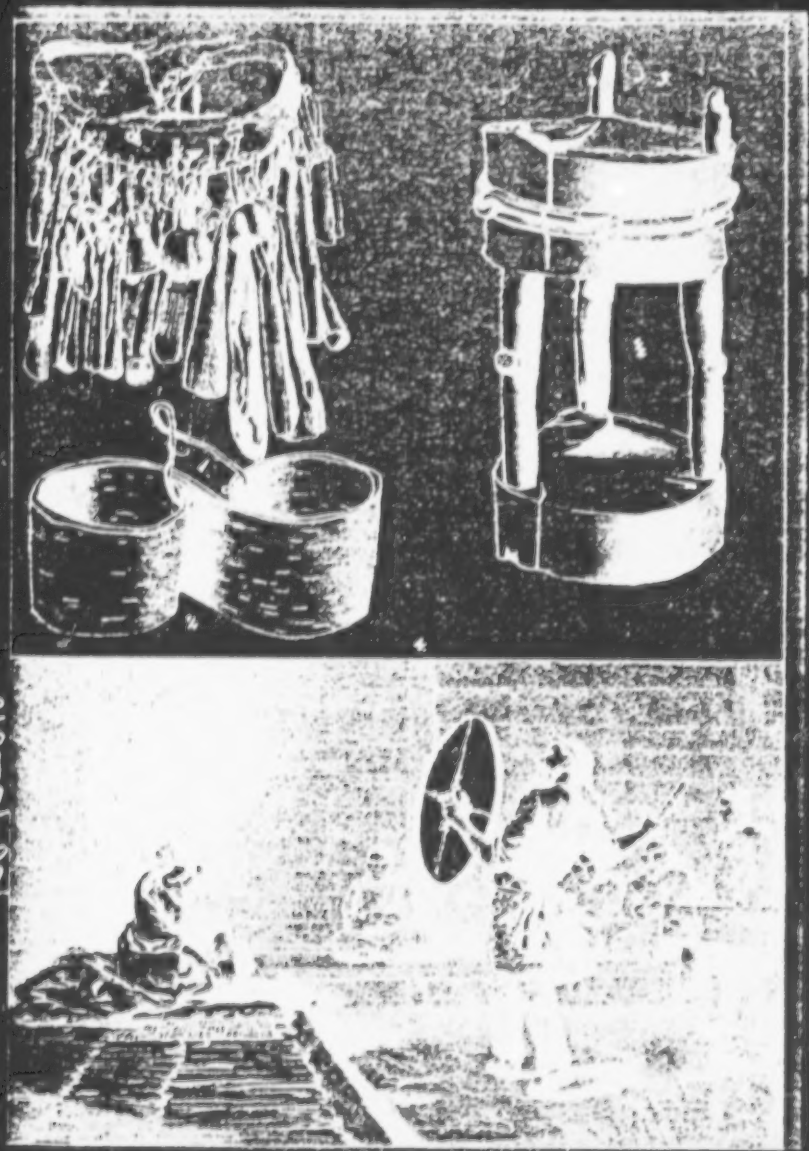
[199] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped säwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
●755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
532 is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

778 /742 cont./
189 it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often
● 755 it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, straps
532 knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery. Such an amulet is called ngif and kissj. From Judin in Tebach I
[126] obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

778 3. Gilyak. The village of Poghobi on the west coast of
755 Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings
184 on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman. (2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

778 4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate
755 LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myikr.
532 It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off
[126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kulk. In the same vil-
778 lage among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away
532 for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang



1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

9: Hawes--236 [2
116, 755, 776

"If a Gilyak is so
arrives, followed b
to show honour and
sufficient for him t
decides upon his m
has been doing pric
the sick man, and
about it, and ask h
before the evening,

o ill that all domestic resources fail, then the cham is sent for. He
by one of the elder representatives of the hut, who has been told off
l courtesy to the healer. An inspection of the patient is generally
to determine whether the sufferer will recover or no; but before he
easures, the cham tries to find out from the relatives what the patient
or to his illness. Then he tells them that the evil spirit is angry with
has sent this illness as a punishment; but he will speak to the spirit
im how his anger may be appeased. Nothing, however, can be done
, for the element in which the spirit lives is the night."

9: Hawes--236-237 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 755, 776, 778

"[LSS: In the cure of illness by the medici
appears, and drives out of the hut all unnece
his head a band of birch bark, with three litt
These, it is said, are to aid him in the expul
but are more probably to inhance the myster
then places in the corner of the hearth three
tobacco, and roots; and close to these, two
back to back; one having the face of a laughi
woman. The ch'khnai are there to provide so
he leaves the body of the sick man. Note her
ch'khnai that the image of the weeping woma
evil spirit, summoned from the body of the p
cies, naturally enters into the image so plac
himself kind-hearted and weak as a weeping
and takes refuge in the other image; where h
man, especially when the cham draws near
The evil and good spirits finding themselv
there is never any doubt of the result, for vi
spirit. Then commence negotiations between
or what offering he will accept to keep away f

ne man] When the sun has set, the cham
ssary persons, and proceeds to place upon
le rustling rosettes of papery bark lining.
sion of the evil spirit from the sick one;
y [237] and authority of the exorcist. He
little bowls, containing respectively fish,
wooden images, ch'khnai, bound together
ng man, and the other that of a weeping
omething for the evil spirit to enter, when
e how clever the cham is. He so places the
n faces the cups containing the food; and the
patient by exorcism and attracted by delica-
ed; and, having taken this form, will be
woman. The good spirit is then exorcised,
e becomes jolly and strong as a laughing
r to him one of the bowls of food.
es in close proximity, begin to fight; but
ctory must be to the stronger—the good
the cham and the evil spirit as to how much
rom the sick man."

: Hawes--238 1-3 (1901) 1903

16, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The ey
oams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evi

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man wel

The first syllable in each line is articulated quic
slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to e

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has a
he may ruin the whole family by his interpretation
o bring all their dogs and everything that they valu
imes human offerings were demanded."

es of the cham are like flames; he
l spirit—

l.'
kly, and the last vowels in the line

nd in a—aa.

ay spite against him or his relatives,
of the spirit's demands, forcing them
e most. It is even said that in olden

116, 755, 776, 782

"On the following day, the head of the hut takes possible to the village appointed where the bear i There he kills the dogs near the cage of the bear, them in the forest to the east, and sings, 'Make s well.' The offering is made near the bear becaus bear, and therefore is to be found near at hand.

The cham having been liberally rewarded for h

One old Gilyak in reply to my question as to wh with stoical submissiveness, 'We make offerings but if the spirit does not restore it, it is well als

the offerings, and goes as quickly as
s, even if it be a hundred miles away.
takes out the heart and liver and casts
so that the sick man may [239] be quite
e the evil spirit is a great friend of the

is pains, the matter is ended.
at happened if the patient died, said,
, and if the child recovers, it is well;
o.' "

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only. If someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

● 755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

● 755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also seek to consolidate their authority by means of various magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly, disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle. After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these "Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine. From this we may see how much they really understand of their new religion. We have said before that they regard

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

● 755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary. They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks, splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal, the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

756

756 PSYCHOTHERAPISTS--prevalent types of psychotherapists (e.g., shamans, faith healers, psychoanalysts, clinical psychologists); physical, mental, and social characteristics; source of power (e.g., inheritance, spirit helpers, specialized knowledge); training and initiation; prerogatives and disabilities; special paraphernalia and behavior; source of support (e.g., gifts, fees); penalties for failure; relations between practitioners (e.g., rivalry, organization); shamanism as a religious complex; special organizations (e.g., medicine societies, psychoanalytic societies); etc. See also:

Sorcery 784
Familiar spirits 786
Revelation and divination 787
Nondrugpsychotic functions of psychotherapists . . 789
Magicians and diviners 791
Transvestitism 838

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
* 114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
597 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[676] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[677] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

● [956] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
197 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[789] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
755 from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
• [756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/74 cont./

755 the disgusting bitter root of that plant, eats hot coal, etc. Even such strong measures, however, do not always prove effective. Sometimes the evil spirit does not give in to any human terrorizing, and not only that, but sometimes he even carries off the soul of the sick man into the kingdom of the shades. Then the aid of the higher beings is indispensable.

• [756] Such aid can be proffered only by specially chosen men, by specialists-expellers, i.e., shamans.

756 Among the Gilyak, shamans do not constitute a class,
776 as among more cultured barbarians. Among the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen ones, who in night visions or in a trance receive a revelation from the god-protector about their high calling. From that moment the shaman has gods-assistants, executors of his commands. These gods-assistants are of two kinds: the kekhn and the kenchkh. The first perform his most important tasks. By force or trick it is they who pull the devil
[774] out of the organism of a sick man. They also carry the shaman's soul in search of the stolen soul of a sick man, making their way with it even into the kingdom of the shades. As for the assistants, they are happy spirits who play with the shaman and help him only in tricks. The kekhn are creatures of the most varied breeds: there are kekhn-wolves, eared seals, eagle owls, reindeer, hares, celestial creatures, etc. Each kekhn has his master, who himself personally, very rarely comes to assist, sending his subordinates. The kekhn are capable of assuming any form and consequently can go anywhere necessary to save the sick man.

755 The shamans have three main methods of curing. One consists of hearing the patient out, falling asleep, and then, combining the dreams he has had, giving this or that advice. Having, for instance, seen a skewbald dog in his dream, he decides that for a cure it is necessary to sacrifice a dog, etc. Another method is the ordinary method of kamlaniye normally described by ethnographers, namely, expelling the devil by means of frenzied shrieks, beating the tambourine, in a word --
[776] terror. Since, however, you frequently can do nothing with

/75 cont./

755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
776 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new calico (por) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside before the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the prized dish "mos'," potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will be treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is hung in a circle, and a kettle with a nail in it is placed near the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found its way into the mlyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run back through the floor.

/76/ The third method of curing is at a distance.
755 When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts with all his might: "Chamnay, nikhovlatyngra n'ronyuya," i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn, and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine, but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the details of the wonderful night.

• 756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
[171] the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even here. I was often shown places from which shamans were lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers. I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resurrected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.

ooo Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

• 756 /76 cont./ Once I myself became the object of a legend about the
123 omnipotence of a shaman. In the settlement Nyyvo, at the mouth of the Tym', I once ventured to offer medical help to a female patient of a famous shaman. Learning of my interference, the shaman not only prohibited taking my medicine, but decided to punish me severely for my insolence. Immediately after my departure he went fully dressed into the waters of the bay and began to adjure the god of the water to fall on me with all sorts of punishments. A day later I had to spend the night in an abandoned Orok shed on the lower shore of Nabil' Bay. At night there arose a strong wind accompanied by a most terrible downpour; the water began to spread beyond the shores of the bay and to flood the low area. We awoke at dawn, literally swimming on our bedding. It was necessary to build a platform and shiver with cold on it for many hours until the water receded. For all the Gilyak on the coast there was no doubt that I had borne the punishment sent down by the shaman, who, moreover, could have been much sterner, but this time spared the Russian "tyan'gi" (gentleman). It is remarkable that the death of my female patient, even though she had refused to take the medicine I had left, was charged, not to the shaman, but to her sacrilegious appeal to me for help.

177 The Gilyak, however, willingly and with full faith, are treated by the Russians, not, of course, because they believe in the power of science, but for completely peculiar reasons. "The Russian god," they reason, "is stronger than the Gilyak one; this means that the Russian shaman is stronger than the Gilyak one." /77/ And if you inquire why the Russian god is stronger than the Gilyak one, you might hear such an answer: "Behold how many centuries the Gilyak has been living here, and he still travels on paths, but the Russian arrived and immediately built wide roads, such roads as the Gilyak has never seen." It is curious that neither steamboats nor automobiles, nothing impresses the Gilyak and convinces him of the superiority of the Russian god over the Gilyak one as much as just these roads.

/77 cont./

• 756 Now a few more words concerning the nature and psychics of these strange people called shamans.

According to the views of the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen beings. Do not be a shaman! The talent of a shaman is not a gift, but a burden. In order to become a shaman, it is necessary to be liked by a kekhn, or to recei such a kekhn from one's father or uncle. Turning into a shaman constitutes a turning point in the life of the chosen one, a crisis accompanied by very complex psychological phenomena.

One shaman with whom I was acquainted told me t before he became a shaman he was sick for more than two months, during which he lay motionless on his back in con plete unconsciousness. No sooner would he awaken from o paroxysm than he would fall into another. "I would have died," he told me, "if I had not become a shaman!" Dur
[789] ing these months of trial he dried up like a stick. At nigh he began to dream that he sang shaman songs. Once a whi eagle-owl appeared to him and stood near him, quite clos while a little farther away stood a man who said to him: "Make yourself a tambourine and everything that a shaman should have, and sing songs. If you are a simple man, no ing will come of you, but if you are a shaman, you will b real shaman." He slept for a long time, how long -- he d not know, but when he woke up, he saw that he was held d a fire by the feet and by the head; the people around him thought that he had been killed by the kekhn. Then he co manded that he be given a tambourine and began to sing s He felt not quite drunk, not quite dead. Then he first saw his kekhn and kenchkh, and the former said to him: "If yo see a sick man, cure him; do not believe the kenchkh, he has a human face, but the body of a bird; believe only us.

I myself was once a witness to the first appearance such a paroxym. A Gilyak boy by the name of Koynyt, twelve years old, the son of a shaman, my guest, fell asle after dinner, and, accidentally awakened by my comrad, the boy began to thrash furiously and to shout, repeating a

116, 755, 786

"During all these exorcisms and negotiati
illness] the hut has been the scene of an awe
lay on the nakh, or bench, the cham has bee
cha, a fish-skin tambourine, uttering all ma
wild gyrations in order to prevent the escap
time of the combat of the good and evil spiri
and when negotiations commence, the cham
begun in almost a whisper, and to the slow-
improvises his prayers, conforming [238] th
working himself into an ecstasy, he babbles
From the great strain his voice sometimes
amazing dexterity whirls around in the semi
ground as his wild circlings in the air incre
ings to his wild springings. Black shadows f
quicker and quicker grow the wild howls and
the spectators sink with fright, and even the
voluntarily bewitched."

ons [LSS: by the medicine man while curing
-inspiring spectacle. While the sick man
n whirling round the hut, beating the kos-
anner of strange sounds, and quickening his
e of the evil spirit from his reach. By the
ts, the wild dance has reached its climax;
is in an ecstatic state. His exorcisms are
measured strokes of the tambourine. He
hem to the circumstances; and by degrees
with hoarse voice, howls, and even shrieks.
cracks; but he draws off attention, and with
-darkness, his feet appearing to leave the
ase and the flames leap in answering flicker-
itfully race over the walls of the hut, and
the thuds of the tambourine. The hearts of
most sceptical of the Gilyaks is in-

/77 conf. /

the future and all the feminist desires of the shaman. When the pancytum was over, the face of the poor boy was terribly exhausted /

/323 cont./

When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition of the kehlm of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (Pal) to these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kehlm. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kehlm. The shaman kehlm fears only Pal milk and Tol milk but not the milk of tabbit, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kehlm there are variously colored eared seals, not trout, and tigers.

How the shaman Chomka resurrected a woman (the settlement of Ilyinovtsy). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night if before morning the moved her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

The shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman. She also kills her shaman competitor, sending her kehlm to his or her competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shanki-chohh. A feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person water and cry. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local ataxia.

The kanilange of a female shaman, who, according to her own words, was emasculated (mad) after the birth of her first daughter. She first made ifau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh ma, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her handkerchiefs... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings, she yawned. Moderate blows... The smoke grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/324 cont./

began to walk around. She sat down. She became blind, saw nothing. The milk drank ten cups of horrible liquid. Clink, clink /as in touching glasses!/ She drank it down in a gulp... then demanded a pipe and began to smoke and to exhale the smoke through her nose. She then (said): "Kymuta" -- I am hungry! And she began to eat saranka. Then they gave her sake -- she drank it. "Heavy (to lift the tambourine)!" The milk did this. She demanded my cigarette. "Give tobacco to the spirit," and ordered some distributed to everybody to smoke. She beat her breast, while a maiden beat the tambourine. Then she said: "Make a fire!" She sat down /?/ then rose suddenly, began to dance, and ran through the door, but the wet caught. The cold of the forest shamans. "People assembled to listen. There is no danger whatsoever. I cannot speak of various things. Naked people (i.e., not laimah), a misfortune, cannot say anything. I hear the talk of the wife, I hear the talk of the husband, I hear the talk of the sky, and I hear the talk of the sea fish. I hear the talk of the fish all sides. Everybody listen only to me. everything was born from Pal, born from the middle of the existing mountains. They call (me) Pontyst. The name of my husband is Kabaiya. The shaman given by my husband -- They call me Vee'tyk. I am an old woman. Smoke tobacco, all you (who are sitting) in the yurt! Small and large, all smoke with my risk! I am not afraid of any devil (!)" I am a mother-in-law to all of you.

1. Here there is evidently an omission in the notes. S. Sh.

I am the only big old man (?). Yellow-copper squirrel, come my way! (When you stared from the sea) to his grate house (in down to rest. When he ascended from there, cannibals were located before eight bear cages at the edge of an opening through which they pulls a trough, rail.

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During the season of the curing of a sick man, a looped thong -- nhyng -- is tied over his bed, and on the floor before him is placed a bottle (nin) with a nail (nedvyn). With the thong the kehlm catches and ties up the sick man's soul in Mlyvo, places it under his arm, brings it to the yurt, sticks it in the bottle -- nin; after this it will depart through the floor into Mlyvo-hluty -- and pierces it with the nail. The nail and the thong are taken by the shaman.

The kenshih and shaman conjuring. The kenchlah helps the shaman only in conjuring -- lemd; the shaman pierces his breast with a knife, but in reality he pierces the kenchlah (chekshih-ne'lgnd). They bind the shaman's hands behind him with a thong, and the kenchlah comes and unties it and throws the looped thong to its Gilyak owner. The shaman's robe, fully buttoned, slides off over his head and falls (sits on a plank bed).

The shaman puts a noose made out of a slender thong on his neck, and two men on each side pull the noose tight while he continues to sing songs. Finally the shaman's head falls to one side and his torso to the other. Then the Gilyak begin to tap, while one beats a tambourine. Finally, one bears stamping outside the door and he comes kenchlah-yr'h in the shape of a large cow. He walks up to the big kettle, drinks up all the water, eats all the meat of the shaman, and new meat and a head grow. Then the soul of the shaman gets up on the cromberm over the hearth and begins to sing Kyu-kyu songs. Then the head grows onto the body, and the shaman again comes back to life. In 1897 /?/ there were shamans in Pylvo--1, in Ekhkrvo--1, in Tymyych--2, in Chayvo--2, in Kekhrvo--2, in Onyr--one female shaman, an old woman. The biggest shaman is the old man Kymyk in Tymyych.

The kenchlah is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull up a thong (nhyng) to the kenchlah during the song. The thong is attached to a rope, and the kenchlah seizes it and pulls over the people.

/340 cont./

the corpses boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

Chnyr-chhinka. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-chhinka, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chhinka is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chhinka is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sennuh from Ady-Tymu. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /?/ Ilmgut. Then he and his wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

The shaman Kymyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that his tronchyn had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chhkarkivand), or pay tshinand, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

Fortunetelling with a stone parakhanind, with a kettle. The gamakhanind replies thanks to the chehlm, if the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one hit the mark, he must make a wooden chhinai, hang it around his neck, and feed him.

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suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism, with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true that he believes the shaman, trains him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (this they say that the Kyrvo shaman killed the Bibolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical of religious beliefs of the Gilyak view-s. It is perhaps appropriate at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers. In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often have to pay a fine some quite considerable, or they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illnesses is the work of evil spirits, they make them more superstitious and fearful of the spirits, which certainly does not strengthen their health. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. They are "Kymyt'h! Kymyt'h! Ch, Ch, Ch, pasnayr; the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about a supreme being, the father of all things, the creator, the standing close to him is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material life of man, but also to his moral life. Many of the gods facilitate mutual living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life, particularly, perhaps, and also in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a man steals a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a good man steals a rich man (in this material sense), if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc., that is not a sin." This statement reminded all the strangers me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, was did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this statement accurately expresses belief in a really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence and other mythology

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and a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in a lair. In this case, the all too dangerous hunt to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to mark it at once, and only the cubs are captured and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /?/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the procedures, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bear, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned because of the cubs and fattened on a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could rarely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two standing close to each other, on the latter large trap-noses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

Of the fight with inscectsfly and ticks are certainly associated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their observance is considered necessary in order to undergo the danger of the fight with successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its mates in case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by Nobomov that "lively songs" are first delivered by a few Gilyak to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are still completely intact and evidently had not been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the about [illegible] entered, obviously distressed because I had seen the

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it to come out from its hiding place (?). For the shamans among

2. Arch. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Gilyaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 281).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either the bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this supernatural, to be sure, but rigorous and enterprising people. Indeed, on the contrary, as shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. The spirits of revenge can be around only by death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festival, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the people. /?/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Mlawach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a table hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had not been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the about [illegible] entered, obviously distressed because I had seen the

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--199 T-3 (1

116, 178, 184, 527, 756

"Customs differ from coast to coast
divergence. In many cases I believe
officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of th
influence of his office is on the wane
cham now.' "

t, and from village to village, and here is a point of
the cham, or medicine-man, is not called in to
he bear during the bear fête] possibly because the
e, and as the Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great

CONTINUED FROM PREC. FICHE

/642 cont./

553 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
554 is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the
555 morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born
556 in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any
557 ceremony; the mother whispers the name desired by her son in
558 the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may
559 propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his
560 child. It must be also pointed out that no shamanistic arts are
561 practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving.
562 In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special
563 celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express
564 their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share
565 with a few villagers and friends.

566 Immediately after the name is bit, it is placed in a cradle
567 (Gilyak nch,ykh). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of
568 a canoe-shaped or flated, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a
569 length that the upper body of the child, up to its head,
570 can be fitted into it comfortably. While it upper end, usually
571 pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard
572 which is provided with several grooves supporting into a central
573 hole. The child, wrapped in blanken except for its naked buttocks,
574 is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow,
575 whereupon a couple of strips are drawn from one edge of it to the
576 other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half
577 filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the
578 opening in the lower end of the cradle, and then the cradle is hung on
579 a cronbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see
580 p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by
581 human beings on the stove, To my answer that these objects
582 were too small to be seen even with a telescope because of the
583 great distance of the stars they replied with great assurance that
584 nevertheless a big shaman had seen them, and from their stories
585 they firmly believed that on the stars there are tall trees and
586 extensive forests, various animals, such as sable, otter, fox,
587 bears, dogs, etc., and finally, even human beings. These
588 human beings, whom they called, again indiscriminately,

/678 cont./

882 the thought of a continuous movement of the sun around the earth
883 which is a mere extension of the sun's daily movement from east
884 toward west. Some of them, however, were of specially gigantic
885 proportions, such as Iutechin and Reigun —a thought which immediately
886 gave rise to the question as to whether there were also a
887 moon and men on the other side of the earth. Moreover, the
888 idea that the earth did not have a disk-shape, but a globular-shaped
889 form was accepted by them more easily than I had imagined
890 According to their view, the stars moved around the earth just
891 like the sun. They have, however, a comic conception of them
892 as objects to which they regard them as celestial bodies
893 similar to the earth, which appear to small to them only because
894 of the great distance. This /679/ undoubtedly arose from their
895 indiscriminate use of the designation unghur, "star," and
896 unghir-nifi, "earth-star." Some of the constellation bear special
897 names among them. For example, the three stars in the tail
898 of the Great Bear are called tarkhinchich, the last in its body
899 nangnon (?), that is, rats' storehouse; a constellation with

/699 cont./

4.(cont.)

also liable to be the Yukagir in the country of "Sashanta" (sobach'ya zemlia = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labelled the report doubtful.

/700 cont./

The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age; old
701 animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for
702 several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired
703 a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of
704 exercise, the time drawn near to lead it with great pomp to its
705 doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take
706 place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least
707 on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance
708 with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gather-
709 ings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time
710 is probably the chief reason why they like to indulge them on
711 such as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the
712 continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festi-
713 vals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally
714 as well take place in January and February. Indeed, I myself
715 attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until
716 March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for
717 by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon
718 afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the
719 summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for
720 when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman,
721 but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear
722 or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his
723 own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more
724 or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival.
725 As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears
726 kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration
727 of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in
728 the country will encounter bear or there an individual act of
729 the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, ani-
730 mated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from
731 entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself ex-
732 perienced on Sakhalin.

/722 cont./

G-755 It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/
756 to dance and sing in the presence of the bear, because they would
757 easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the
758 festive meals as a matter of principle.

759 In these festivals there have no definite duration: the feasting
760 goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives,
761 friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear
762 meat and fat lasts. In Tebakh, Jadin told his guests, Dimsa and
763 Brevera, that it would last for many days since three bears had been
764 killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13)
765 the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in
766 exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to
767 Nikolayevsk.

768 As I have mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previ-
769 ous year (1895) to witness this second part of the bear festival, con-
770 cluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village
771 of Gilyak. I was very concerned to observe that their customs would not differ essentially from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Dittmar's report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

G-772 I arrived in the village of Gilyak located only five
773 versts below Kidzi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in
774 the morning and stepped into one of its five houses. I found it
775 occupied by the bear festival in the same manner as it done among the
776 Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however,
777 opposite the ritagtre decorated with the bear's head and skin and
778 with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak ,ssad = Olcha
779 giamasaad), a second rack quite similar to the first one but some-
780 what smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its
781 shelves lay some bold meat and pieces of the fat of the slaughtered
782 bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passage-
783 way between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off
784 by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the
785 whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

/750 cont./

771 tradition, reaching any premonition of a religious one or completely
772 driving out and replacing that supply concept of God among the
773 only a few inhabitants.

774 I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
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788 Fig. 7). On either side of the belt were two makes (dodaldy).
789 likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between
790 village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the
791 direction. In front, in the middle, there was a pouch of leather and
792 on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the
793 was inacceptible to him as they certainly would be if they en-
794 joyed special veneration. (Bm. 1, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
790 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward
791 off danger; misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated
792 to me by the Gilyak with the general names of hakp and inchogai (?).

[792] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A transcription of the pronunciation of the whole tribe, from (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig.1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the cronbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped sawa stand). Sometimes, however,
779 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
780 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
781 is seriously ill, the Shaman carves such an idol for him, or adzen
782 Sakhin to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But

/792 cont./

783 the disease. Since then the once large village of Chala has had
784 only a few inhabitants. (Bm. 1, p. 28.)

785 26. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw no idol-belt, a sieuchas
786 provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn
787 around the body as an amulet against sickness (Plate LX /p.1260
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/753 cont./

wai Sajan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous one, Tachdzach, lives in the village of Amur, above Nikolayevsk. Incease of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to villages where there are no shamans (3). There are shamans (mipinnach), however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they are religious as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sickness. (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "to dominate" see pp. 1153. 1163, cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the brothers Sugin and Sugin in Kulk, though neither of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as it is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wait was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do a certain trick, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shaman. (Bm. I, pp. 36, 38.)

28. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that makes are especially feared from inshamans given to me by an experiment to the conquering of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Petrovskye.- After singing and howling had been performed by the shaman, the shaman turned to the pad mitnoi lamb hawes, sun, moon, and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

/754 cont./

that he had been shut informed by the elders of his people), and thereupon on the occasion of a bear festival, he was addressed as the two animals most feared by the Gilyk'ski and Russians. During these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a make depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bytanden howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe ice for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 39.)

29. Gilyak. Shamanistic art in case of sickness (p. The

2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipinch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipinch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mifrangipinch, the latter as tulmipinch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magl, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Bocharov and her son, Dshaman, Bum Kulk. Junchin thought that the wap-mipinch shaman himself, a part of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do a certain trick, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shaman. (Bm. I, pp. 36, 38.)

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the wap-mipinch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kim ngallatch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and the pad mitnoi lamb hawes, sun, moon, and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

/754 cont./

stars and dipe, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipinch. The only means that can help him, however, is a shaman. He conjures up a Mgn (a good god), who removes the mipinch from the sick person. At the same time a mipinch carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman is hung around the neck of the sick person and then by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A stick man wears a single mipinch, a woman a double one. The mipinch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-mipinch. It is only on the moot-band of the dead bear (see pp. 1156, 1163) that a single mipinch and a bear's hair may be found. This is made by the women, but the wooden one are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are allowed to make the arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mkrygan) are similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much more is attributed to the lizard. The lizard lives in the heat band of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalp) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1136/.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposed to indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the tail bears a long shape. This is striking, since the frog (that) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magl. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

30. Gilyak. Amazing, marvelous acts which the Gilyak shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

/754 cont./ Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

1: Schrenck—1854 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

2: Schrenck—1854 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

III. Gilyak. The Gilyak Junchin from Patchi gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. This report corresponds to what the shaman performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word dschu, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kags who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kags, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs bonbons, or silk fat or a soot, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kags answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative. Finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/754/ Now the kags, during constant noise, approach the shaman (lying bound and noisily above /illegible/). The shaman becomes his talk audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the Gilyak around in the yurt begin the monotonous song of the kags, but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kags is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (for example, the name in question) sing?" Should that one (for example) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The sing which the Gilyak begin to sing who are fond of the shaman begins, "Come to life! Come, come, come, come!" Come soon, come soon!"

This causes the kags to dance noisily again down from the shamar. Once more one hears him emave a deep sigh -- this time breathing at life now -- and now he stands there freed

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1:-Gilyak idol-bowl. 2:-shaman's belt (Gilyak). 3:-altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak). 4:-shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1914 RX2 Gilyak RX2

buried their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burying, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and placed it on the grave, and placed the dog's food and tobacco on the spot. The "dog of the dead" took place afterwards later, on the day of the "calling the tree." as the cemetery was called. There dogs had a rail a little but for the funeral.

At the cemetery there dogs were killed on this day. The corpses were placed on the ground, and the dogs were killed and their bodies were attached closely to the corpse. A variety of household articles were laid out. The dogs, sable, fox, lynx, tinpot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that the dead man's soul would be reborn and take the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

The Gilyak believed in a "soul" (mitch) and in a "shadow" (ngrgan). The shadow was considered to be a dangerous thing, and was connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kags, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs bonbons, or silk fat or a soot, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kags answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative. Finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

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"The charm, or medicine-man, exorcises spirits which take up a temporary abode, charms made in the shape of a human being. Otherwise even this anthropoid kind was as amulet. A pair of these, carved from wood, which I have (p.194), are intended be worn on the limb or part of the body affected; for a sore throat, for instance, the little figures would be tied round the neck."

9: Hawes--199 [2] 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by
i.e. the medicine man immediately preceding
as given me by an observer on the island.
The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, ami
close to the bear and whispers in its ear—
'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'brok
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years,
(dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "sumr

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's
business getting him out of his cage; and th
frequently, it was then autumn, than once a

this functionary at this juncture, [LSS:
the sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête]

d the deep silence of the spectators, goes

en' many Gilyaks:

not stinting the delicious yukola

mer year,"

s memory. It is such a difficult
ose I saw were not taken out more
fortnight for a constitutional.

9: Hawes--200 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 527, 756, 782

"At the end of this adjuration the cham moves a
pine-twig over the bear's head. At this point the a
forward, and at a couple of yards or so from the
the bow. The animal, however, would not expose
he turned round, when the archer let fly. Strange
but simply tried to rub the arrow out with his paw
round as if nothing had happened. The arrow had
and the animal, still making no sign of pain, only
this time merely hit the collar. The first was the
vent, the poor beast sank down and died. When qu
with sticks and lifted up the paws, and the carcas
ground three times.

When the cham is present, he first cuts out the
the pieces to the most honoured members present
the sacrificed beast will be assured successful hu

The skin having been quickly stripped in this ca
cauldrons were soon steaming with bear stew. Al
roots, roe, seal-oil, etc., were brought forth, a
sat in groups, the women waited upon them and th

little to one side, still holding the
accounts agree. An archer now came
bear fitted his iron-tipped arrow to
his heart, and had to be teased until
ly enough poor Bruin emitted no sound,
, and failing to do so, sat looking
missed the heart, but pierced the lung,
coughed. Another arrow was shot, but
n pulled out, and the blood now finding
ite dead, the women came forward
e was dragged round the execution-

heart of the bear, and dividing it, gives
. To these partakers of the heart of
nts during the whole of the season.
ase, the carcase was cut up and the
l the delicacies of dried fish, rice,
nd the feasting again began. The men
en took part in the feast."

9: Hawes--239-240 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 578, 692, 756

"His [LSS: The cham or medicine man] moral influence ar
losing ground, as the Gilyaks come more into contact with th
said to a Russian, 'A cham tells very many lies.'

'Then why do you call him in?'

'He is needed. If he got angry it would be bad for us,' was

It is true that it may result badly for the Gilyak, not becau
divine anger to fall upon his head; but when the Gilyak has a
accused of crime, the cham may remember his [240] omissi
the last word, he can make the punishment very severe."

ıong his tribe is certainly
e Russians. One of them

the answer.
se the cham can cause the
misunderstanding, or is
on or insult, and as he has

16, 124, 756

"From the first meeting with the Gilyal
a cham, or 'medicine-man' of the tribe.
earn from him more than I could from th
n-the-canoe.' All the replies had indica
heir cham. On reaching New Val, which
quiries if [232] the great man were at hor
at Chaivo, however, I was informed he h
suspected evasion, and therefore put my
etch him. This had the desired effect, a
hirty-five, of less wild appearance than
dividual—came hesitatingly towards us. I
disarm his suspicions, for the natives ar
through the interpreters that I was a frie
way from over the sea and would like to k

ks I had made inquiries as to where I could find
I was anxious to do so, because I hoped to
ie Gilyak 'man-in-the-street,' or rather, 'man-
ted the village of Chaivo as the residence of
was close by, I thought it prudent to make in-
ne. The answer was in the affirmative. Arrived
ad gone to New Val. This would not do. I
foot down and insisted on our crew going to
nd, shortly after, a man of about thirty or
the others—in fact, a rather mild-looking in-
offered him a few tobacco-leaves, and to
e shy of talking about their religion, explained
nd of the Gilyaks, and that I had come a great
know about them and their forefathers."

116, 756

"The Gilyaks themselves declared, '
last winter. He was great indeed! If
in the fish, he went to the cham and f
granted, and the wind began to blow.
being able to locate a bear. 'When th
voice of the spirit, saying, 'There is
there I discover a bear.' "

We have no great cham now. We had one. He died
a man wanted to fish, and there was no wind to drive
ell on his knees, and immediately his prayer was
' His successor, indeed, claimed the power of
e Gilyak wants to find one, ' he told us, 'I hear a
a bear in the forest, ' and I go into the forest, and

116, 756, 776, 782

"Being anxious to know what claims t
whether he could cure illnesses. To whi
cham, pray and make offerings of tobac
out of the door to the spirits (of the fore
added, 'and we offer to fire at one time

he cham had to healing power, I asked him
ich he replied, 'If a child or person is ill, I, the
cco to the lord of fire and cast some rice or tea
est and water). There is one god—Nature,' he
and to water and the forest at others.' "

However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian

771 More frequently one finds tho
being and immortality, but do
Some do not even believe in th
reflect the opinions of those o
village of Kula near Nikolayev
had neither idols nor shamans
brothers who were born there
and good-natured chaps; they
believe in god, but regard the
756 The shamans are the media
789 invisible world; they always e
782 perspicacity, whereby they kn
for instance, changes in the w
their influence. Their chief f
sickness which is mainly the
they are [243] also consulted
instance, there may be few fi
shaman is consulted and order
to be killed and offered up in
place. The sacrificial gifts a
to the shaman's prescriptions
how to "drive away the rain"
denouncing them loudly. Like
stands how to make rain and t
he begins his magic song. rai
a Gilyak believer told me. Hi
bring harm. For instance, h
where far off in some village
which does not harm others.
so forth. Occasionally the ma
the magician is never persecu
are usually merciful enough to
someone irritates them; and b
lieves in them.
755 If a shaman is invited to vis
534 in his official costume. He w
numerous clinking tin objects.
drum and his staff. The drum
long and consists of a wooden
pig skin or the skin of a stag,
of little bells. He alternately

se who recognize a supreme
not bother much about them.
ne idols, and these may already
of other beliefs. Thus the little
vsk has for some time already
s. I was visited by two
and who were both wide-awake
confessed to me that they
idols as foolishness.
tors between the visible and
xcel in experience and
now how to predict many things,
veather, and thus they exert
unction consists of driving out
work of evil spirits. Incidentally
on other occasions. For
sh at one place or another; the
rs a dog of such and such color
the river at the designated
re generally made according
. A competent shaman knows
by threatening the clouds and
wise, of course, he under-
hunderstorms. "As soon as
n clouds immediately appear",
s magic practices can also
can cause a human some-
to die of a fish or a drink
He can flood a village, and
gic practices are feared, but
ted. However, the shamans
stick to threats only, if
esides, not everybody be-

it a sick person he appears
ears a girdle on which hang
In his hand he carries his
is about two-thirds meters
ring on which is stretched a
and on which hang a number
beats his drum and sings

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobse
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

116, 682, 692, 756

"The cham of the Gilyaks resembles, i
the Golds, and the Tungus on the mainlan
but the primary function of the cham woul
that purpose he is elected. He it is who p
elders, and afterwards carries it out. Le
but [235] actually his moral influence doe
depends upon him. Probably he was chose
necessary in olden times, was much agai
the cham, with his powers of exorcism, c
voluntarily felt must attach to the killing
longer obtains, but is commuted in practi

n many respects, the shaman of the Oroktis,
d. Both are addicted to superstitious practices;
d appear to be the judicial executive, and for
ronounces sentence in the criminal 'court' of
gally these were the limits of his function;
s not stop there, and the criminal's fate largely
en because the death of a murderer, though
nst the grain of the kindly, jolly Gilyaks; and
could clear himself of any sin which they in-
of a human being. The penalty of death now no
ce to a fine."

middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On fete-days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

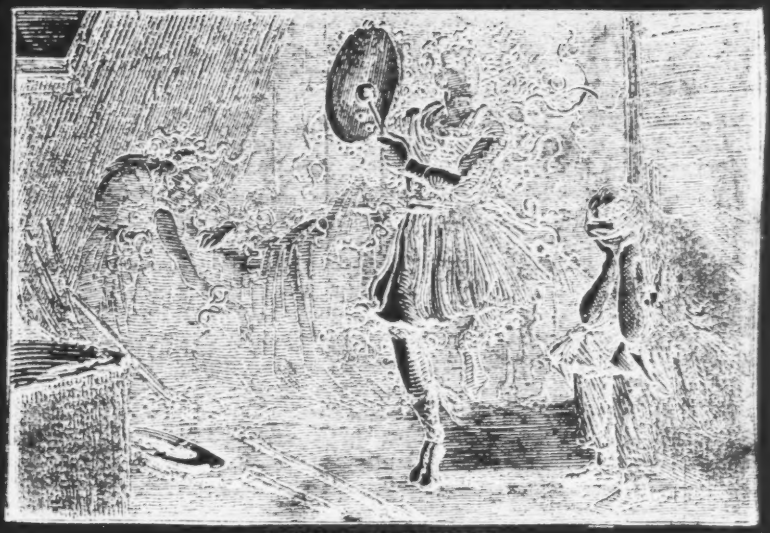
Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy. Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia, are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the double function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

● 756 tume. Both doctor and patient are generally decked with wood-shavings while the work is going on.

Sometimes an effigy of the sick person is prepared, and the spirit is charmed from the man of flesh to the one of straw. The shaman induces him to take up lodgings in this effigy, and the success of his persuasion is apparent when the in-



PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

valid recovers. If the patient dies the shaman declares that the spirit was one over which he had no control, but he does not hesitate to take pay for his services.

A Russian traveler who witnessed one of these exorcisms said that the shaman howled so fearfully that two Chinese merchants who were present out of curiosity fled in very terror. The gentleman managed to endure it to the end, but did not sleep well for a week afterward.

776 The Gilyaks believe in both good and evil spirits, but as the former do only good it is not thought necessary to pay them any attention. All the efforts are to induce the evil spirits not to act. They are supposed to have power over hunting, fishing, household affairs, and the health and well-being of animals and men.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

The shamans possess great power over their superstitious subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill. The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself. The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely told that the spirit had taken it.

In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous. The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe. This chief was so generally loved and respected that the people refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and was stabbed by his own son.

In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that should they abuse their power they will be long and severely punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good shaman who has performed wonderful cures receives after death a magnificent tomb to his memory.

The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life. Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony, and there was every indication of good feeling between natives and settlers.

757

757 MEDICAL THERAPY--extent of differentiation of medical from magical and mental therapy; home remedies and self-medication; resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., examination for symptoms, diagnostic aids); consultations; therapeutic principles (e.g., counterirritation, homeopathy); therapeutic methods (e.g., bloodletting, administration of cathartics and emetics, medication); prescribed regimen (e.g., rest, diet, isolation); remedies for specific complaints (e.g., fevers, colds, toothache, indigestion, rheumatism, infectious diseases); etc. See also:

Ideas about anatomy and physiology 82
Obstetrics 84
Materia medica and pharmacology 278
Medical research 742
Public health and sanitation 744
Surgery 752

9: Hawes--275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 164, 278, 757

"Coughs, colds, and pulmonary complanints are very prevalent, and the methods of healing scarcely adequate. For a sore throat, a concoction of moshun-tomash (field camo mile) is swallowed, and for inflammation of the lungs, a diluted exusion from the gungi of trees is drunk in place of tea.

Whether these herbal remedies are dictated by experience and the Gilyak knowledge of medicinal herbs, which is said to be considerable, or is anything more than Shamanistic lore and a series of charms, I cannot say. The treatment adopted for other ailments, such as toothache, swellings, earache, and ulcer, is certainly of the latter kind. For the first they apply some of the down of a hazel-grouse (Tetrao bonasia) to the cheek; for the second and third, the squirrel's tail (olf-rega) and a piece of its ear (tul-noss) are respectively tied to the parts affected; and for the last, gazhu, i. e. a piece of a wasp's nest, is placed on the ulcer."

/ 319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-pame, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (4 year) they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: 824 "Pshay'kyr urungqif -- do good for children, please!"

During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements 853 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

838 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a rug you will change the female character. 3) A woman, like a fire started in a clear field: the wind blows and it is out.

858 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease meryachen'e -- two women. This sickness is unknown in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later recalls it. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronge.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'sa's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

852 A representation of twins -- tongch; -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch, while 853 if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chuhh-chugyrnd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen 854 and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-r'gyryn, who 855 gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion 856 in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded 857 with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in a top white and buried, also with 858 inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

The tongch; helps catch bears and in hunting in general. 859 The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Gilyavo).

860 Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

862 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

863 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-r'gyryn or by Nol-r'gyryn, 864 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/339/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as 865 blood and hard as stone. Such milk can be eaten a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

866 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

867 Nakhsh'ka -- to be sick from not getting what one saw 868 and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small 869 crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/363 cont./

870 in the land of Bun (tunnch-ne) are tormented and have to 871 pay similar to that of the inhabitants on earth and in yurt special.

872 If a Bunnchi-nei dies "peacefully" or violently, through 873 murder, he changes into an herb, a grass, or a tree of our earth here. This is therefore the shape in which an ordinary mortal returns from the land of Bun to this earth. Chom- and a Dyta 874 Goldi present expressly affirmed the transformation of the dying Bun-inhabitants into various plants on earth. There was said to be no distinction according to age or sex for the various types of plants, so that a child as well as an adult, a man as well as a woman, can be transformed into a tree or a lowly grass. But there is a great difference according to the good or bad character of the deceased. A good man or a good woman, for example, will 875 be a fine tree and a fine bush, while a bad man will be a poor tree 876 or a fine bush, while a bad man will be a poor tree or a lowly grass. 877 But there is a great difference according to the good or bad character of the deceased. A good man or a good woman, for example, will be a fine tree and a fine bush, while a bad man will be a poor tree or a lowly grass.

/72 cont./

796 An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the
797 origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak
798 is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the
799 Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their
800 Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi
801 woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear
802 and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently
803 often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of
a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened,
however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually
she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were
found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she
requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that
in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually
observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear
that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, conse-
quently, a clansman of the Orochi.

804 Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have men-
tioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides
these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are
evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and
"kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and
are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They
appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the
shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They
are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground
and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious
creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are in-
dividual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of
beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become
enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

805 Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the
806 Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'ly); others
807 ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all
808 sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/73 cont./

809 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people would
810 not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result of
811 the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the Gilyak
will never touch a sable that died in the taiga, even though his
skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil as-
suredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gilyak,
lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him, so
an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every step,
in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil being
who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly
eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick man
dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from within,
easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ is not
functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortness of
breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has got
inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It is
imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is effected
in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending with
the most complex.

812 Here is an example which quite graphically illustrates
813 the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman, who
was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was placed
in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clean
fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of ragis,
canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the
woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and
prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus saved.
But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others re-
quire stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened by
extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightening
appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing
methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to beat
his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unnatural
voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end /74/
he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a state
of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), chews

Amur

/305 cont./

814 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
[1055] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[897] 1. On another page of the same notebook,
we find the following notation: "These sticks
kyz' nynyydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and
nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers
to the above-mentioned sticks.

815 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
816 pyung, two kong-z'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
817 strips (pying-z'akh), two small bow (pudax) and arrows of a special
818 shape (m'erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitur'. When
they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bituz' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'ma).

819 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
820 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
821 and hang it on a tree. O'ging chakhna) is a figure that they make
822 when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhna)
823 is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
does that which he dreams.

824 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
825 male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
826 not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
827 fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
828 for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
829 there is broken. This tree is called pilz nigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/310 cont./

830 Mainly it is necessary to treat leprosy -- khachudz, and
skin diseases.

The treatment of a leper. The shaman asks that a dog be brought
into the iaba. The sick man sits up with his legs hanging from
the plank bed to the floor. In front of him there is an iron
kettle with the opening upward. The man holds the dog, while
the shaman moves around the yurt and makes (shamanizes);
then the shaman spits -- "emits the spirit," takes a small worm
out of his mouth and carries it toward the dog. The dog jumps
back -- it has been pricked. Then the angry worm is brought
over to the sick man; the shaman stands opposite the sick man
with the worm in his hands, and the head of the shaman turns
into a large woodpecker -- xuk'khr -- black, with a red forehead --
and, squinting his eyes, he begins /311/ to look closely at the
face of the sick man in order to determine where to peck a bald
spot, i.e., to learn where the worm of the disease is (the shaman,
having squinted his eyes, sees through the man, and the sick man
sits "all naked"). The shaman finds a soft spot, pricks it with
the worm, and pulls out of there another worm, which he throws
into the kettle. He thus pulls out all the worms from the entire
[761] [825] body, leaving only one worm, xamul. Without a worm, a
person cannot live, but this worm cannot propagate. Those
who have seen these worms in the kettle say that they look like
tree worms. This kettle is covered with other kettles. At the
same time he orders his kekhn to keep watch at night over the
cup. On the following day he orders the Gilyak to bind the kettle
tight with a kaluga net and to bury it in the ground, while he
himself shamanizes. The shaman carries it on a pole, and over five
rivers and five ranges. He sings, so that the small mountains
become large, and the streams -- large rivers. There he digs
out a pit, where he places the kettles together and binds them.
Those who go must count five narrow valleys and five ranges.
And the shaman sings once again, so that the dried up little
springs turn into large rivers, the rivers -- into cliffs, and the
kaluga net -- into the densest wild bag -- "become a wire bag,
so that the worm does not come out." The shaman solders the
kettles with words: "Two kettles, having melted together, merge
and mutually become one."

/329 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A honikh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard
are tied to the belt of qrel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set
in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo)
on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- ning, into which they
put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf,
all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is
placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside,next to it; all
kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the vessels, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka.
First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
[231] raf mu nig-yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning,
brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to
the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in
the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come
and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu n'igyvyn is fed no longer, though
they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka.
This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be
sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin,
either for kinsmen or for someone from the kikhal.

766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp.475-476), and then they make a raf
anyway.

767 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
• [761] [796] killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
is afraid and hides with Pal-n'igyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending
on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo
in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there
old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes
to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo,
and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar
to the man.

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.
793 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale
(kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jagi -- mother
and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.
• 761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an
ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is
dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words
of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate;
exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are
killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he
will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter
among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed
for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
825 fices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may
[782] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old
woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

804 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and
825 they treat him like a killed one. When they set off some-
[261] where (hunting) or in general on important business, they al-
ways take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

793 In Mil'kivo one Gilyak had two women. Once his
daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went
to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

/410 cont./

302 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur
[171] in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was
shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left
standing only here and there, quite unsymmetri-
cally, either on the crown or on one side, which
gave them a very comical appearance. The
Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however,
[763] never have their head or beard hair cut; among the
[761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them h
his hair cut and had his hair shorn, he would bring him sickness an
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and p
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gil
Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed
from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and whi
he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut
erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk.* *

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata
on p. 777 of the foregoing text, rakk should be
raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to
a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see
note * on p.1236. /

303 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak a
512 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them
136 hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check
the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which character-
istically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/
[751] fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the
presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health.
Thus, during my stay at the Nikolaevsk post, it happened that
a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house,
but when the father visited the boy after a time and mixed
the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried abou
512 his health and took him back again. In connection with this,
825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in
the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many pri
[123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to
them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to w
they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delic

also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary. They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks, splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound. Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal, the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

758

758 MEDICAL CARE--regimen and care of sick persons (e.g., diet, rest, isolation); apparatus and paraphernalia of medical care (e.g., clinical thermometers, bed pans); general availability of medical advice, treatment, and care (e.g., organization, finance, services); etc. This category is intended for general information on medical care. For specialized data see relevant categories in 73, 74 and 75. See also:

Gift giving . . . . . 431 Visiting 574

762

762 SUICIDE--incidence of suicide; motives (e.g., humiliation, thwarted love); common methods (e.g., jumping, drowning, shooting, poison); stereotyped methods (e.g., suttee, hara-kiri); justifications; attitude toward suicides; etc. See also:

Personality disorders. . . . . 158 Punishment of attempted suicide. 682

/184 cont./

*835 183 587 768 [614]

levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 *835 [776] [825] • [RX2] [533]

Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835

The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

116, 533, 564, 762

And to-day the reproachful tones of the cruelly deceived maiden may be heard in the 'swish of the sledge and the howl of the dogs as the narta starts off'—

'You said you would kill yourself,
And you did not.
You are a deceiver!
Men are liars!' "

76

763 DYING--omens and predictions of death; notions ab
approach of death; settlement of affairs; assemblin
to postpone death; preparing the patient for death (
ing, dressing in mortuary garments, last rites); p
ment (e.g., shroud, coffin); last words and last fa
coma, cessation of breath or heart action); attempt
the impact of death (e.g., wailing, flight, self-mut
death; post-mortem examinations; etc. See also:

Deathbed testaments . . . . . 428 Omens . . . .
Capital punishment 681

3

/

bout dying; recognizing the
g of relatives; attempts
e.g., removal from dwell-
reparing the funeral equip-
vors; criteria of death (e.g.,
s at revival; reaction to
liation); announcement of

. 787

/327 cont./

764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
[372] pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- chkhach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and
[152] cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of an elder brother, but not of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband, oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go; another man now; (those who are) poorer than I will grow rich, (be) richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

[152] When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long
• [763] sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

/330 cont./

775 The deceased travels to Mlyvo on a dog sled. If he d
not have holes in his ears for earrings, an old woman inspec
him on the road and makes a hole, but if the deceased does
wish this, his soul is taken away. Earrings are worn, not for
ration, but for the sake of holes in the ears. The old woma
makes the holes is called chivkhyty fi-mam, i.e., "the wo
in the middle of the road."

Before the funeral the soul either stays or leaves for M
and then returns again, but after the cremation it remains in
Mlyvo. The dead convey the regards of the earth kinsmen t
other world, about which they ask during lamentation. If a
woman marries a second time, she will not be with her first
husband in Mlyvo; the husband also takes a wife in the othe
world. A good woman (widowed) does not marry.

• 763 Indyn's (1) mother, who was sick for a long time befor

[122] 1. The younger brother of Churka, Shternberg's guide.

death, lay on the ground in her small yurt; around the heart
her daughters, a married one and a little one, and (her sons)
Indyn and Churka. The mother, with half-closed eyes, sai
"When I die, the small children will be lost -- you will go
have fun this way and that way and will not think of them."
Churka looked sidewise and said gloomily: "How can that b
am I not their brother?". And he left. Then (she turned) to
"Yes, I shall die, who will look after you, who will repair y
clothing, who will feed you? You may freeze, drown. The
Gilyak will abuse you, and who will say a word for you? I s
die, my lips will not defend you." Then her speech /331/
to be confused. She looked through the opening of the roof;
stars had already come out. She said: "I must go, or else I
be too late." The sister: "Where will you go? Don't you s
that you are dying?" -- "I know I shall not die -- I have to
And with these words she died. And Churka at this time wa
fishing.

/744 cont./

run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifically: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the reports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans, if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

116, 761, 776

"Death is always the result of the ma
the Gilyak's body, slowly devours hi
them forcibly, enter into disagreeabl
the devil's advantage."

chinations of a devil, which, taking up its abode in
m. But sometimes devils seize people and, holding
e relations with them, or force them to work for

/251 cont./

[831 [192] words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych, n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539]

Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

[831 882 593] Parents, however, never reproach their children for their amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the [684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many [533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances [835 762] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to [584 593] commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/252 cont./

831 533 The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

831 584 593 762 An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a

831 58 593 762 woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.

[847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had

831 58 159 [682] by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/253 cont./

instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo. The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solution. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago. A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

/254 cont./

the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the moment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on the wall."

The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited love. One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress. But there are also other means that are not so harmless and lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days, dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of them.

Among the Gilyak, as in our country, there are timid individuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present. Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries, ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresponding to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the attraction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the term poch urland, literally -- "of a good face."

/284 cont./

From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/358 cont./

614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khai' of the murderer 614 participates in the payment, each according to his means. A 629 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest 682 kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their 629 fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said 628 of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and [537] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re- [762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between 628 clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but 72 the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell [177] of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/383 cont./

472 673 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians, regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they 673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among 762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have 170 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in 576 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential 152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling, 273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

"Resuming our journey again, we were still casting about for a low, level, sandy bed, and the twilight was fast gathering, when my attention was called from the terrestrial to the supernatural. From out of the now dark and gloomy forest came a half moan, half cry.

It was uncanny beyond words. A cry from the unknown, a moan from the depths of undisturbed regions. Our Gilyaks ceased paddling, and we asked, 'What is it? It must be some animal. Perhaps it is in the claws of a bear.'

'Kaukray! kaukray! (1) No! no! It is no animal. It is the shade of a dead man wander-

1. A Gilyak word, meaning "no" or "nothing."

ing in the forest.'

For the Gilyaks not only believe in a future world, but their conceptions really connote immortality. The members of their race on the mainland, who live on the banks of the Amur, hold that the spirit of the departed one reaches after several days' journey a great village in the centre of the earth called Mligh-vo, where life is much the same as on earth, with this difference, that there the hunting and fishing are unstinted. In fact, it is the familiar [164] 'happy hunting ground' of the Indian. A distinction is made between those who die a natural and a violent death, for the spirits of the murdered and suicides fly to heaven (tlo) tirect, thus avoiding the long journey, and therefore not requiring food

to be placed at their grave. How and
plain, but the differentiation marks th
murdered or suicide."

n what Mligh-vo differs from tlo they cannot ex
eir conception of the sacredness of the soul of

not know exactly where this place is; the soul need only descend to this opening and it can be found. In this place everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, sea, rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to this place and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth; fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even among the Gilyak there are two different worlds: one for the poor and for all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, rich-
[560] nessand death await man. From there the soul must migrate into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul regenerates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat, and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

/80 Before entering mityo, the soul waits to be equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and rather. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garmment and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three or five pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets are taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objects set off with the deceased on his journey.

Without these preparations for a long journey are going on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night: people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the best Kalyma, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When they smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates that

●/74 the dead man should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the latin soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last body must be awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face turned to west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the older brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and sadness making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay dear his tribute to him by throwing pieces of firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, push the burning pile down on the body so that it will burn faster and better. At the same time they break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which feed on the souls of these objects to follow the deceased... The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remain only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

/81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was buried.

After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which it eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back, they stop for a short time at the place where the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then dispense.

/82 cont./

/83/ If revenge is sanctified with respect to the bear, a living being upon whom welfare depends and who frequently plays a man, the same bestow on a man, but out of fear, and accepts him into his clan, then revenge with respect to a member of another clan is all the more obligatory.

We have already indicated in the beginning the domination of religious over emotional motives in the imperative of revenge. If vengeance is obligatory to the third generation, if it is obligatory with respect to an accidental slayer, to a friend, a cognate, it is a burden pressing down on the clan rather than an impulsive act inspired by the immediate reaction of anger.

A much more significant role, at least in the sense of the relations of people to people, is the right, sanctioned, is played by compensation for the soul of the slain man and fear of it and the clan gods, gods who keep a loving vigil and feed on the unavenged blood of a clansman. This is undoubtedly the greatest insult.

The soul of a man who died a violent death cannot migrate to the general "settlement of the dead," where it could continue the life it lived on earth. Until it is avenged, until the blood of the slayer pays for the power to raise in bones, it cannot leave the earth and is forced to circle in the air in the form of a bird-avenger, emitting terrible lamentations at night. It is not a bird, however, only rotting. It finally falls to earth "as ashes," dying forever. The Gilyak call this bird tabkch; it is a gray bird with a red beak, "very like a man." In this epithet is probably also contained the origin of the belief in the bird-avenger: among the Gilyak war is exclusively /84/ the result of revenge, and, consequently, the birds of prey, "loving war," are obviously the souls of slain clansmen. Over the grave of the slain man, at a fearful moment, they place a stump with the torn-up roots upward (1), to which they

1. Over the grave of those who have died a natural death, the roots are customarily downward.

●/85 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's ardzel is lo-
●/86 cated in the house between the stoves (gnhanj); in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt; in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
●/87 night, it will have gone to sleep. Lastly, there are two periods when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times the spouses take complete freedom for the group spouse. Only one thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any stranger who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of people to people, to speak, or, more precisely, of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relation publicly. But the demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of group relations, but in greatness and, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have the force of a common property (the formulations are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity, of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group women (usually the wife of an older brother) sits down on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourn for
●/88 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to note that during the negotiations between the m and the

●/89 ●/90 ●/91 ●/92 ●/93 ●/94 ●/95 ●/96 ●/97 ●/98 ●/99 ●/100 ●/101 ●/102 ●/103 ●/104 ●/105 ●/106 ●/107 ●/108 ●/109 ●/110 ●/111 ●/112 ●/113 ●/114 ●/115 ●/116 ●/117 ●/118 ●/119 ●/120 ●/121 ●/122 ●/123 ●/124 ●/125 ●/126 ●/127 ●/128 ●/129 ●/130 ●/131 ●/132 ●/133 ●/134 ●/135 ●/136 ●/137 ●/138 ●/139 ●/140 ●/141 ●/142 ●/143 ●/144 ●/145 ●/146 ●/147 ●/148 ●/149 ●/150 ●/151 ●/152 ●/153 ●/154 ●/155 ●/156 ●/157 ●/158 ●/159 ●/160 ●/161 ●/162 ●/163 ●/164 ●/165 ●/166 ●/167 ●/168 ●/169 ●/170 ●/171 ●/172 ●/173 ●/174 ●/175 ●/176 ●/177 ●/178 ●/179 ●/180 ●/181 ●/182 ●/183 ●/184 ●/185 ●/186 ●/187 ●/188 ●/189 ●/190 ●/191 ●/192 ●/193 ●/194 ●/195 ●/196 ●/197 ●/198 ●/199 ●/200 ●/201 ●/202 ●/203 ●/204 ●/205 ●/206 ●/207 ●/208 ●/209 ●/210 ●/211 ●/212 ●/213 ●/214 ●/215 ●/216 ●/217 ●/218 ●/219 ●/220 ●/221 ●/222 ●/223 ●/224 ●/225 ●/226 ●/227 ●/228 ●/229 ●/230 ●/231 ●/232 ●/233 ●/234 ●/235 ●/236 ●/237 ●/238 ●/239 ●/240 ●/241 ●/242 ●/243 ●/244 ●/245 ●/246 ●/247 ●/248 ●/249 ●/250 ●/251 ●/252 ●/253 ●/254 ●/255 ●/256 ●/257 ●/258 ●/259 ●/260 ●/261 ●/262 ●/263 ●/264 ●/265

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II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1916. Pilavo is four settlements: two on Sakhalin, one Khet-Pilavo,and Tyr, the Golds settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

VII.

Religion

The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul is ccnghi, chenkin, yrrhh, or ttche pish as in a tree.

A man has: one mayor one -- chengh, and the shadows, amitanm. When the chengh of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

If at sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true, it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadows. Dreams are instinct. There are two kinds. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with the boards, and on top with dust, then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chengr nnyrr), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the nyrrh kaik. Some place the bone in the upper part, often --

next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the dead man -- the ŋ̊nakh tyr. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a tobacco pouch (ŋ̊nakhtyr), on the other, kanhch -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mity -- a burn away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

1. Kaik -- wooden image of the deceased, a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, hyak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, there for one month, depending on status. At of the end of the term of "observation" (tigr arkadr) -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased, they buy vodka and dice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyrkr, tigr pykyrkr). They walk to the tur, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

/325 cont./

764 Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased with a hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach; they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the deceased. They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in the case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husband cuts off a piece of the braid. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on the breast, and the guests come up one by one and shove from this pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, or, finally, /326/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at his head a small cup with food, vodka, and cold water; the relatives come up to him from time to time, eat what has been put there, and again fill up the cup.

764 The deceased should not be dressed in garments made of
764 leather or of fish skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fire,
764 and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be given, for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garments for the deceased are sewed out of drel' and silk (pos'') and provided
764 in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the women
764 assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are sewed "lightly", so sew strongly it a sin -- "nigyf." The deceased should not be wabbed.

764 The deceased is dressed in the following garments:
764 1. L'atkh, shirts, but unfailingly without wadding; in bolt,
764 no modesty pants.
764 2. Pan' -- leggings.
764 3. Ki -- boots of drel', of the same shape for men and women; the top is short; the soles are also of drel'; they are put on the naked foot.
764 4. Hakr -- a hat also of drel'; the hat looks like a child's hat with the hood backwards.
764 5. Vamykh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sleeve coverings.
764 6. N'akh Hir -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of drel', three fingers in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.
764 7. Vigyr' -- a belt, a piece of simple drel', white in color, and with this only two pairs of scabbards (chekoshar') of drel' (for

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764 a man) and one pure (mly) for tinder and flint.
764 8. Hontsh -- a tobacco pouch, also of drel', for both men and
764 women; tobacco is placed in the mly and the hontsh.
764 9. A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

764 Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning un-
764 til night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

764 No news, or tales, or songs (are recited -- purind).
764 On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the
764 cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and
764 for children -- rose-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. One must select a good tree: otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length; /327/ among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise.

764 During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds
764 the deceased (mu r'kgyvyn achnind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned: tax mud, the floor is swept, then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, mod' is prepared, and tugur amind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a classman)-- mod' is thrown into a fire started with the branches are of a fir, but nothing is

764 When all the preparations have been completed, they eat,
764 drink vodka, and then bring in a dog tied. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "pryvki" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the future fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

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764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms
764 folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with
764 the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
764 /327/ pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- cahkach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

764 Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and
764 cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a
764 /152/ sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of the deceased, or, in the absence of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

764 The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband,
764 oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go another man now (those who are younger than I will grow rich, (be richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

764 When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to
764 /152/ approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the
764 /152/ fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

764 At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is
764 sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin
764 /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

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764 The favorite dog, "pryski" (every man has his own pryski)
764 is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, placed in the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After that it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

764 Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after
764 death are buried directly into the ground.

764 In July-?yr, if they suspect that a person died from magic,
764 two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place
764 of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then
764 the ormi-mik, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

764 On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died
764 out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog sled deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenirs).

764 Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are
764 placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boxes. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, even if in both winter and summer it is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no spring; kinling the deceased is a sin. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No signs are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are inau put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dog and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Boats and so forth are broken over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the
764 /167/ deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

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764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A hoursh --
764 muslin, imiky (a small sack for flint, and a knife with a scabbard
764 are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set
764 in place. In the corner they place an image of the myk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nyung, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside,next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
764 /165/ They lay a fire, begin to prepare vodka, and drink and eat and vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
764 /231/ raf mu nig-yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, bread, pans, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

764 /320/ After this, the mu r'kgyvyn is fed no longer, though
764 they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka.
764 This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
764 /231/ pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for himself or for someone else. Dogs are killed.

764 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a tabkch (see below, pp.475-476), and then they make a raf
764 mlyway.

764 The sun and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
764 /165/ killed by a mlik (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
764 /166/ is afraid and slides with Pal-n'gyvyn or Tol-n'gyvyn, depending on which mlik killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in one three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

/361 cont./

764 present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-
764 law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint
764 work with him (more detail about this below).

764 10. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those
764 of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have
764 the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation
764 invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only
764 an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance
764 of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained
764 in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the
764 remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed
764 on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of
764 bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box an arshin
764 square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of
764 the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a
764 woman), and other things. Then there arises a whole row of yurt-
764 tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak
764 may die, his body must rest side by side with his clansmen. If
764 a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate
764 the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for
764 cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the
764 summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if
764 /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien
764 territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie
764 it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they
764 make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death
764 of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness
764 of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

/387 cont./

507 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
763 clear conception of sin ("umgyrn"). It goes without saying that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
763 there are a great number of other things, according to our
763 view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to
763 heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun in a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is sent
763 by a fine to the injured man. When the "living" fire, obtained for
763 slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things
763 to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become
763 ill. Even this episode illustrates the idea of the sacrificial
764 /682/ stone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided
764 the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does
764 Always exist), but as an atonement for the sin, as a sacrifice
764 deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed
764 (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains,
764 scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
764 misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
764 /821/ have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians;
764 /821/ is because the god has been angered by the sin of the Russians.

764 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expre-
764 /715/ sses extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human
764 existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life.
764 There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another
764 where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same
764 ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man
764 Gilyak dead a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin
764 call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in
764 transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths.
764 there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak
764 had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fi
764 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very
764 on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sa
764 Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when

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family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gathering of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/641 cont./

erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter temperatures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado. The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

58 Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than
63 it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly
35 become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

52 In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak
66 to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two
09 exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

764

764 FUNERAL--attitude toward the corpse; mortuary toilet (e.g., dressing and decorating the body); laying out in state; preservative techniques (e.g., embalming, desiccation, mummification); determination of time, place, and mode of burial; interval between death and burial (e.g., duration, measures to prevent further deaths, manifestations of grief); vigils and wakes; place of disposal of corpse (e.g., cemetery, ossuary); receptacles (e.g., coffin, canoe, urn, tomb); method of disposal (e.g., abandonment, inhumation, cremation, sea burial, cave burial, tree or scaffold burial); preparation of grave, pyre, or scaffold; transport of corpse to place of disposal; procession to grave; disposition of corpse (e.g., posture, orientation); funerary mounds, monuments, and memorials; burial rites; mortuary sacrifices; disposition of grave goods; roles of relatives at funerals; economic obligations of participants (e.g., fees, contributions); precautions against return of the soul (e.g., silence, disguise, doors of the dead); return from the funeral; purification of participants; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments . . . 211
Dirges and laments 533
Posthumous marriages 588
Blood vengeance 628
Eschatology 775
Purification rites 783

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

764
493
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352

A Gilyak corpse in the yurt.

/565 cont./

article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

G 778 532 539

/751 cont./

third time and ag
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caught. It was a
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of Patchā and Ca
But the monster b
the Gilyak returne

G 778 764

I now aske
and what its purpo
figure was called
nated the place w
(Bm. I, pp. 50,

23. Gilya
(on the right bank
a Gilyak who had

G [126]

/Negda/. The wa
extremities were
than on the specin
wagn reached from
the head to where
the Amgunj. I do
ment was the rule

G 778 825 [764] [763] G 778 825 173

24. Olcha
who die peacefull
wagn for the latte
tion of the Olcha
based on the bird
for its entire popul
case had happened
opposite Kisi (Kid
of a larch tree (Ol
Chala saw it, and

ain brought back two full boats. But this time
eep watch during the night in order to detect
heir catch. They succeeded and the culprit was
strange shape with the head of a fish and human
he monster was placed in a structure similar
for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived
or a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free
o a cape on the Amur River between the village
e Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well.
t the rope in two and disappeared, so that when
d it was no longer there."
d among the Gilyak what the figure represented
se was. They replied unanimously that the
wagn, and they explained to me that this desig-
here the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned
51.)
. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt
of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for
been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Nägda
gn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the
ll there, only much less carefully /752/ worked
hen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The
the ground up to my belt and was pointing with
the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of
not wish to say, however, that such an arrange-
among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)
The Olcha assign an identical fate to those
and those killed by human hand and erect no
, as do the Gilyak. According to the informa-
Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is
kóro whose appearance in any village is disastrous
ation. For whoever sees it must die. Such a
many years before in the village of Chala,
i?). The kóro had come and perched on the tip
cha sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of
all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

/761 cont./

000 775 heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it.

[764] The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

775 766 The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

[171] /762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with th skin and fur, etc.

[122] [196] Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-

[774] mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/764 cont./

utksch and took him back to the village, where he died in November, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death) during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm. I, pp. 18, 19).

47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put beside the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cremation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse, laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre, covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I, p. 27.)

48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there immediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a covering of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /785/ tied with a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narte /sled/, behind the head,

/765 cont./

lay jukola (*), with several tobacco leaves wrapped in birch bark

* See p. 646 of this work.

[493] and a pipe on top of it. The narte was of the ordinary kind, except that the arched or curved pieces of wood (**) in front and in the rear

** See Plate XXXVI /p. 1016 /, Fig. 1, i.

were missing, and instead of them straight short poles projected out on either side. The corpse was tied to the narte under the gray covering.

After I had stood in front of the corpse for a few minutes, three dogs tied to a long strap, were brought into the yurt, and the strap was attached to the narte. Then several men lifted up the narte with the corpse, while another led the dogs, and thus the procession set out (Plate LXIII /p. 1263 /). It went out of the yurt, passing by the storage chambers, and into the forest behind the village, where the burial place of the dead was located marked by several raff (***). The wife of the deceased immediately fol-

*** See Appendix 50 /p. 1232 /.

lowed the corpse, with her hair loose, a piece of birch bark in her hand, and setting up a monotonous wail, in which, however, she was not imitated by the other Gilyak, men, women, and children. When the burial ground was reached, the narte with the corpse was placed on the ground next to the pyre already prepared. The latter consisted of a few layers of wood placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, the first of which was the same length as the corpse. Beside this a large heap of fir branches lay ready for the cremation of the body (1).

[824] 1. This was Pin. picea, as is everything else used for the cremation of the corpse and the decoration of the yurt.

/765 cont./

After the narte had been set down, the dogs were unhitched, and one of them led back to the village, while the other two were tied to a tree. Now the wife of the deceased stepped up to the corpse and removed the pieces of cloth and the spears, the gray shroud, the jukola, the tobacco, and the pipe, and put these articles aside on the ground. She also untied the eye binding and threw it away, as well as the bundle of wood shavings from the neck. Then she took from one of his hands a pinch of fine tobacco and from the other a root which had been placed between the fingers, and finally, untied the string which tied the corpse to the narte. In the meantime an old Gilyak had been busy spreading fir branches on the pyre.

When this bed was ready, the corpse was lifted from the narte and put on the pyre (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /). On the bottom of the narte lay a board and on it a large piece of birch bark which showed traces of its use for storing berries and which had now served as the underlayer immediately under the corpse. The board and birch bark were thrown off, and the sled was pulled aside, where a Gilyak broke it in two and left the pieces lying there. In the meantime, others were busy killing the two remaining dogs, which was done in the following way. One of the Gilyak held the dog on a cord, another threw him a piece of jukola, and, while the dog was eating it, a third hit the dog's neck with a cudgel and pressed it /766/ to the ground with it, whereupon a fourth pierced the animal's heart with a small pointed stick. Both dogs were killed in this manner and laid aside (*). Meanwhile, still other

* On Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, due to an error, all three dogs are pictured as present during this act.

Gilyak made the fire for the cremation of the corpse. According to the Gilyak view, this may not be produced in the ordinary way with flint and steel, but must be made by rubbing pieces of wood together. For this purpose a kind of spindle was carved out

/766 cont./

of dry larch wood, as well as two elongated pieces of wood with a cavity in the center of each one, into which the tip of the spindle exactly fitted. A small piece of fungus was put into these small depressions in the pieces of wood; the spindle was put into them with its tips vertical, and turned with the help of a strap, which ignited the fungus after a few moments. The fire obtained was then maintained with fungus. (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, left foreground.)

Meanwhile the other preparations were made at the funeral pyre. After the corpse had been placed upon the layers of fir branches, as has been mentioned, it was covered up with a thick layer of fir branches, but in such a way that the forehead and the crown with the gray hair were visible in the bushwork. Now long logs, of the same dried larch wood as all the rest, were put around beside one another in the form of a pyramid, with only a small space left open at the head end, through which one could still see the gray crown. At the same time, several long logs were placed inside the pyramid on the fir branches that covered the corpse. When the pyre was ready, the place around it was cleared somewhat, in that the dry brush, the smaller roots, and the grass around the pile of wood were removed with the ax, so that the fire would not spread. Now the widow of the deceased took the glowing fungus, wrapped it in dry moss, wound a wide strip of birch bark around it and, by swinging it back and forth, made the flames which she fanned into bigger ones with another piece of birch bark. Since, out of lack of experience, she did not know where the fire must be put first, an old Gilyak gave her the necessary directions, and she now put the fire under the head part of the pyre (Plate LXV /p. 1265 /). As soon as that was done, other Gilyak came to help, took fire from the wife, and put it at corresponding places on the other side of the pyramid, under the corpse and then all around it, for which they used the birch bark that had lain under the corpse on the narte. The dry and easily inflammable material quickly caught fire, and with the moderate breeze the whole huge wooden pyramid soon stood in blazing flames. The heat streaming from it forced the

/766 cont./

bystanders to step somewhat farther back, and there a group of men, women, and children sat under a tree, watching the greedy flames which consumed their dead.

Nearby was the cremation site of an old woman from the same village, who had died not long before /767/ and beside it the raff belonging to it, still quite new (*). This was now to

* The little hut to the right on Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, between it and the pyre, the cremation site.

serve as the raff for the old man, and its door was opened so that the soul of the deceased, during the cremation of his body, would move into this domicile intended for it.

At the moment only the customary raff symbols, discussed below (53-55 /pp. 1233-1234 /), and a few bowls and vessels made of birch bark and wood stood in it. After the corpse is burned, however, and his soul has moved into the raff (for traveling on to Mlygh-wo), then the provisions of berries, fish, tobacco, and the like needed for it are also brought into the raff. -- When the fire had died down somewhat, the widow and a few men took long poles and pushed the burning wood closer together; they also threw on new wood in order to speed up the cremation. Soon nothing could be seen of the corpse except the charred stomach, which burned the slowest. The quantity of material burned and the fresh air of the forest prevented any unpleasant odor from being detected during the cremation of the body. The fire was maintained for a long time so that the body would burn completely to ashes, which are then scraped together and buried (on the spot). In the meantime the women, and among them the wife of the deceased, take up the slain dogs (**) and begin to skin

** On Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, as on Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, three dogs are erroneously shown instead of two.

/767 cont./

them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched together and wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, bulke, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small liner-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

/768 cont./

the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is buri- (Bm. I, p. 18.)

51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kulk discovered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited there. Near Kulk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never be transferred to another place. This would be ultsch. Therefore, though the Gilyak from Kulk bewailed and complained about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which they themselves had moved from Kulk. (Bm. I, p. 56.)

53. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an upright position: kakk, also tars. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it, a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk- or tars-raw2 (Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir

764 /768 cont./
on the upper end of which is set a small spoon-shaped wooden bowl (Plate LXVII /p. 1268 /. Fig. 4); moreover, there is a small stick whose point is inserted into the quills of 1-3 and four eagle-feathers, tscham-ngar (**) (ibid., Fig. 5), and

** Tcham-eagle.

a third small stick, hook-shaped at the top, tutut or pyk, is carved out of a branch (ibid., Fig. 3). Also lying in the little house, usually crossed over one another, are a couple of arrows without points, variously colored rags, baskets of birch bark, wooden plates with carving, and the like. Sometimes several of the aforementioned boards are present, and they /769/ then do not occupy the middle of the little house. That is probably regulated by the number of corpses whose remains rest under the little house. (Bm. I, pp. 16, 51, 69.)

54. Gilyak. According to Sirgin's explanation, a bit of
[765] the skull and head hair from the remains of the cremated corpse is placed in the middle of the kakk where a wooden peg is driven in. The rags around the kakk signify garments which the dead person needs (on the journey of his soul). Also, various kinds of food, such as berries and fish, are set down for the deceased as long as the corpse is still in the yurt and later, after the cremation, for the ashes in the raff, therefore in every raff one finds all kinds of implements, baskets, and bowls of birch bark and the like, on which the food is placed. The little stick with the small bowl at the tip is to serve the dead for more quickly journeying on (therefore as a walking stick); the eagle feathers on the other stick are supposed to lend wings, as it were, to the soul. (Bm. I, p. 54.)

832 55. Gilyak. According to the information by Judin from Tebach, the little stick, tutut or pyk (*), which one finds in the

* Pyk occasionally alternates with pyt in the author's work.

764 /769 cont./
532 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (tutut) or a cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter for a woman. On the cuckoo the author also mentions that the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird, hence the designation tutut-ngir and tutut-ngit or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely
764 shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word pittyssj, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which hang berries,

** According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a de-
[832] ceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and -- according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tutut or pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to the bank and close to it a pittyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. Its roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pittyssj, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an ex-
184 tremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan, had erected
556 in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carving, painted black, red, and white,

764 /770 cont./
184 represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and
556 ducks (Plate LXIX /p. 1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tcham-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former was completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimrkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

764 Kimrkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that went with it. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another; cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p. 1233/.

Kimrkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

764 /770 cont./
184 the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the de-
556 ceased.

[1178] The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes heaped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1268 /, on the right in the middle distance).

There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set
[1184] up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

764 57. Gilyak. According to Sirgin's report, not every de-
184 ceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the
[1195] corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyl(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyl--the bear.

[1195] the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The
764 soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The
[1222] burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods
[1255] are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The
[1169] depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

/771 cont./
020 years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
764 of a person killed by an ate (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
184 lar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
[1195] remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

764 59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk,
184 and Tschilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter
[1178] their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for
[162] them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tunguisic. (2 S.R. I, p. 8.)

764 60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh
184 Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the
[1178] cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shaving (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

764 61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
184 (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
532 in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (**). It is made out of a

** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

G 778 /772 cont./
532 1. (cont.)
764 members of a village -- or -- as in the case
184 of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.
823
764 Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does
764 not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the
1715 wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 82-84.)

764 62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin)
184 told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes
764 of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)
1708 63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo
764 (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-
184 wise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngir or tutut-ngir in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

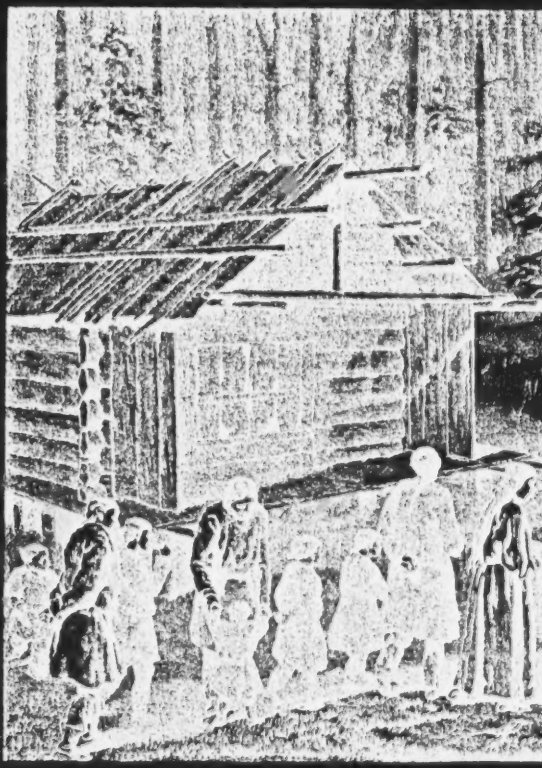
64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of
764 Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak
184 are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch,
1171 but to deposit them in a coffin in small houses, just as among the Tunguisic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 43.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 26).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of
G 764 Bogorodskoje in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pali (Pali
531 on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

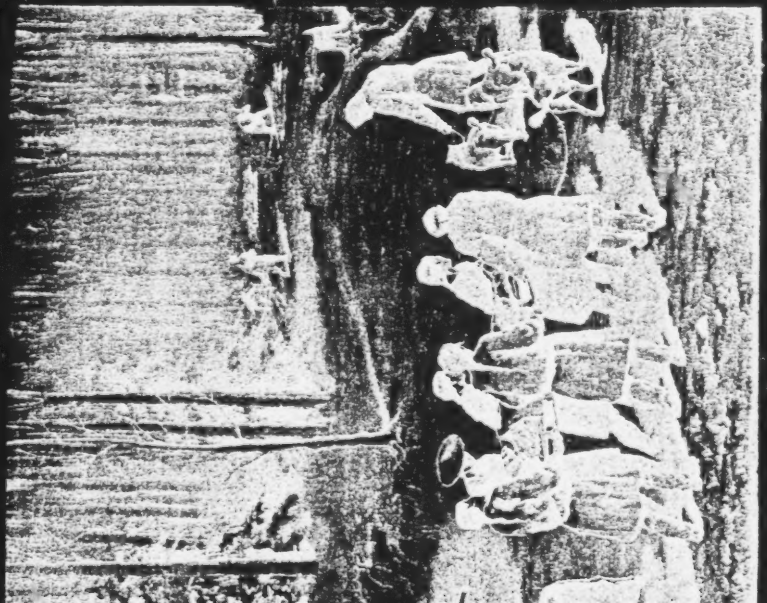
Gi /776 cont./
766 fir branches were lacking, which is not permissible for a person who has been torn to pieces by a bear.

Gi The inhabitants of individual villages and localities differ
764 with respect to the position in which they put the corpse in the
823 coffin in relation to the points of the compass. The decisive
184 factor seems to be, not the sun, but, among the coastal dwellers, the sea, and, among the Amur dwellers, the river. But different customs prevail, depending on the locality. The Orochi of the coast from Naugmar to Idi are said to place the corpse in the igda-chldochs with the head toward the sea, that is, to the east. At the Orochi tomb in Pjedanj, however, the head was turned toward the Pje River, that is, to the west. The Olcha of Pjedanj, like those on the Amur River in the villages of Kidsi,
Gi Dshai, etc., give their dead this same position in the chldochs.
162 In de Carries the chldochs, which are not far from the village and are said to belong to the Olcha who died there, although the entire population now consists of Orochi, have their doors toward the west, that is, toward the distant Amur River, and not toward the sea to the east. The door on the chldochs, however, is always at the head end of the burial house. Thus, these Olcha, if they actually were such, had it oriented according to the customs of their homeland. But the same custom is not found in all the villages on the Amur. In Daracha, for instance, on the left bank of the Amur, where its direction is to the north, the corpses are said to be placed on one side in the coffin, so that they are turned with the face and the chest toward the east, while the head is in upstream direction toward the south, the feet in a downstream direction toward the north. Among the Gilyak, the
764 river seems to be absolutely decisive for the position of the raff,
823 because I always saw the door of the raff turned toward the river, no matter what its direction was, for example, in Kuik, Kalgio, Tacht, Kalm, and Chjare, in the first two places, therefore, toward the south; at the latter, toward the west. (2 S.R. I, pp. 25-27)
000 /Page 777 contains a list of errata which have been corrected in the text./



Gilyak

2: Schrenck--1263 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



9: Hawes--243-244 T-3 (
116, 562, 764, 775

"Crying and loud taking fill the hu
and all vie with each other in showi
eschewed, pipes are broken in piec
If the deceased be a man, similar
maintainer of the hearth, he [244] h
only; and therefore his body requir
days. As with the woman, over the
have not yet gained that supernatura
raiment is necessary on their long
At the end of the lying-in-state, i
for the man, the corpse is taken ou
team of dogs. The shuba is taken o
ties, the journeys have been made,
gained by purification."

t. The mourners loose their hair from the pigtails,
ng their abandonment of pleasure. Luxuries are
es, and the tobacco is allowed to fall out.
ceremonies are gone through, but as he is not the
as to give an account of his doings to three gods
es only three garments, and lies in the hut but thre
other garments is worn a shuba; for their spirits
l capacity which defies the elements, and warm
journeys.
.e. on the fifth day for the woman and on the fourth
of the hut and laid on a narta, a sledge drawn by a
f, for although the soul has not yet its divine facul-
and it is no longer needed. These are now to be

9: Hawes--244-245 T-3
116, 764, 775

"At this juncture some of the f
tery, which every village posses
impossible for a stranger to find
is built of cleanly stripped sticks
the ends of the sticks projecting,
sticks, moss, twigs, and larch c
family hastily construct with plan
two and a half feet long, broad an
a hole in the side, or a little doo
made, for they are anxious to fin
therefore they use material whic
hand.

To erect the raff for the recept
tion has been given would be an i
cortège is about to start. The jou
soul is now ready, and only awai
divine capacities.

The cortège is followed by a cr
hair, loudly crying and weeping t
other in enumerating the virtues of

ollowers leave the crowd and run quickly to the ceme-
ses in the secluded depths of the forest, in a spot quit
. There on a site chosen by the family, a funeral pyre
of the height of a man. It is of diamond shape, with
and eight layers in height. On the top are more dried
hips. At a few feet from the pyre these friends of the
nks of wood a little hut-like building called a raff, abo
nd high, with a sloping roof. This little structure has
r, which looks towards the pyre. Great haste has to b
ish their work before the procession arrives, and
h has been prepared by the friends of the dead before-

tion of the soul of the deceased before the divine sanc-
nsult to the gods; therefore the followers wait until th
urneys to the gods [245] have been duly made, and the
ts the purification by fire, which shall assure to it

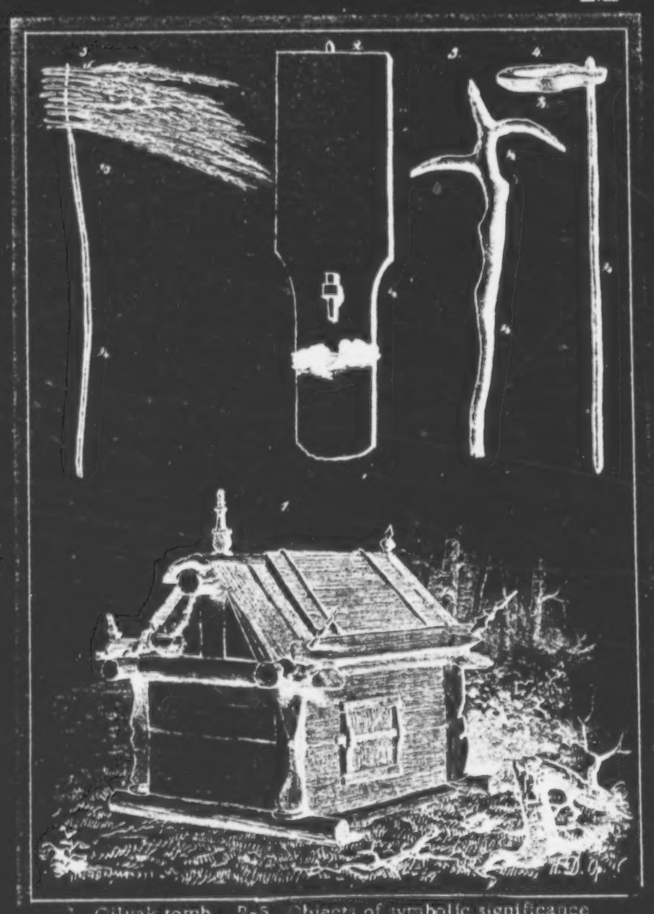
rowd of kindred and acquaintances, with dishevelled
ears of sincerity or convention. They vie with each
their dead comrade, hoping thereby to gain his protecti

2: Schrenck--1268 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXVIII.

764
532

764



1. Gilyak tomb. 2-5. Objects of symbolic significance found in the tomb.

5: Schrenck--1269 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXIX.

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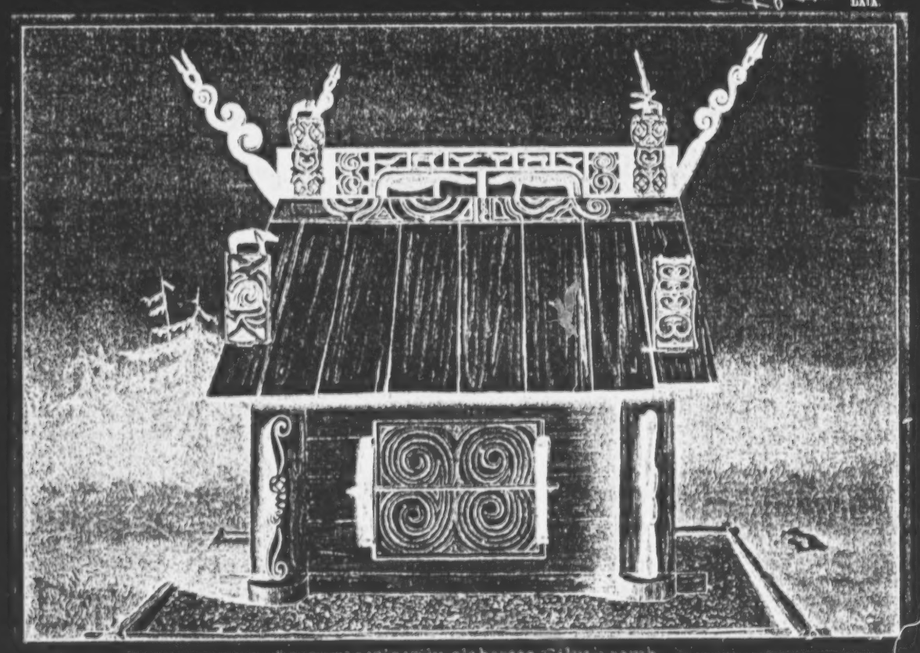

An extraordinarily elaborate Gilyak tomb.

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, the soul takes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut] through the hole or opened door, thence to emerge later and begin its long journey to that other world village of Mligh-vo, which the Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the earth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim Gilyaks say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where the sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spirit of the deceased shall travel as he was accustomed on earth, the spirits of the dogs, the sledge, etc., must all be released. The dogs, in number according to the wealth of the departed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten to death. The sledge is broken, and so are also his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and his arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm), or if the deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-rings (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it should read meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho). All these articles will be needed by the deceased in the future life; but they must be broken in order to finish their earthly existence, and to give release to their spirits. Every object has its soul, which resembles it. This is set free in the case of inanimate objects only on being broken, and is then used by the soul of the deceased. To burn them is not to be thought of, because they cannot have that honour done them.

Camping out on the banks of the river Tim in the forest, we were casting around one night for fuel, when Mr. X. came upon a bit of shaped board which he was about to throw on the fire, when Vanka stopped him, crying out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

of a Gilyak canoe.' Purification by fire is reserved only for
are not shot, nor are their throats cut, for if any of them hac
appear in the next world with this grave personal defect."

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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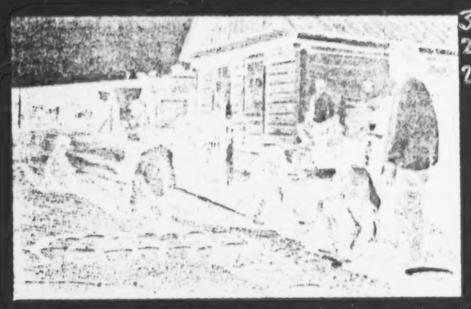
231



Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care 771
of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky
people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi 776
were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 614
kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 231
festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was [769]
connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526]
shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764 ●
Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

● 764 burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held [775]
that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situ- [614]
ated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" 372
spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were 784
connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had 756
their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly de- 779
veloped among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any [614]
part in the clan cults.

538 Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees; the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

531 Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué [462]
on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unques- [177]
tionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

9: Hawes--202-203 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 764, 775, 782, 825

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [LSS: The bear fête] which I have not mentioned, but which possesses some special significance. This is the saving of the bear's head, which is never on any account eaten. A skin offered to me, and the fells of the dogs which I bartered for were all minus the heads.

It is noticeable that while the bear's head is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will bring success and courage to the hunters, but I gathered that the Gilyak believes the eating of the brain would render the consumer bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows. The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak cemetery, and there, with skulls of dolphins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habit common among the Ainus, who, however, place theirs near their huts and make offerings of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyaks' cemeteries are in the secret recesses of the woods, and are not frequented by them. What the idea that lies at the [203] root of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it seems probable that they think the remains of the animals whose spirits have gone back to the great Pal ni vookh should rest near those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of these animals will come back to these spots and either guard the remains of the Gilyak or at least refrain from haunting the living."

the human being. The dogs
his skin broken he would

9: Hawes--246-247 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 764, 775

"The ashes of the cremated corpse are gathered together and put into a coffin-like box (paff), and buried on the site of the fire. Sometimes, as on the mainland, the ashes are buried beneath a hole in the floor of the raff. A stick with pieces of the garments of the deceased is stuck into the ground by the raff, and serves apparently as memorial to the kindred, and perhaps as a landmark for the return of the soul of the departed.

In front of the hole or door of the raff are raised two poles and a cross-piece, an erection resembling a miniature goal-post, and on the cross-bar are hung all manner of provisions, tobacco, etc., for the use of the soul of the deceased on its long journey. I have two wooden boxes—one cylindrical and the other rectangular in shape, interestingly carved with scroll pattern, albeit very smelly—which originally hung at such a grave, [247] containing rice, fish, etc., and a pair of wooden chop-sticks. All these provisions are covered with pieces of bark to protect them from the ravages of birds and wild animals."

13: Seeland--47 E-5 (no d

527 the natives of the Amur. A
361 them gave them to his daug
534 from Kola. The daughter
nity, for now they do not be
are regarded as sacred. D
incessantly, and on other e
shamans make use of them
527 Finally, many visitors o
524 seen playing cards and che
177 have taken over from the R
777 Chinese passion for it they
They do not play for money
emotion. Russian as well

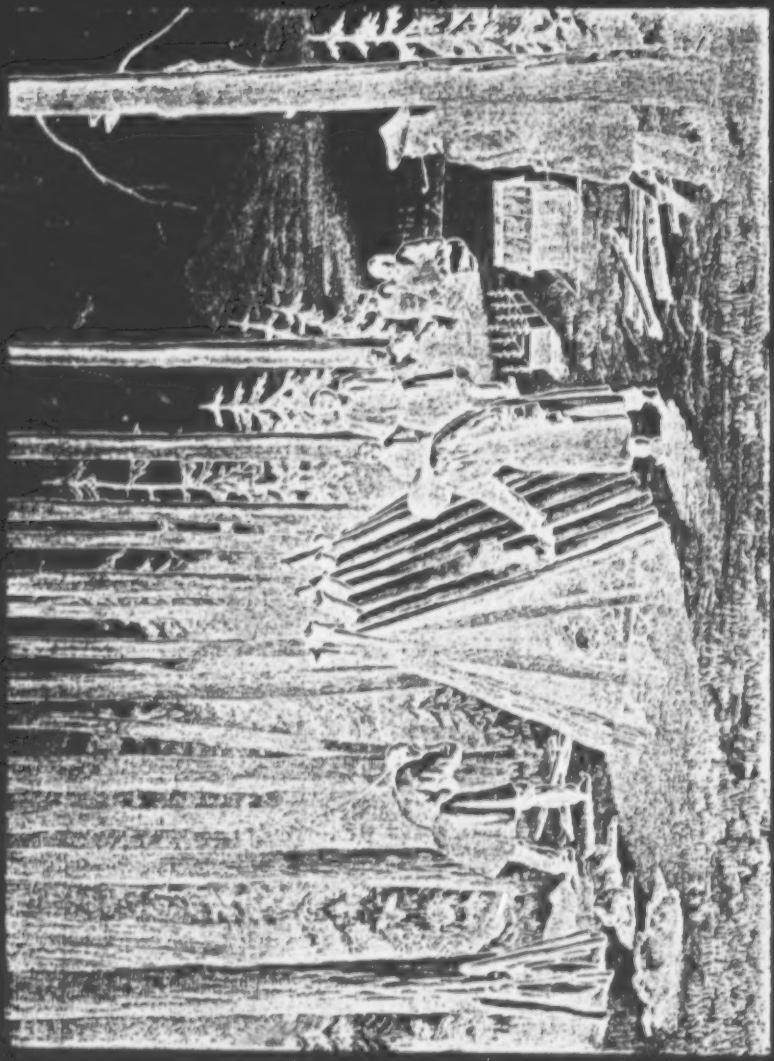
1. The Chinese playi
centimeters long but
and are decorated wi
120 cards are used in

Finally, we must add tha
Gilyak, the village in which
brated and consumed, has
The pelt and the skull of the
sent a sort of talisman.
527 Occasionally the Gilyak
782 the comsumption of a pig (i
accompanied by ceremonies
house through the door-but
besides the pig, are placed
millet porridge, berries, e
the people happen to have.
to and the feast begins.
On the island of Sakhalin
cheung which falls around E
feast, at the beginning of wh
directions, probably in orde
● 764 The burial ceremony is i

Schrenck--1264 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RY2

Gilyak funeral.

2: Schrenck--1265 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



764
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"If a Gilyak dies in the winter, it is usua
is an easy matter in this frost-bound worl
ceremonies may more easily be carried o

Let me describe, first, the rites observ
with this, as with many other of the more
ference in detail among tribes (of Gilyaks)
Where the khal has been much influenced b
fication. With some of the latter, such is
giving up cremation for burial."

al to wrap the body in bark and keep it, whic
d, until the breaking up of winter, when the
ut.

ed on the death of a woman, premising that
curious customs I describe, there is a dif-
, and even between one khal (clan) and anoth
y Russian contact there is considerable mo
the influence of example that the natives are

"Four garments—short-skirted froc
Only the best may be selected, and in
cade, I have mentioned, will be used.
reason of the four garments is this. T
each of the gods or lords in turn, Tol
rivers); Pal ni vookh, the lord of the f
the judge of good and evil; and as her
after the fire, so Tur ni vookh is her
each one, and the road is long and diff
suffices for a journey, and she must n
course, if the family of the deceased i
delicacy; but woe to the light-minded
four garments on their dead. She and
in the next world will be poverty-stric
condition, and her kindred will suffer
whose majesty has been insulted."

ks—are placed upon the corpse of the woman.
case of a 'wealthy' Gilyak the rare Chinese bro-
Over all the corpse is robed in a shuba. The
'he spirit of the dead woman must appear before
ni vookh, the [243] lord of the water (sea and
orest; Tur ni vookh, the lord of fire; and Kiskh,
duty on earth was to keep the hearth, i. e. look
most intimate deity. Since she must appear befor
ficult, four dresses are necessary, as one only
not appear before the god in torn garments. Of
s poor, the god will overlook that little want of
members of a rich family, if they omit to place
her kindred will indeed have a bad time; her life
ken even as she has shown herself in miserable
many misfortunes from the hands of those gods

"For four days the corpse of the d
this time her soul pays visits to the
and receives instructions for the life
and not leave the hut during this peri
mind and loudly recite all the virtue
order to prompt her spirit, lest her
vivâ voce. The lord of fire, as the j
is therefore strictly kept going in al

ead woman lies on the nakh of the hut, and duri
four gods, renders an account of her earthly li
e after death. All her kindred must come togeth
iod, and with all their powers they strive to ca
s of their deceased kinswoman. This is done in
etherealized self should omit some of them in i
unior god, serves in this case as messenger, a
l his force."

alking of their departed, they neve
e. unlucky, ill-omened. Filial pi
elder before us was no exception
ather's funeral pyre, his father be
ary for his spirit to travel with an

r called them by their name. That would b
ety as among the Chinese is a cardinal vir
to the rule. He had killed no less than ten
eing a well-to-do man, and therefore it was
honourable cortège in the next world."

20: Bush--102 T-2 (1865) 1871

116, 764, 775, 825

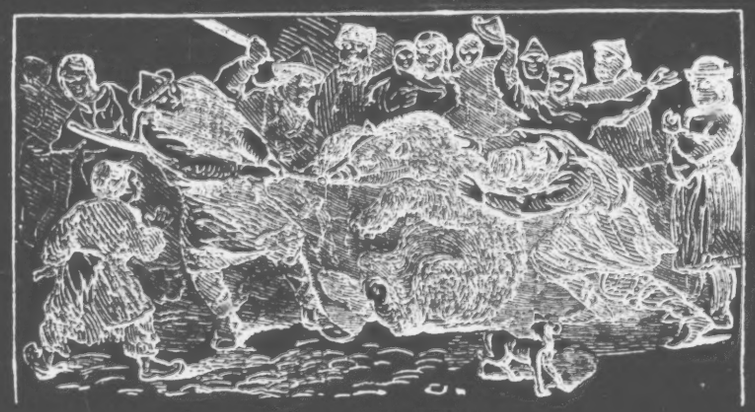
"Their funeral rites are sometimes quite impr
burned, and afterward a small wooden house or to
death the soul is supposed to take up its abode in
it remains until released from its confinement by
its escape, it has become customary to sacrifice
creature being first fattened for the occasion."

ressive. The remains are first
mb is erected over the ashes. At
the favorite dog of the deceased, where
the death of the animal. To facilitate
the dog at the tomb of its master, the

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense 871 of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the attempts to Christianize them have not been very successful 825 thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and 964 animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 766 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-



BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

765

765 MOURNING--duration of the mourning period; behavior of spouse and other relatives after the funeral (e.g., seclusion, mourning garb, observance of taboos, sacrifices); treatment of relics (e.g., preservation of skull or head, wearing of bones, use of hair for artifacts); visits to the grave; mortuary feasts; exhumation, second funeral, and reburial; ceremonies terminating mourning; etc.

See also:

Mortuary cannibalism 266
Status of widows 589
Headhunting 721

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/81 cont./

Several days later a small toy-house with a small door and a small window is placed on the ground not far away from the place of the burning. Inside the house is placed a doll-man dressed in silk; above it are drawn cuckoo birds, the goddesses of love of Gilyak mythology, and eating and smoking utensils, cups, plates, and chumashki of birch bark with all kinds of viands, pipes, tobacco, and so forth are arranged around it.

From time to time the kinsmen come to renew their sacrifices, but in a few months the sacrifices stop because the soul of the deceased has succeeded in establishing itself in a new place and has no need of anything. The deceased will be remembered once more during the bear festival.

Such, in brief, are the religious views and customs of the Gilyak.

VI

The Clan

In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on the religious aspect of the clan -- its structure as dependent on the marriage norms. In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on religious notions.

Now let us examine it in all the totality of features, tectonic and dynamic, morphological and socio-spiritual, as one whole institution regulating all aspects of the life of the Gilyak.

For this purpose, we consider it particularly instructive in our analysis to adhere to that same system to which the Gilyak themselves adhere in formulating their notions about the clan.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures, About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

764 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

764 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
182 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
766 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
182 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

771 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

177, 372, 764

The corpse is placed on the pyre ready for
, which must be procured in a special man
thods of obtaining it, flint and steel may no
her Japanese, matches. A pointed stick is
ced on the ground. Four men take each an
stick, and pull it. This rotates, generates
ced in close proximity. The top of the stick
wood, or if need be a Gilyak applies his che
es his chest. Torches are lighted, and fire
he deceased leave one."

cremation, and all is now ready save the
nner. In memory of the earliest traditional
ot be used, nor of course the Russian, or
inserted in a hole made in a piece of plank
end of a thong attached to and twisted round
friction, and ignites the dried tinder
k is steadied by pressing on it a flat piece
est. Torches are lighted, and fire is ap-
is applied to the pyre, first by the widow,

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

/306 cont./

778 A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir
824 trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'akh, the head of a pike (iut), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

774 The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The
soul -- chegn, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls; one major one -- chegn, and its two
[756] shadows, assistants. When the chegn of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

774 If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true,
787 it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

● 765 In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a
[764] dead man, his family arrives, takes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyvyn, which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white; placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/307 cont./

● 765 next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the
ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the
764 dead man -- mu n'ivukh tuv. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a curved knife (tig:dzeko) and, on the other, kes'kes' -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mly -- a purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister, mother) -- mu n'ivukh kiur, which will serve the deceased as an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the grave; next to this, a little stake with three horns (branches), on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk nir); furthermore, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'ivukh pyk, i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but the dressed stuffed doll -- k:ak (1) must be made without fail.

[532] 1. K:ak -- wooden image of the deceased,
[794] a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, k:ak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

765 In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the term of "observation" (tigr az'adz: -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased), they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyz'dz:, tigr pykyz'dz:).

[231] They walk to the tuv, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

/307 cont./

● 765 and bring over the favorite dog and feed it. This dog is called
231 pryski -- n:n (among the Goldi -- khan'a, i.e., south); every person, even a child, has without fail his own pryski. From childhood everyone has his favorite dog, and when a man dies, they select either his favorite dog or the best dog of those harnessed to the sled and make a pryski of it. If it dies, they
765 bury it and cover it with chocks. Each says the following to the
775 deceased: "Ning yvr: hûmnydz: kys'k:avr: tog:agân urgur vija mu-n'ivukh gudûsh mlyvo-rokh (pimlykh-tokh). Vingân, /308/ erirdzenydz:, hûin pyk tynakhanî, pyk tykê, chi jerinakhana khongan pi oz'ngan, cham narskir: pkhuukuja plyngu tengu, hokharôd vêtana khan'a nyn'gir: kiur kerajâ, hyhagyskô vetajâ kzikgir:, turi kher: tozjâ, pykn'ir: pyk chakh tanydz: pyk tekê: pernakhanî. Urgur vir: namugur humyjâ pytykhu dogia pymykhu dogia, pi ykyngudogia, vijâ.

"To live near us, there is no happiness (not fate), in such a case, fine, go to the deceased, to the settlement of the dead (to your settlement of the dead). When you go, you will cross the river; a cuckoo will cuckoo there; after the cuckoo bird cuckoos for a long time, you will wake up. When you get up, you will shake off ashes and coal with eagle feathers; then you will dress yourself, make an insole out of the hair (1), put on

1. Out of the hair of the wife, sister,
or mother.

this clothing, and, having made something like a little bridge from the figure, cross; a cuckoo bird, becoming tired (2) after it

[825] 2. All during the trip to the stream the
cuckoo will cry; before the stream there will be no water and no food. It will become tired and will have to drink from the cup. There are cuckoos which squeal, which means that they are tired from accompanying the deceased.

/308 cont./

● 765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
796 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
686 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:." "What sort of a person are you? Another brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half
a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[784] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[831] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/309 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A honikh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
● 765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
[231] raf mu uigyvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu uigyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the lokhal.

766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a tabich (see below, pp. 475-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

775 The soul and the world beyond the grave. Mlyvo. Every man is
[761] killed by a mlik (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[796] is afraid and slides with Pal-n'ngyvyn or Tol-n'ngyvyn, depending on which mlik killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third-Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

614 /361 cont./
827 present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-
169 law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint
591 work with him (more detail about this below).

12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those
614 of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have
764 the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation
invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only
an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance
of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained
in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the
remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed
on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of
bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away,
they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin
square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of
the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a
woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-
tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements,
they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak
may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If
a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate
the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for
cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the
summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime,
when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if
/362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien
territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie
it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they
614 make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death
765 of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their
braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness
of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning
throughout their lives.

/374 cont./ YeT
562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
nate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[247] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she partici-
pates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife
and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
• [765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourn-
ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance
and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her
back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of
polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
[589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such
as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the de-
sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradu-
ally acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to
the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
Arkyvvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
197 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the
Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/410 cont./
302 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur
[171] in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was
shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left
standing only here and there, quite unsymmetri-
cally; either on the crown or on one side, which
gave them a very comical appearance. The
Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however
[053] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the
[761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had
his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre-
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak
• Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed
from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which
he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut
erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later": see note * on p.1236./

302 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are
515 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them
136 hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check
the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which character-
istically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/
fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the
[751] presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health.
Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that
a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house,
but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed
the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about
515 his health and took him back again. In connection with this,
825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in
the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi-
[123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to
them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why
they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy,
I was given the answer that they were paying back the little
animals for what the latter were doing to them.

/764 cont./
758 uitsch and took him back to the village, where he died in Novem-
764 ber, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited
114 me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death)
during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm.
I, pp. 18, 19).

764 47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put be-
765 side the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cre-
• mation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are
brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief
that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse,
laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre,
covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I,
p. 27.)

764 48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one
[114] yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at
noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had
been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day
before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there im-
mediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front
of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old
man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby
small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of
the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the
long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was
clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a cover-
ing of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay
three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one
and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely
[824] worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face
lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of
alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead
lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine
curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in
the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /765/ tied with
a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the
shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narie /slec/, behind the head,

764 /768 cont./
on the upper end of which is set a small spoon-shaped wooden
bowl (Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 4), moreover, there is a
small stick whose point is inserted into the quills of 1-3 and
four eagle-feathers, tscham-ngar (**) (ibid., Fig. 5), and

** Tcham-eagle.

a third small stick, hook-shaped at the top, tututu or pyk, is
carved out of a branch (ibid., Fig. 3). Also lying in the little
house, usually crossed over one another, are a couple of arrows
without points, variously colored rags, baskets of birch bark,
wooden plates with carving, and the like. Sometimes several
of the aforementioned boards are present, and they /769/ then
do not occupy the middle of the little house. That is probably
regulated by the number of corpses whose remains rest under the
little house. (Bm. I, pp. 16, 51, 69.)

54. Gilyak. According to Surgin's explanation, a bit of
• [765] the skull and head hair from the remains of the cremated corpse
is placed in the middle of the kakk where a wooden peg is driven
in. The rags around the kakk signify garments which the dead
person needs (on the journey of his soul). Also, various kinds of
food, such as berries and fish, are set down for the deceased as
long as the corpse is still in the yurt and later, after the crema-
tion, for the ashes in the raff; therefore in every raff one finds
all kinds of implements, baskets, and bowls of birch bark and the
like, on which the food is placed. The little stick with the
small bowl at the tip is to serve the dead for more quickly
journeying on (therefore as a walking stick); the eagle feathers
on the other stick are supposed to lend wings, as it were, to the
soul. (Bm. I, p. 54.)

[832] 55. Gilyak. According to the information by Judin from
Tebach, the little stick, tututu or pyk (*), which one finds in the

* Pyk occasionally alternates with pyt in the author's work.

766

766 DEVIANT MORTUARY PRACTICES--abbreviated and extended funerals; di
tinctive mortuary rites in special cases of death (e.g., for an enemy, stra
executed criminal, pauper, slave, child, woman dying in childbirth, chief,
shaman, warrior, person dying abroad, victim of accidental death, suicide
homicide, victim of epidemic or loathsome disease); ceremonies at the dea
of animals; etc. See also:
Disposition of war casualties 721
Notions about loathsome diseases 153
Human sacrifice 765
Disposition of miscarriages and stillbirths . . . 84
Disposition of victims of infanticide 84

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

• [766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'÷yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/88 cont./

*614 775 sought by the deities, were prematurely torn from life in more natural ways, /89/ for example, those who died from longing for the mountain, sea, and such people who were enamored of them.

The beloved and chosen ones of the "master" of one or another element, upon whose bounty depends the entire welfare of the Gilyak, pass immediately after death into the clan of the corresponding "master" for a fairly long time (in the case of the mountain people, for example, up to their second death, i.e., for two generations, and during all this time, of course, they especially shower benefits upon their kinsmen, sending them forest beasts (the mountain man), or fish and sea animals (the water or sea man). And when the Gilyak speaks of some "mountain" man or some such man who feeds him, he has in mind his kinsman, who, within his recollection or at the most that of his father or grandfather, found himself, in the ways indicated above,
[165] among the host of the "masters." The time span of such a chosen one is not long (two generations at most) and frequently one clansman has barely joined the gods when he is followed by a second, third, etc.; cases of death from an attack by a wild beast or on the water are not rare. Thus, the bond between the living generation of clansmen and their divine clansmen-benefactors is profoundly alive and real. Many of them were known to everyone, either personally or through the vivid recollections of their contemporaries; special monuments (1) erected by their grateful

• [766]

1. The monument of a man slain by a bear is the frame of a bear hunter, in which the remains of the slain man are kept in accordance with a special ritual (see below, subsection 6 /p.551 ff./). As for those who drowned, a boat with all the appurtenances of sea and river pursuits is put on the site of their

/89 cont./

*614 775 cremation, and the oars are placed upright, facing each other, in order
• [766] to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

*614 But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is
775 not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these ties
782 are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force --
796 the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is but the free gift of the gods, his benefactors; without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustainers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifices and festivals, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally devoted to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, not from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

/96 cont./

*614 825 672 ●766 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-"murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

[778]

1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of shavings. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

/96 cont./ Not far from the

*614 825 ●766 native village a framework in the likeness of a bear hunter is set up, with openings for the proper sacrifices. On the outside, at the corners, four sharpened saplings are set up, while it is decorated on the inside with the sacred inau. Here are also deposited the remains of the murdered man and his murderer, in the same position in which they were brought from the taiga, as we described above.

A unique funeral feast with the carcass of the slain bear is held beside this framework. On both sides of a long uninterrupted campfire sit the clansmen with large pieces of bear meat in their hands. Each one cuts the meat into thin pieces, and as each piece is cut off he throws it from his knife across the fire to the one sitting on the opposite side of the campfire. The slice, caught on a knife, is [688] slowly roasted in the fire (the greatest insult for the bear, whose meat may only be boiled), and then with a look of revulsion they each bite off a piece and scornfully throw the meat away, although ordinarily it is /97/ considered a great sin to let even the smallest piece of bone fall to the ground. [782] [769] After this procedure of "refined" revenge, a feast with sacrifices to the master of the mountains and the murdered man begins. First they throw into the fire the carcass, which has begun to be burned, then various viands. At night they place a guard of two men with spears over the framework, lest the spirit of the bear wish to take revenge. The sentries firmly assert in such instances that they heard the cries of the murdered man, "Ai, Bear!" and threw themselves with spears upon the invisible avenger. In the morning they will tell you, traces of blood are clearly visible on the points of the spears...

*614 775 782 769 766 With the end of the funeral feast, peace between the mountain men and the clan of the murdered man has been restored. The latter is accepted and will live to a ripe old age in the clan of the mountain people, while his clansmen for three generations will twice a year (summer and winter) make sacrifices: part to the master of the mountain, part to the divine clansman.

/97 cont./

*614 628 If revenge is sanctified with respect to the bear, a divine being upon whom welfare depends and who frequently slays a man, not out of malice, but out of love for him, and accepts him into his clan, then revenge with respect to a member of another clan is all the more obligatory.

We have already indicated in the beginning the domination of religious over emotional motives in the imperative of revenge. If vengeance is obligatory to the third generation, if it is obligatory with respect to an accidental slayer, to a friend, a cognate, it is a burden pressing down on the clan rather than an impulsive act inspired by the immediate reaction of anger.

A much more significant role, at least in the sense of the strengthening, so to speak, of this original reaction, is played by compassion for the soul of the slain man and fear of it and the clan gods, gods who keep a loving vigil and for whom the unavenged blood of a clansman is undoubtedly the greatest insult.

775 ●766 The soul of a man who died a violent death cannot migrate to the general "settlement of the dead," where it could continue the life it lived on earth. Until it is avenged, until the blood of the slayer gives it the power to raise its bones, it cannot leave the earth and is forced to circle in the air in the form of a bird-avenger, emitting terrible shrieks at night. Its end is frightful; gradually rotting, it finally falls to earth "as ashes," dying forever. The Gilyak call this bird takhch; it is a gray bird with a red beak, "loving war." In this epithet is probably also contained the origin of the belief in the bird-avenger: among the Gilyak war is exclusively /98/ the result of revenge, and, consequently, the birds of prey, "loving war," are obviously the souls of slain clansmen. Over the grave of the slain man, as a fearful memento, they place a stump with the torn-up roots upward (1), to which they

[764]

1. Over the graves of those who have died a natural death, the roots are customarily downward.

/54 cont./

825 [766] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 776 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" - master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

825 776 554

/57 cont./

123 776 782 the women rushed to their sto
reserved for sacrifices, in ord
and thereby fulfill the will of
thanks to the piece of candy,
not only saved my life, but u
companions and myself a dish
time.

782 The Gilyak also has live
dogs. A dog is killed, by str
sable hunting, during the bea
long journey, during sickness,
casions of life. Before it is k
depending upon the circumsta
[796] mission. Thus, during the be
"Follow your bear to the high
love you. Change this hair a
[755] so that I may see you." Whe
of sickness, it is asked to be
before the god to which it is

Thus the victim is a sim
death, will reach the master

775 614 Clan gods constitute a sp
matter of fact, these gods pla
of the Gilyak, and it is most
offers his sacrifices. In each
clan gods are of particular /5
we can most clearly trace the
fact of primitive religion. E
Romans the worship of clan g
The clan gods of the Gilyak
ings, as among the Greeks an
clansmen who, for a variety
775 614 766 of one or another god "maste
bination of circumstances, if
quired to attain such an hono
killed by a bear, if he fell p
was murdered or burned to de
if, according to the shaman'

ehouse to fetch the precious buda
er to feed me and my companions
the Head of the earth. Thus,
I, in the opinion of the Gilyak,
nexpectedly obtained for my
which we had not seen for a long

sacrifices, the objects of which are
ngulation, before the season of
festival, before departure for a
and generally on the solemn oc-
illed, it is fed, and at that time,
nces, it is given one or another
ar festival, the dog will be told:
est mountain. May the master
nd come down next year as a bear
n a dog is killed on the occasion
the intercessor for the sick man
being sent.
ple envoy, whose soul, after its
who lives on the highest mountain.
ecial category of gods. As a
y a most important role in the life
often to them that the Gilyak
element there is a clan god. The
58/ interest, because in this tribe
e very genesis of this very common
ven among the Greeks and the
ods was a common phenomenon.
are not supernatural mythical be-
d the Romans, but their very own
of reasons, have entered the clan
." A particularly fortunate com-
I may express myself thus, is re-
. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was
ey to the waves on the water, if he
ath through his own carelessness,
explanation, a woman died from

/58 cont./

775 614 [766] a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain, water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters" and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i -- forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices. These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people), the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well, having entered after his death the clan of this or that master, also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore, that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem. Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or predecessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods, as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

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614 171

The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/328 cont./

The favorite dog, "pryski" (every man has his own pryski) is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after death are buried directly into the ground.

In Ady-Tymi, if they suspect that a person died from magic, two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then the ormi-milk, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog slied deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenirs).

Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boats. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, which in both winter and summer is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no crying; kissing the deceased is a lie. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No sacrifices are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are inau put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dogs and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Boats and so forth are broken over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

/328 cont./

764 To be burned is better than to be buried.

766 The one made the first man[1] for a drowned man if not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagan" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

764 A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is
349 made in a month, or in two, three or four months, when there is time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of
[781] cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members.
[814] It is prohibited to fish, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a kokhakh, a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyg[2] (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The kokhakh is wrapped in a piece of drel[3] of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the kokhakh remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

/329 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A hontkh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel[3]. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, it placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
[231] raf mu nigyvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu nigyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the kokhal.

766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp. 475-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

775 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
[761] killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[776] is afraid and hides with Pal-n'nigyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch, while
[778] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugvnd
[782] is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon: Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[775] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.
[787]

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is buried in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Piliudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
[778] The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
[782] (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 either for kinsmen or for someone from the khala.

680 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

Khkmak'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw
753 and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/338 cont./

752 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them
784 will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue
[570] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the trumpe), but a
[570] person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur-
[623] rounded with sticks.
[766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit lekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns to a boat rescued from death, he and his wife should break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will
[787] be a god.

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovok Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugvnd (sacrifices) into the stream.

A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
752 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugvnd.

/367 cont./

[597] In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
[782] clear conception of sin ("umgyik"). It goes without saying /368/
[672] that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
[688] there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person: for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by
[582] the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[821] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak should live with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
764 on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/368 cont./

766 ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all
[782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small
[161] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clansmen of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at
[182] the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure
[582] is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacrifices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him
[782] so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is burned, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire
[614] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new
[782] yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

Section 13 (1)

1. The table of contents for this chapter is missing in the manuscript.

(The bear festivals. Their cultural character and social significance. -- The bear festivals among the Amur Gilyak. Ceremonies and entertainments before and during the killing of the bears, as well as during the consumption of them. Burial of the bones and skulls of the bears. Modifications among the Olcha, as well as among the Gilyak on Sakhalin and the Ainu.

825 The bear plays an outstanding role in the life of all the peoples of the Amur region and Siberia up to Kamchatka. But among none of them is this the case to the extent that it is among the Gilyak. The huge size that it attains in the Amur region (2),

2. See my measurements of bear skulls in Vol. I, pp. 8 ff., of this work.

its vicious nature, which, perhaps because there it does not find anywhere near the abundance of food that it does in Kamchatka, makes it not hesitate to attack even human beings, and its frequent occurrence at all times make it the most feared beast of prey of the region. It is therefore not surprising that the imagination of the Gilyak is much occupied with it and surrounds it, in life as well as after death, with fearful superstitious ideas. For instance, there prevails among them the belief that
[775] the soul of a Gilyak who was killed in a fight with a bear moves
[766] into the body of this beast of prey, which may have chiefly arisen from the fact that the bear in its mode of life and its bearing reveals many a similarity with them, in that it, like them, feeds largely on the salmon ascending the river in masses, on berries, plant tubers, and the like, like them it prepares a place for itself for the winter in caves under snow-covered twigs, like them it stands upright in combat, etc.

/730 cont./

mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate II /p. 1251/, Fig. 5, from a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is undoubtably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill surgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate II should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skulls, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but content themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Usuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

/730 cont./

sometimes the right, sometimes the left parietal bone. In the habitation area of the Gilyak I saw trees hung with dolphin skulls, to be sure, but I never came across any with bear skulls, though the number of bears killed or captured and eaten there annually is probably much larger than among the Goldi. This definitely indicates that, unlike the Goldi, the Gilyak, aside from breaking open or splitting the bear skull, do something else to it which is scarcely less suitable than the covering of the bones for removing it from the sight of human beings. In fact at various places in the forest near Gilyak dwellings I have came across spots which, upon close inspection, proved to be sites of bear skulls: trunks of young trees were cut off several inches above the ground, the remaining piece of trunk was split into two prongs, and the bear skull, split down to its base was wedged into the split in such a way that the two prongs projected out of the zygomatic arches and held it clamped between them close to the ground. In addition, on either side a short wooden peg was driven from above through the zygomatic arches and into the ground. /731/ If grass grows over the spot, nothing is recognizable to the casual glance. This method of dealing with the bear skulls was transmitted from the Gilyak to the Olcha and from them to the Samagir, who are closely related to them and also directly adjacent to them on Lake Udyl and elsewhere. In the immediate vicinity of the village of Ngagba on the Gorin I found such bear-skull sites in two directions and in one of them, which lay in an open birch grove, counted within a circle of 30 paces, no less than nine bear skulls treated in exactly the same way as among the Gilyak. Since the rest of the bear bones presumably also lie buried in the same places, they are not merely bear-skull sites, but general bear-bone grounds.

The Goldi, who hang their bear skulls on trees, do something similar with other bear bones that are suitable for it. Near Bitschu, at the mouth of the Gorin, for example, I saw a decayed or split bear-skull lying on the stump of a broken tree a few feet high, but below it in the underbrush hung various bones of the animal, among them a shoulder blade and a number of dorsal vertebrae

/744 cont./

run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifically: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the reports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans, if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle. Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kisi, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/761 cont./

II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wkgin, which resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rtchyvgak, from Wsir, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

/761 cont./

heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p.1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p.1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-mgych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/762 cont./

on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (*),

* See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of uitsch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 881.

It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (†††) where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earths, I was told that they also went beyond these, kikr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

45. Olcha. From Chosiambo I learned the following about views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

3 cont./

e the appearance of a bird. Sometimes this bird is rep-
ented with iron teeth and appendages in the likeness of
nan feet (2), as in some representations of the swastika.

2. An example of such a memorial, brought from the lower regions of the Amur by the late acad. L. Schrenck, is preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.

is frightful and at the same time unhappy bird, seeking
nsolation and return to the kingdom of its departed
nsmen, wails of revenge at night and, of course, is
ite capable of terribly avenging itself upon its clans-
en who have forgotten their obligations.

Even where the affair ends with the payment of ransom,
bird remains unreconciled. Still another peace offering
necessary in the form of a dog, whose heart is given to
bird; otherwise it will take a cruel vengeance on both
es.

Since the soul of the slain man, like every other
man soul, cannot exist longer than three generations, the
ligations of revenge cease with the third generation. But
il that time the pitiful fate of the soul of the slain man
ntinues to torment the conscience of his clansmen and
ghten them with the horrors of unfulfilled vengeance,
ing them no rest. These same motives are predominant
er the immediate instinct for repayment. That is why
wrath of the avengers never reaches to the destruction
the whole clan of the slayer, limiting itself to one, or
or three, of his clansmen; they carefully avoid the
ying of women and absolutely abstain from encroachment
property.

Nevertheless the imperative of vengeance is extremely
ensive.

/308 cont./

765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
796 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:." "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[931] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

Amur

/309 cont./

766 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
766 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
754 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinys n'ich: "Go eat human meat!" He rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys. Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through, a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or (to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in constant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies. Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make real tolin'ir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.

756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) pal'dokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at n'ivukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his pal'pang:a (a wooden figure which is bound with white drel', and with shavings on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie tobacco wrapped in white drel' to the stone. It advises the shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
[755] to which particular pal (i.e., pal of one's own or of a different clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
776 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the
[782] master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year)
[776] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
758 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
753 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field: the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
[143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

764 the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

[778] The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

[784] There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

764 766 [775] 57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

[775] the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The 764 burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods 262 are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. 755 Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The [769] depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

d consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
on killed by an att (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
(Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of
), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had
ortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in
er of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark
nd bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the
brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak
nating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears,
ext to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which
dent had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk,
ilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter
ses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the
up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for
personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages
however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p.

Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh
ave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the
corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and
lly, and at each of their two ends there was wood shav-
). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
est; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various
hes serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

•766 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the ro
778
532

† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266 /, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed en
is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the
murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn,
[674] projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the
Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for in-
stance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only
for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak
from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills
another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn.
Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son,
and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills
another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The sa
is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wa
is set up.

778 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after
532 ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by th
825 Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it ha
on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septe
are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villa
In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head o
the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to t
revenge on the murderer (1).

[628]
[627]

1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

72 cont./

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the ndering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) d me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

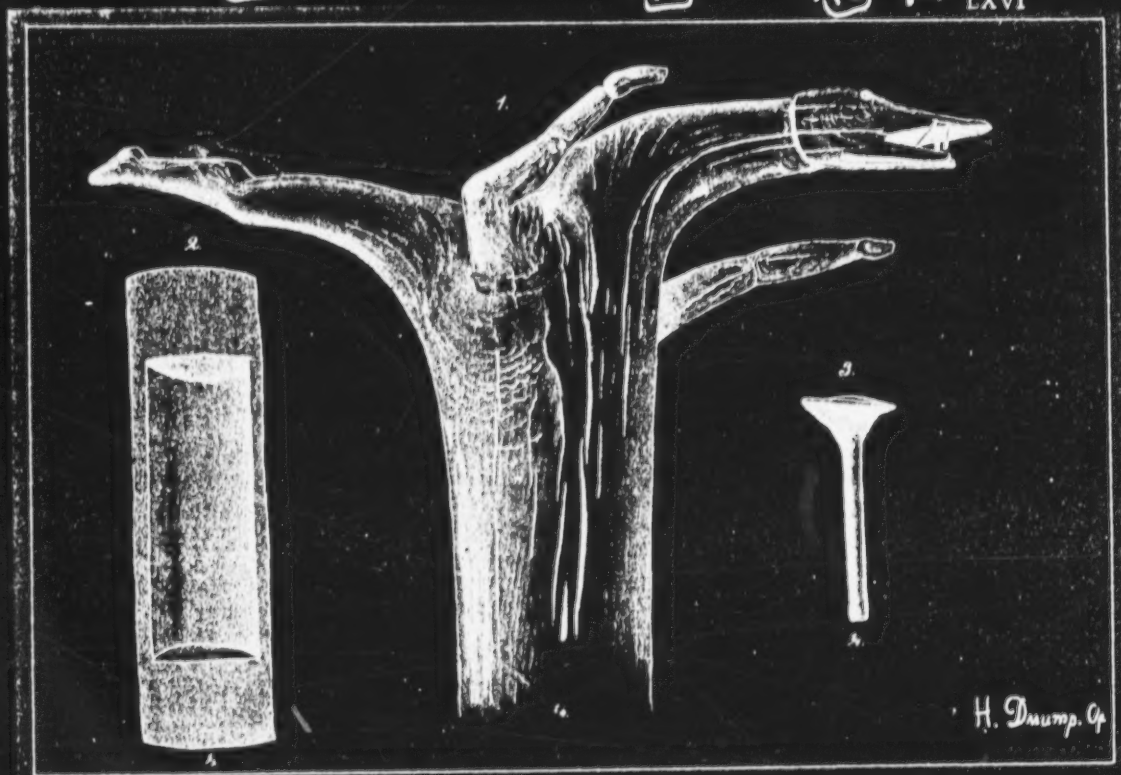
63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-se usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as ng the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-t in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy lyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-amber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the ham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of halin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as ong the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the u (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred th of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of orodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very cefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings



1. Grave marker of a murdered Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle, from the tomb of a drowned Olcha.

9: Hawes--176 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 539, 766, 775, 825

"Wild swans occasionally flew across high overhead, ar
tap-tapping the trees. Our natives eagerly asked us to sho
aloft or settled on the top of a high tree, only to fly away
shot. These were the white-tailed eagles (Haliëtus albicill
their tail-feathers, for which they declared the Chinese ga
6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are said to use them to indi
of importance by placing them over his door; in any case,
the feathers, which they use for arrow-heads. The wings
placed at the grave of a Gilyak who has been murdered or
his soul in its flight to heaven."

ıd a woodpecker could be heard
oot the eagles which soared
as we approached within gun-
lus), prized by the natives for
ave them three dollars (about
cate the residence of a person
the Gilyaks themselves value
are also prized by them, being
has committed suicide, to aid

845 who are descendents of the Ainu bury
766 their bodies in the earth.

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

845 If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
551 rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their
769 neighbors and friends although there may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual progenity and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

845 The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in
766 childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the
782 mountains who, while living among ordinary human
775 beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they try hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground; they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child, tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.

753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone, squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is considered to be a consequence of the mountain spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says "tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is tormenting".

784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions, they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow household articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the new one.

842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the transference of physical peculiarities from one man to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an explanation for the superstitious remedies they use for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who cannot bear children must ask another very fertile woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be transferred from one person to another like a contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel which had been used by the sick person.

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

'The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense
871 of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the at-
825 tempts to Christianize them have not been very successful
764 thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and
766 animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-

BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

768

768 SOCIAL READJUSTMENTS TO DEATH--disposition of the possessions of the deceased (e.g., abandonment or relocation of dwelling, destruction or mutilation of movable possessions, redistribution of property); provision for support of spouse and children; residence changes of survivors; etc. See also:

Inheritance 428
Guardianship and administration 429
Insurance 456
Heirlooms 523
Remarriage 587
Status of widows 589
Rule of residence 591
Adoption 597
Rules of succession 59, 61, 63, 622, 643
Relief of widows and orphans 736
Social insurance 745

/84/

*614 Once the above-mentioned principle was created and became an immutable imperative of life, the natural consequence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the foundation of the clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyak,as we have seen, is not the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It gives a man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the most difficult problems of primitive man. There are ordinarily fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and to [583] [556] make matters worse each of the wealthy men snatch up many wives. For the poor man -- and such are in the majority -- acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy; frequently he must even resort to methods that risk his life.

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the right to the women of the akunal'k clan, in particular to the daughters of the brothers of his mother; this is simultaneously his religious obligation and right. The bride price in such [583] cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always has a right to expect his clansmen, interested, like himself, in his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man succeeds in setting up his own family, the families of his older brothers, with whom he shares the right to the women of the akunal'k clan, are his family, their wives are his wives, to [587] whom he has lawful conjugal rights. When a married Gilyak ●[768] dies, his wife passes without any bride price to one of his younger brothers determined by the choice of the clan.

*614 These are all advantages which play a role of the 587 first order in the eyes of primitive man. The crown of 768 these advantages is the social privilege of every clansman of not having to fear for the fate of his wife and his children after his death. His wife and children during his life are juridically, and frequently factually as well, the wife and children of his younger brothers; they will remain such after

/84 cont./

*614 his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the decision 587 of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligations of ●768 husband and father, and even where the deceased has no younger brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the "elders." Such is the immutable law of the clan.

*614 Such are the advantages which the clan union offers by 848 virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage norms which directly issue from it. It is completely natural that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who have a right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being born to a clansman is the only justus /85/ titulus to being counted in the clan. Ytk-khavrnd -- a man without a father, i.e., born out of wedlock, not knowing who his father is -- is a man without a clan, a pariah, a burden to himself and others. One who does not know the identity of his father and consequently does not know to which clan he belongs, therefore does not know which women can be his wives and which are forbidden and, unbeknownst to himself and others, may violate the sacred sexual norms, incurring incalculable disasters upon all. Fortunately, there are in fact no persons who do not know their fathers. If a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock, they compel her to name the father of the future child. Having learned who he is, they compel him to marry the seduced girl, which he is only too glad to do, because in such a situation there are fewer difficulties about paying the bride price. In the event of disavowal on the girl's part, they slay the newborn child, and the clan is saved from sin and unhappiness.

*614 The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining 597 the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation and reconcile itself with the institution of adoption, with the acceptance into its bosom from time to time of individuals from other clans.

/116 cont./

156 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods 771 must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

*614 Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gain- 771 ing the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to 182 carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It 156 is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they 183 sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed per- *614 sonality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating 182 a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving forces of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan life operates.

*614 Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to ●768 provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs 182 reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

Durin

*835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstandi of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his ymgri, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlink [177] was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settle- 177 ment of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvn, *835 compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, 587 as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should ●768 pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the community.

684 In the first two cases the violators had to go into voluntary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings [177] associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the influence of an alien culture (1).

*835 183 587 768 [731]

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly come poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are id for relatives. Likewise people who have become in-pable of work because of illness are assured support by latives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly rsed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the use into the open and is left there at any time of the year, til he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a ad person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a per-n dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, sick person who is subjected to these measures is usu-y already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-aring women are removed from the house for similar asons.

In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two ceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak the point of drowning could not count on help from his ople, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with alistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is eded above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks e care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of ear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried to-her with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and aps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I ques-ned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] t they always helped them as much as they could and they owed me several people who had been rescued because help l been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his e, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes tual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism s not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where erstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also stran-s in time of distress as much as they can. They repeated saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were en wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced
527 in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

764 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

764 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
182 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
766 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
182 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

771 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to have found it in the snow.

845 Twin births.

163 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these cases both children are of the same sex. I personally came to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions rather well known to me there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all these twins died immediately after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of
845 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away. But, not being certain which of the children is not an offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.

845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant aγs, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd (major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka (aγs). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea. Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ŋəks twig and the other is a qosk ŋəks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called ṭaγr. The offering is thrown into the sea through the ṭaγr. First to be emptied are the ůiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-?ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

82 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
62 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
25 ui - ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
61 young hunters must not taste this mos.

25 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
82 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

25 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
01 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
76 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
22 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
66

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

mu-ziyəd on the boat supports the assumption that at one time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as a living thing. Mu-ziyəd on the boat serves, it seems, as a means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

Aside from mu-ziyəd, tŋaj is performed on the boat. Tŋaj means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of a branch of rowan (qosk-vəks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines. One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these tŋaj elsewhere.

There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke. They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-pək-əzd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines tŋaj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They first go to Uiy-krə "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

25 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
23 similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together
66 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Uiŋ-krə̂, then they
82 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which
they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krə̂) there
lives a ə̂tik- an old woman. These old women must also be
given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed
that tvax-ə̂tik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who
lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

25 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf
(Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes
spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks
told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kəvr-
mlf (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when
the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end
of the summer and then they would return to the village to
fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal
hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of
tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not
exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put
out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the
hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals
off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

11 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
25 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
83

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long.
Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch.
Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the

/184 conc./

levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the house, the deceased husband, she is given, according to the law (or custom), to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree or kinship with her late husband.

Officially the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the herbivorous categories evokes an instinctive disgust.

In the rare instances of sexual intercourse with such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the implantation of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in man, but in beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a domesticated dog. The attitude towards people is entirely the same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories stay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct origin of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /184/ her elder sister called her a "Mink" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "dog," and how all — her father, her uncle, and sister — urged together: "Stay yourself, stay!" Incidentally, the object of her unnatural passion, the uncle, is a man full of fire age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the cousins may rather be perfectly natural in our eyes.

The feeling of sexual shyness and reserve of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sister in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing shyness of the Gilyaks to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the giving-in-marriage of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the intensity of virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; uncontinued jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/204 conc./

family in the capacity of a son or brother and is considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family of Tungus who had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the stories of old people, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement. The clan agreed to the request and supported until better times. At the present /205/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the simple reason that it is permissible to adopt only a member of the clan, the marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been shown above.

8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of a blood feud, or any such phenomenon, the clan is called upon to answer, the clan is responsible for a long time.

On the Amur four little fire with roots are placed over the graves.

During *gila-dash* (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons, /206/ or those who died where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a *ninkh*, i.e., a cup for sacrifice to the master of the water, a trough, and a *tinra* — a cup for the drowned man: *ninr* is placed in the trough, in the cup — red curtain. They pitch the man, they select two or three /207/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat set on hack there by the water, and place a *tinra* stick, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing on the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/128 conc./

inheritance. Only relation to the daughter does the father enjoy a special power of disposition, in order to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization is so constituted that it can use the property should not leave the clan of the clan. One of the reciprocal action of these principles it is that the property of the deceased, in the father, and only in their absence — the brother of the deceased, the property of the clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and according times of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the right to inherit property. In the case of a woman dying, the property of the clan, and only in the case of the clan, the property of the clan, and only in the case of the clan, the property of the clan, and only in the case of the clan

/91 cont./

765 Several days later a small toy-house with a small door and a small window is placed on the ground not far away from the place of the hearing. Inside the house is placed a doll-man dressed in silk. Away in the house lives Kalim, the goddesses of love of Gilyak mythology, and eating and smoking utensils, trays, plates, and samashir of birch bark with all kinds of vinods, pipes, tobacco, and so forth are arranged around it.

From time to time the kinsmen come to renew their sacrifices, but in a few months the sacrifices top because the soul of the deceased has been established in the house in a new place and has no need of anything. The deceased will be remembered once more during the bear festival.

Such, in brief, are the religious views and customs of the Gilyak.

VI

The Clan

In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on the religious aspect of the clan -- its importance as dependent on the matriarchate. In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on religious notions.

Now let us examine it in all the totality of features, tectonic and dynamic, morphological and socio-spiritual, as one whole instrument regulating all aspects of the life of the Gilyak.

For this purpose, we consider it particularly instructive in our analysis to adhere to that same system to which the Gilyak themselves adhere in formulating their notions about the clan.

/86 cont./

766 ✱ 614 ✱ 615 ✱ 616 ✱ 617 ✱ 618 ✱ 619 ✱ 620 ✱ 621 ✱ 622 ✱ 623 ✱ 624 ✱ 625 ✱ 626 ✱ 627 ✱ 628 ✱ 629 ✱ 630 ✱ 631 ✱ 632 ✱ 633 ✱

/48 cont./

This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic: see yokh on p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin, as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands, for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [778] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

825 for example, on a whale, the latter hold the flanks, while the leaders follow behind.

82 /51/ Once visible nature is only a mask and is not what it
771 appears to be, there is a natural tendency on the part of the Gilyak to seize upon the smallest sign having resemblance to the human body or a part of it, in order to discover the human shape that is concealed under it. Hence fetishism -- the psychology which discovers a supernatural human-like being in every object which has an unusual form, be it a high mountain, a petrified object, or simply a piece of stone.

825 If inanimate nature is capable of arousing in the mind of the Gilyak the imagining of live creatures which conceal themselves under the dead form, then the cult of animals should all the more not amaze us at all. It is generally believed that fear lies at the base of the cult of animals. Primus in orbe deos fecit timor. In fact this is far from the case. First of all, we must remember that primitive man not only does not recognize any sort of gulf between himself and the animal world, but, on the contrary, in many respects admits the superiority of the latter over himself. A hunter by profession, he has invested in his art of hunting all his intelligence, all his inventiveness, all his human genius. See how brilliant his snares and traps are, and nonetheless how often and maliciously the insignificant little beast -- a fox, a sable, and others -- will laugh at all his machinations! Dozens of valuable sables run past his trap, leaving their footprints quite close to it; they guessed the cleverness of man and departed unharmed! How sensitive is the elk to the smell of a human being whole versts away! Never, never would a single beast be caught by the Gilyak, but for the will of the gods, the "masters" of these animals, which care for the well-being of the Gilyak. If a god does not will this, dozens of man's crossbows remain without a catch. Therefore the Gilyak sees in animals beings in no way inferior to himself, even though a god may sometimes give

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the
628 spirit more than the most active resistance.
562 corpus, day and night they go about the envi
looking into every bush, every blade of grass
enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do n
whelming number that makes it possible to fa
expectant enemy, they will never succeed in
of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the p
tackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the
of necessity breaks on the passive resistance o
the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importan
[784] participation of the women in the struggle of
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbi
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its
etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gi
find it necessary to set off on an expedition lo
filled with water and as much food supplies a
Under such conditions every extra day of wait
by famine, and thus the vigilance of the wom
conquers.

195 Here is one of the examples known to me
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland t
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still lo
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance o
poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the
in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the
depart with nothing and terminate the matter
small causes often lead to important conseque

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exo
77 relations between clans and introduced peace,
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the
brought to life the very institution of exogamy
primitive man is not so sentimental, he is ma
that he would sacrifice with a light heart his o
ment for a breach of his blood duty to the voi

oe and weakened his
Utilizing their habeas
ons in perfect safety
in search of the
t possess an over-
ll openly upon the
eluding the vigilance
tience of the at-
torment of waiting,
f the weaker sex, and

ce of the passive
the clans, it must
dden to light a fire
ivers and springs, hunt,
beon, the Gilyak
aded down with skins
a man can carry.
ing threatens death
en necessarily

. In 1851, 30 men
o take vengeance on
the slaying of a
nger and more fruitless
of the women, with
locality, the water
e avengers had to
peacefully ... Thus
nces.
gamy weakened the
although he pro-
aspiration for peace
. It is true that
inly too "god-fearing,"
wn fears of punish-
ce of feeling, or

/103 cont./

*614 ●771 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored, and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

*614 628 771

628 539 554 *614 [192] [197] Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.

The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

[532]

/107 cont./

614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "common sin"
784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general.
The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion,
183 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, follow their natural inclinations with complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. A adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibi-
602 tions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

/108 cont./

*614 impersonal form, although by temperament these are far
602 from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the
182 result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

*614 The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and
783 the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin
784 is communal" explain to us the most amazing aspect of
● 771 the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

*614 Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one
182 can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It enfolds a man from birth to death, giving life all its content. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and conjugal rights outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan defends his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the trampled rights of a clansman and to answer for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

*614 /109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan
182 sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strong-
771 est guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

/115 cont./

555 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on
556 his advantages (1).
156

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance; that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

*614 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the
156 fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard
[454] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be
[183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-
● 771 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/116 cont./

156 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods
● 771 must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

*614 Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gain-
771 ing the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to
182 carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It
156 is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they
183 sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed per-
*614 sonality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating
182 a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving forces of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan life operates.

*614 Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to
768 provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs
182 reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

/363 cont./

1717 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will
end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak
have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since
they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
1717 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
464 Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native
[434] settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

776 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
302 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
● 771 at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/364 cont./

[372] Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the num-
[372] ber of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the
● [771] elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similiarity but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination; "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("khal") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- moun-
[782] tain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to
[796] him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Toll'-nivukh, and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it
[821] is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses; the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen" a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils ("uchkharum"). This is a whole khal', living in the sea and danger-
ous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply

/366 cont./

796 the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the
782 creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason
[224 the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and
[225 any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak
a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business
on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices
offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special
solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable
[342 season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the
side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the
whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual
gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After
striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to
the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen.
He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little
at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god
as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made
during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a
journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge
unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama
of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically
before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of
them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka,
tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps
to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the
snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up,
he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same.
Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and dis-
tributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted
a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had
701 been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the re-
ligious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a
Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition,"
the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem
to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion
everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no
[781] suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

/367 cont./

002 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
• does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[754 that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, super-
stitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power
of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any
man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they
say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting
a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at
this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754 In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they
often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they sub-
ject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158 dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the
result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782 ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the
Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs.
"Kur, piongukhla!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits him-
self to this when he asks for something from his god.

796 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but
for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear
formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
583 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776 and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them
leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in
the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak:
"If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor
man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does
not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement
sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it
was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to
oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much
this extremely attractive belief is really the belief of the Gilyak,
or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or more hypocrisy.

/367 cont./

577 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
783 clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/
773 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
688 there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of
view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to
heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general,
to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many
cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned
for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the
slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it
must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things
to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become
ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
[682 atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by
the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not
always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered
deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed
(sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a
scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821 misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[829 have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this
is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

• 771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human
existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life.
There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land
where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same
ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor.
After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to
call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the
transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus,
there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who
766 had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
[764 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin
Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/369 cont./

797 baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of
legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates
which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental
assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I
have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the
mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been
convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the
ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless,
the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His
attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great
many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the
natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place
for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented mission-
ary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have
to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods
which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized
[771 Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their
• [771 attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make
[778 sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the
Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order
of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak,
from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic
form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either
monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.
581 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of
684 a given individual, and her children are the children of that
individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring
684 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his
wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/739 cont./ But they

796 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
129 called Maü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
778 figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms
171 akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but
the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
124 but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
982 question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
• 771 side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise
776 them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god"
and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they
replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of
superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction be-
tween their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for vari-
ous idols and their shamanism that I found:

Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
796 of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good
786 One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who
is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-
[782 stract, completely empty one and does not at all fit into the life,
into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing con-
crete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word
"pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about
"God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except
that he is "kingulätsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
771 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and
there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in
fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them,
such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the
often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them
inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which
man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent
upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always
escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him,
therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the
general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/740 cont./

• 771 powers always only directed against him and superior to him in
strength, and which he more or less personifies in concrete, but
crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the
771 face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to
812 avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life -- these causes,
together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view
that in the action of these powers, as in his own actions, there is
a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead
him to a series of conclusions through which his own acts and the
action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus
771 And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives
812 rise to customs and special performances that are intended to
532 pacify the evil forces or to keep them away, as well as to the per-
sonified representation of the evil powers in this or that crude, ap-
proximate fashion, through carving animal and human figures in
wood, and to shamanism. The many wooden figures of bears,
lizards, toads, snakes, and even of human beings which are found
among the Gilyak may have this origin and meaning. The Gilyak
does not regard them as gods and does not worship them. They are
only representations or intimations of hostile powers in Nature
from which he seeks to escape. The fact that human figures are
also found among them should not be interpreted as though they
were personified representations of divine beings, such as anthro-
pomorphism has created in more spiritual fashion in other places.
771 In the view of a primitive people, and the Gilyak, too, man stand
812 wholly and exclusively within Nature; according to their superstit-
ion he stands /741/ in a close and immediate causal relationship
with the events of Nature (or evil powers), and this in itself may
make the representation of a human being necessary for the per-
formance of many a shamanistic act. The conception of God, the
[776 Good One, however, is much too vague and lacking in content
among the Gilyak to make it possible to speak of any connection
with it and thus also of anthropomorphic ideas and representations.
But though the Gilyak do not regard this superstition and shamanis
etc. as divine service or prayer, but only as a practical act in the
lives in order to escape all harm, nevertheless we are obliged to
call this their religious consciousness. And thus we find a strange

/741 cont./

and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the Gilyak: on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray" (mjágratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be explained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with connection with each other and also historically distinct. -- The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the attribute of "God," kīngulātsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

/741 cont./

tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, sometimes human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kīgn and tschngai (1).

1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha and Goldi the similarly-shaped sāwa stand). Sometimes, however, the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But

778 771 171 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples, whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

778 532 825 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

[171] near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuik, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

[126] 2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

778 /752 cont./ 825 the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chala has had 173 only a few inhabitants. (2 S.R. I, p. 39.)

Gi 25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a säwuchsa 778 provided with various säwa or representations of idols, to be worn 825 around the body as an amulet against sicknesses (Plate LX /p.1260 751 Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two snakes (dshalda), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fox carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather an on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khasj (chaż of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the toad and the human figure, th imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gil G in Chiare and which is also carved by the Olcha as protection Gi against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak kägn 778 and the säwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the con- 771 clusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious con- 171 cepts and ideas of these peoples. (2 S.R. I, pp. 32-33.)

Shamans

G 756 184 [171] 26. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak the shaman is employed muc less than among the Tungusic Amur peoples, the Olcha, Goldi, Kile, and others, and therefore the shaman's implements are muc less frequently found among them. Just as among the Amur peoples in general, so also among the Gilyak in particular, shamanisr is found more and more rarely downstream toward the Liman or toward Sakhalin. One scarcely comes across shamans and shaman implements from Wassj on and anywhere along the Liman. After repeated inquiries about them, I did not see any or hear of any. Thus shamanism seems to have moved downstream and to have had its origin farther inland. (Bm. I, p. 75.)

G 756 /753/ 27. Gilyak. In the whole area of the Amur Gilyak ther are only a few shamans who have a reputation among their country men. I was told that the most famous of them "a great shaman,"

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 The Gilyak calls the universe "kum," but with this same
776 word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kum."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head"
[798] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacrilegious offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/78 cont./

765 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[787] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

[562] But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
765 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
766 shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help
[765] man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
775 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
772 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/79 cont./

775 not know exactly where this place is); the soul need only
772 descend into this opening and it reaches its goal. There everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, sea, rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to life and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth, fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even among the Gilyak the poor men find their consolation not in this best of all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, sickness and death await man. From there the soul must migrate into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul degenerates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat, and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

764 /80/ Before entering mlyvo, the soul waits to be
775 equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and richer. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garments and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three, or six pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets are taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objects set off with the deceased on his journey.

764 While these preparations for a long journey are going on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night; people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the bear festival, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When they smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates that

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the uni-
[776] verse, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the rene." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach;.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
[772] with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

773 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'ngyvyn,
776 614 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'ngyvyn.

Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces
821 him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'lvukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

773

773 MYTHOLOGY--cosmogony (e.g., theories and accounts of the creation of the world and of man); mythical epochs (e.g., golden age, age of the gods, age of animals); cataclysms (e.g., mythical floods and conflagrations); culture myths (e.g., accounts of a culture hero, mythical explanations of culture traits); myths about the origin of evil and death; nature myths; totemic myths; theogonic myths; ancestor myths; etc. For texts of myths see 539. See also
[Ritual] traditions 179

422 /278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
[794]

[793] 1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s'if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium.
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

554 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly
583 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence
735 of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only
[556]

/286 cont./
117 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:,
103 Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/
193 notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing
• [193] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

117 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal
103 Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhaji. 3) Khal N'askhaji.
361 Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from
[162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the
582 Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chędzigr (see below) and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally
117 the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They
103 all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en-
193 campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared
[539] before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
• 773 myginga igagŭ syktymu yz'mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder.

The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- kakhtr, agŭnĭ, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn' is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

/320/

Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

• 773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the uni-
[776] verse, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
[872] with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

773 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

776 The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'gyvyn,
614 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'gyvyn.

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'ivukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/320 cont./
821 The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd),
[982] no chukh-chugnd (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

• 773 The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel
825 were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire,
776 the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajrnandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and
[821] robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air, along the Milky Way (Tairnandz: -- tif); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each k:khal has its own Pal-n'ivukh, its own Tol-n'ivukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Tairnandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-n'ivukh: a fir, an ashberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chkhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose.
They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-n'ivukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He comes to the Gilyak, opens a window (kugutŷ), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avgujà" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-n'ivukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself, for Ge-n'ivukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/342 cont./
197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/
823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.
• 773 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.
761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

759 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
825 fices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may
[982] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sall.

994 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and
825 they treat him like a killed one. When they set off some-
[281] where (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

773 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

/343 cont./
• 773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

708 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chn
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkh
787 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is mai

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for e
ample, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threaten to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
[994] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitti in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of th things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed t
994 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following d the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkha or pay tikhsind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle.
The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not h
If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, ha around his neck, and feed it.

8 These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite
2 Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace",
7 the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of G nghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 237] [242]

5 Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be
1 gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

● 771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

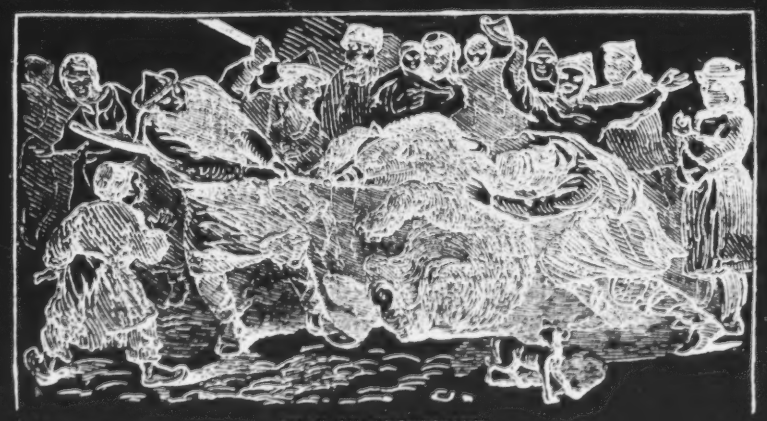
755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense 871 of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the attempts to Christianize them have not been very successful 825 thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and 964 animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 766 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-



BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

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772 COSMOLOGY--conception of the universe; cosmological systems (e.g., heavens and hells); universal categories (e.g., dualism of nature); etc. See also:
Realm of the dead . . . . . 775 Ideas about cosmic phenomena 821
Conception of a moral order of the universe . . 812

4 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends. He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

4 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
2 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
6 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
2 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

1 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

771 predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imagination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversations, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not emerged from fetishism.

776 God (kush or kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
782 never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In this we may already see something like priestly self-glorification. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

825 The bear usually appears as the executor of divine
783 ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their lifetime. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstitious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as a god or demigod.

825 The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
789 seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
278 gard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

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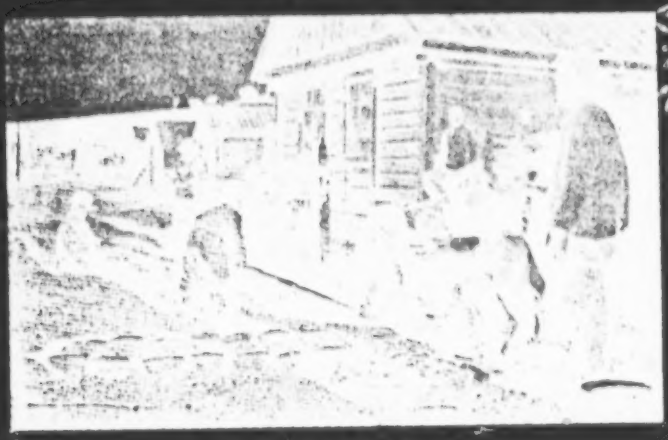

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', ~~who took care~~ 771
of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky 776
people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 614
kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 231
festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was [769]
connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526]
shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764
Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the 774 776 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[777] [778]

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife. The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman." Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands. [774] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head." [372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begins. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
● 774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'-yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
● [774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/78 cont./

756 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
• 774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[787] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

775 But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
776 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
[756] shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
775 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
772 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/80 cont./

764 those around him should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the little soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last bed on earth awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face toward the west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the elder brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and then, making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay their last tribute to him by throwing pieces of firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, readjust the firewood and poke the body so
• [774] that it will burn faster and better. At the same time they break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which frees the souls of these objects to follow the deceased... The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remains only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

[824] /81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was burned.

[262] After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which is eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back, they drop in for only a short time at the yurt of the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then disperse.

Amur

/306 cont./

778 824 A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'ákh, the head of a pike (ius), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

• 774 The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul -- cheg:n, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- cheg:n, and its two
[756] shadows, assistants. When the cheg:n of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

774 If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true,
787 it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

765 In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a
[764] dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyv), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/307 cont./

765 next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the
764 dead man -- mu n'ivukh tuv. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a curved knife (ig:dzeko) and, on the other, kes'kes' -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mly -- a purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister, mother) -- mu n'ivukh kiur, which will serve the deceased as an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the grave; next to this, a little stake with three horns (branches), on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk nir); furthermore, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'ivukh pyk, i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but the dressed stuffed doll -- k:ak (1) must be made without fail.

• [532] [774] 1. K:ak -- wooden image of the deceased, a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, k:ak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

765 In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the term of "observation" (tigr az'adz; -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased), they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyz'dz:, tigr pykyz'dz:).
[231] They walk to the tuv, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

Amur

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pûn'chû) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys
[776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami
• [774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

778 824 Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figur
yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first
778 782 824 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July. Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

G /322 cont./

756 Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a
● 774 shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

G Shamans make chkhnaj (a wooden image of pal-n'igyvyn),
756 inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists
798 of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the
782 shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it; however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chkhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

G When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake
755 and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like
796 mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

G If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to
755 Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the
756 soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will
796 live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The
794 shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

G Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Ornyr, i.e.,
755 by the Orok. They ask the chkhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chkhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chkhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chkhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chkhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
● 774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
841 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
854 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[835] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/331 cont./

795 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
787 him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

● 794 The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[231] large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski' (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.

[735] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make
[825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

795 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-n'igyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-n'igyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shriek at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

795 The night bird rakhch is of the size of the crow and just as
825 black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say ark.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

/348 cont./

793 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

798 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
796 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhna
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maim

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
● [794] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sittin in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed tha
794 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following da the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkhark or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle sw straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hi If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, han around his neck, and feed it.

t is interesting to note, in regard to the re
in historical times, that the Gilyak native
e isthmus which is said to have united ther
uriously prevalent.

ne story tells how, 'In the good old times n
r land (mainland at the mouth of Amur), fo
once there came water from the sea—much
of the mountains. During that flood many
self, by chance, on the top of a mountain,
no harm, and even allowed him to sit upon
r mountains, where more refugees from th
rs receded and [101] life went on as usual,
had come, to sell the furs they had saved;
sthmus was gone, swept away by the flood
h remains to this day. At the time of this
flowed, and large numbers of our brethren
asked them where this mountain was, and t
h of Alexandrovsk, called Ktaüsi pal (pal-p
ouse, 'Pic la Martinière,' after the botanis
rench from LaPérouse's account has not be

ported connexion of the island and main-
s have a legend telling of the destruction
n. It is one of the deluge stories that are

o boat was needed to go to and from the
or then dry land united it with Sakhalin,
, much water—then only were seen the
Gilyak hunters perished, but one found
sharing it with a bear. The beast did
its back while he swam to the tops of
ne flood were congregated. When the
the Gilyaks wanted to return whence
; but on arrival at the familiar spot, lo!
, and in its place was the narrow strait,
catastrophe,' they added, 'the river Amur
n on its banks perished.'
they indicated a peak about forty miles
peak or mountain), and named by La
st of his expedition. . . [LSS: A footnote
een reproduced.] When the natives see

peak, my Gilyak informant said, they always make a
ntain.

ave wondered whether the following had anything to
a coincidence. I happened to be passing down the St
ian cargo steamer, and talking to the captain about
he said, 'There are frequent fogs here, and you kn
here is always one guide. In the thickest of fogs can
ummit, of a mountain in Sakhalin.' Is this the moun
ls, the clouds and fog, on which the Gilyak and bear
nother legend bearing on the point is told by their old
randfathers [102] remembered the time when on the
it was very hot. The Russians came, and brought wi
re this, grapes ripened on the island, and now only
are very sour, and not really ripe. In the north the
s no fruit.' "

n offering to the god of the

do with the Gilyak story, or was
aits of Tartary on a small
the weather encountered there,
ow how difficult navigation is,
always be seen the top, just
tain, towering above the heavenly
found themselves?
l men, who say that 'their fathers
sland there were no Russians,
th them the cold and snowstorms.
in the south, and even there
re is only the plant, and it

774

ANIMISM--conception of the soul; number of souls; location in the body; characteristics (e.g., shape, visibility, separability); relation of the soul to the body, to the name, to the breath, to dreams, to shadows and reflections, and to life and death; notions of the temporary departure of the soul from the body; attribution of souls to animals and inanimate objects; etc. See also:

Personality 15
Names 551
Conception of conscience 577
Theories of disease and death 753, 761
Concepts of soul-stuff and animated fetishes . . 778
Spirit possession and dream interpretation . . . 787
Interpretation of shadows and reflections . . . 822
Ethnozoology 825
Ideas about breathing 827
Ideas about abnormal mental states 828

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
[562] into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/77 cont./

756 the furies and all the frenzied shrieks of the shamans. When the paroxysm was over, the face of the poor boy was terribly exhausted /78/ and seemed like the face of an old man. In a dream two kekhn appeared to him, one a man, the other a woman; they were the kekhn of his deceased father. They said to him: "We used to play with your father, now let us play with you." Another Gilyak boy, Indyn, also present there, observed the phenomenon of the paroxysm with profound amazement. "Well, now Koynyt will not be a man," he said "The kekhn want to force him to conform to their law."

In this remark is clearly expressed the Gilyak view of the shaman as a special being, as one chosen by the gods. But, as we see, even among the Gilyak selection is not easily attained.

756 158 Thus, the shaman is a chosen one, a person who believes in his power and selection. This conviction could not correspond more to his entire physical make-up, for real shamans are almost always people who suffer from various kinds of hysteria, acquired or inherited. And, as is well known, hysteria is that fertile soil which produces the gift of clairvoyance, hallucination, delirium, and obsessions. They are the individuals who most easily yield to hypnosis and autohypnosis. From childhood, the future shaman is hypnotized by the idea of the protection of the kekhn, and during seances of kamlaniye he uses any means necessary for autosuggestion. The study of the psychics of shamanism, in my opinion, amounts to the study of autohypnosis due to hysteria, and, of course, against a general background of an animistic world-view. Apart from the 756 774 gift of being chosen, the shaman has another enviable advantage over the common mortal. An ordinary mortal has only one soul, a rich man has two, while a shaman may have twice as many as they. Thus, the Ady-Tymovskiy shaman, Chamkh, the father of the boy-shaman, Koynyt, about whom I spoke earlier, had all of four souls. One of these souls was given to him by the mountain, another by the sea, a third by the sky, a fourth by the underground kingdom. During my stay on the

/74 cont./

755 the disgusting bitter root of that plant, eats hot coal, etc. Even such strong measures, however, do not always prove effective. Sometimes the evil spirit does not give in to any human terrorizing, and not only that, but sometimes he even carries off the soul of the sick man into the kingdom of the shades. Then the aid of the higher beings is indispensable.

[756] Such aid can be proffered only by specially chosen men, by specialists-expellers, i.e., shamans.

756 776 Among the Gilyak, shamans do not constitute a class, as among more cultured barbarians. Among the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen ones, who in night visions or in a trance receive a revelation from the god-protector about their high calling. From that moment the shaman has gods-assistants, executors of his commands. These gods-assistants are of two kinds: the kekhn and the kenchkh. The first perform his most important tasks. By force or trick it is they who pull the devil out of the organism of a sick man. They also carry the [774] shaman's soul in search of the stolen soul of a sick man, making their way with it even into the kingdom of the shades. As for the assistants, they are happy spirits who play with the shaman and help him only in tricks. The kekhn are creatures of the most varied breeds: there are kekhn-wolves, eared seals, eagle owls, reindeer, hares, celestial creatures, etc. Each kekhn has his master, who himself personally, very rarely comes to assist, sending his subordinates. The kekhn are capable of assuming any form and consequently can go anywhere necessary to save the sick man.

755 The shamans have three main methods of curing. One consists of hearing the patient out, falling asleep, and then, combining the dreams he has had, giving this or that advice. Having, for instance, seen a skewbald dog in his dream, he decides that for a cure it is necessary to sacrifice a dog, etc. Another method is the ordinary method of kamlanive normally described by ethnographers, namely, expelling the devil by means of frenzied shrieks, beating the tambourine, in a word -- [776] terror. Since, however, you frequently can do nothing with

/761 cont./
heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
476 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
554 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
561

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
225 are five oarsmen, one pila and one other man, then the pila
476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
561 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
885 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl skuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl skuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pila is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pila tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pila Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and t, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

225 [82] As mentioned above the pila performs mu-zi d
789 and t aj.
774 Mu-zi d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
751 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform zi d on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

mu-ziyed on the boat supports the assumption that at one time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as a living thing. Mu-ziyed on the boat serves, it seems, as a means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

Aside from mu-ziyed, t'aj is performed on the boat. T'aj means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of a branch of rowan (qosk-ŋks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines. One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these t'aj elsewhere.

There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke. They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-p-k-ezd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines t'aj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They first go to Ui-kr "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

9: Hawes--243 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 764, 774, 775

"For four days the corpse of the dead woman lies on the nakh of the hut, and during this time her soul pays visits to the four gods, renders an account of her earthly life, and receives instructions for the life after death. All her kindred must come together and not leave the hut during this period, and with all their powers they strive to call to mind and loudly recite all the virtues of their deceased kinswoman. This is done in order to prompt her spirit, lest her etherealized self should omit some of them in its vivâ voce. The lord of fire, as the junior god, serves in this case as messenger, and is therefore strictly kept going in all his force."

6, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, the soul
rough the hole or opened door, thence to e
at other world village of Mligh-vo, which
arth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim Gilyaks
e sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spirit of the
earth, the spirits of the dogs, the sledge,
umber according to the wealth of the depart
death. The sledge is broken, and so are a
s arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm), or if the
ngs (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it should rea
ngu-dzhakho). All these articles will be ne
ey must be broken in order to finish their
eir spirits. Every object has its soul, whi
inanimate objects only on being broken, a
o burn them is not to be thought of, becaus

Camping out on the banks of the river Tim
ght for fuel, when Mr. X. came upon a bit
the fire, when Vanka stopped him, crying

akes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut]
merge later and begin its long journey to
he Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the
say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where

deceased shall travel as he was accustomed
etc., must all be released. The dogs, in
ed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten
lso his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and
deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-
d meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife
eeded by the deceased in the future life; but
earthly existence, and to give release to
ch resembles it. This is set free in the case
nd is then used by the soul of the deceased.
e they cannot have that honour done them.
in the forest, we were casting around one
of shaped board which he was about to throw
out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

764, 774, 775, 825

Gilyak canoe.' Purification by fire
not shot, nor are their throats cut,
ar in the next world with this grave

is reserved only for the human being. The c
for if any of them had his skin broken he wou
personal defect."

4, 782, 825

ong the Gilyaks, all natural objects have a life o
le to the 'owners', if violence has been done. An
and the bear is superior to man in both mind a
'owners' of the forest, the mountains, the sea,

6. Czaplicka, quoting Sternberg, p. 271.

m certain leaves and roots [42] intended for a s
r purpose, he makes the dog a victim. Periodic
the spirits of clansmen who have been killed by

1. Idem., p. 272."

of their own; and sacrifice must
nimals are, in reality, human
and body. Sacrifices are offered
and fire. (6) The Gilyak carries

sacrifice, and, moved by a
al offerings are made to the bear
bears. (1)

775

775 ESCHATOLOGY--conception of the survival of the soul; career of the soul after death (e.g., mode of departure from the body, temporary sojourn near place of death, indefinite sojourn as a disembodied soul or ghost, journey to a realm of the dead); notions about ghosts, specters, apparitions, and phantoms (e.g., shape, substance, propensities); behavior of departed souls or ghosts (e.g., haunting of houses and cemeteries, visitations); spiritualistic beliefs; conception of a realm of the dead (e.g., place, mode of life, rewards and punishment); duration of afterlife; belief in immortality; ideas of transmigration and reincarnation; conception of the survival of the body (e.g., resurrection); etc. See also:

Belief in witches, vampires, and werewolves. . 784
Cult of the dead 769
Communication with spirits. 787
Notion of death and rebirth in initiation ceremonies 881

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

● 775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
796 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/58 cont./

●775 a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to
614 the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of
[166] the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain, water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters" and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i -- forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices. These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the
775 imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods
614 of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of
825 primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people), the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well, having entered after his death the clan of this or that master, also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore, that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem.
775 Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or pre-
614 decessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods, as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

614 The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other
171 interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
[562] for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
●775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/78 cont./

756 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[787] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

●775 But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
776 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
[756] shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
775 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
772 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/79 cont./

●775 not know exactly where this place is); the soul need only
772 descend into this opening and it reaches its goal. There everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, sea, rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to life and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth, fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even among the Gilyak the poor men find their consolation not in this best of all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, sickness and death await man. From there the soul must migrate into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul degenerates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat; and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite
[562] series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

764 /80/ Before entering mlyvo, the soul waits to be
775 equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and richer. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garments and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three, or six pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets are taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objects set off with the deceased on his journey.

764 While these preparations for a long journey are going on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night; people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the bear festival, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When they smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates that

/87 cont./

*614 On all the important occasions of life; in case of sick-
372 ness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey,
776 etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacri-
782 fices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan"
372 attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it
776 is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased
● 775 are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorites into his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[171] 2. It is curious that a similar view exists among the Buryat: a man who perishes from lightning becomes a powerful and beneficent spirit to whom sacrifices are made and prayers are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire, its ability to spread quickly, its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

/88 cont./

*614 372 Externally the clan unity of the fire finds expression in the following ways. Only a clansman has the right to light a fire in the hearth of a clansman. Only a clansman has the right to take fire out of the yurt. A member of another clan who has lighted his pipe at the clan hearth may not leave the yurt until he has finished his pipe. Any [688] infraction of these rules of the inviolability of the clan fire by a member of another clan inevitably incurs dangerous consequences for the clansmen and the obligation for the member of another clan to pay blood money.

Each clan has its own clan steel, guarded by the oldest member, and only with this steel can the fire be lighted when bear meat is cooked at the bear festival, which plays such an important role in the religious and clan life of the Gilyak. When it becomes necessary for the clan to divide, i.e., when a part of the clan is compelled to emigrate to a very distant place, the oldest member of the clan breaks the clan steel and entrusts one half to the oldest of the emigrants, and only after this is the clan formally divided.

The mistress of the fire, as the representative of the akhmal'k clan, plays quite an important role in interclan relations, binding, through her cult and protection, the clan in whose midst she dwells and to which she gave birth with the clan from which she came; from generation to generation she brings into it the daughters of her brothers and their descendants.

*614 ● 775 3. One mountain man, sea man, etc. -- the common benevolent clan masters of the mountain, sea, earth, etc. In the section on religious beli[illegible] we have already explained the nature and significance of this type of deity. These are not the fantastic heroes of the classical clans, not the vague, mythical beings whose clan celebrations were a simple traditional ritualism, but clansmen close to each living generation, who either died some kind of unnatural death (in the water, slain by a forest beast, and so forth) or,

/89 cont./

614 713 712 796 182

cremation, and the ears are placed upright, facing each other, in order to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these ties are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force -- the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is the free gift of the gods, his benefactors; without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustainers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifice and festival, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally directed to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, not from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

/90 cont./

* 614 713 712 796 182

In its evolution, this solidarity in the sacrifices to clansmen, fostered for ages, becomes the principle of the clan relation to the gods in general. When in whole individual affairs, during illness, say, the Gilyak makes a sacrifice, he will without fail summon his absent clansmen, even from afar, so that they may enjoy the beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

614 713 712 796 182 * 614 713

The principle of common clan deities, the sustainer of the clan, is the foundation of the institution of hospitality and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institution of hospitality among primitive peoples, even if only from travelers' descriptions, that it must be based on something more than mere social etiquette or even ordinary sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Arab, at his own hearth manifests the warmest hospitality to even his enemy, concerning whom at any other place he has only one imperative -- kill, evidently is impelled by a more powerful motive, a motive which has behind it religious sanction. And this must be said about the basis of the institution among all other primitive peoples, including the Gilyak. The Gilyak considers it his obligation to extend hospitality not only to the traveler, not only to the actually hungry man, but also in cases where from our point of view there is no necessity whatever for displaying this feeling. No matter how many times a day a neighbor may appear at his hearth, no matter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the viands in the possession of the host, not to mention the inevitable handful of tobacco for his pipe. /91/ If there is no extra tobacco, the host takes from with the guest in drawing on a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly dishes and delicacies. If you bring the host a glass of vodka, he will never allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put his lips to it, and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the house, although there may be dozens of them, including the children, even suckings. To do otherwise would be a very great sin, one might die.

/91 cont./

very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress" of the fire, "a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are so binding that the recipients of "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

614 713 712 796 182 * 614 713 712 796 182 * 614 713 712 796 182 *

[025] [026] [027] [028] [029] [030] [031] [032] [033] [034] [035] [036] [037] [038] [039] [040] [041] [042]

/88 cont./

sought by the deities, were prematurely torn from life in more natural ways, /89/ for example, those who died from longing for the mountain, sea, and such people who were enamored of them.

The beloved and chosen ones of the "master" of one or another element, upon whose bounty depends the entire welfare of the Gilyak, pass immediately after death into the clan of the corresponding "master" for a fairly long time (in the case of the mountain people, for example, up to their second death, i.e., for two generations, and during all this time, of course, they especially shower benefits upon their kinsmen, sending them forest beasts (the mountain man), or fish and sea animals (the water or sea man). And when the Gilyak speaks of some "mountain" man or some such man who feeds him, he has in mind his kinsman, who, within his recollection or at the most that of his father or grandfather, found himself, in the ways indicated above, among the host of the "masters." The time span of such [765] a chosen one is not long (two generations at most) and frequently one clansman has barely joined the gods when he is followed by a second, third, etc., cases of death from an attack by a wild beast or on the water are not rare. Thus, the bond between the living generation of clansmen and their divine clansmen-benefactors is profoundly alive and real. Many of them were known to everyone, either personally or through the vivid recollections of their contemporaries; special monuments (1) erected by their grateful

[766]

1. The monument of a man slain by a bear is the frame of a bear hunter, in which the remains of the slain man are kept in accordance with a special ritual (see below, subsection 6 /p.551 ff./). As for those who drowned, a boat with all the appurtenances of sea and river pursuits is put on the site of their

/761 cont./
heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224.

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237.

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/762 cont./
on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (***),

*** See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of uitsch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 851.

It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (tlõ), where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earths, I was told that they also went beyond these, kikr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

45. Olcha. From Chossiambo I learned the following about the views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/770 cont./
the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

chrenck--1240 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

2 cont./

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the dering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like- usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). aff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as g the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut- in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy ak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage- mber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the am-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of halin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uftsch, o deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as ng the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of rodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu he map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very efully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

780 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

764 burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

[775] [614] 372 784 756 776 [614]

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults.

538 Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

531 Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

[462]

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

[177]

9: Hawes--163-164 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 762, 775

"Resuming our journey again, we were still casting about for a low, level, sandy bed, and the twilight was fast gathering, when my attention was called from the terrestrial to the supernatural. From out of the now dark and gloomy forest came a half moan, half cry.

It was uncanny beyond words. A cry from the unknown, a moan from the depths of undisturbed regions. Our Gilyaks ceased paddling, and we asked, 'What is it? It must be some animal. Perhaps it is in the claws of a bear.'

'Kaukray! kaukray! (1) No! no! It is no animal. It is the shade of a dead man wander-

1. A Gilyak word, meaning "no" or "nothing."

ing in the forest.'

For the Gilyaks not only believe in a future world, but their conceptions really connote immortality. The members of their race on the mainland, who live on the banks of the Amur, hold that the spirit of the departed one reaches after several days' journey a great village in the centre of the earth called Mligh-vo, where life is much the same as on earth, with this difference, that there the hunting and fishing are unstinted. In fact, it is the familiar [164] 'happy hunting ground' of the Indian. A distinction is made between those who die a natural and a violent death, for the spirits of the murdered and suicides fly to heaven (tlo) tirect, thus avoiding the long journey, and therefore not requiring food

"Vanka declared that the spirit of
where the sun rises), but that of a b
us the general conception of his trib
versation with their Cham, or 'med
we were informed that 'a good man'
earth (evidently to Mligh-vo); but a
round the huts of the village.' "

a good man went to the Great Spirit (to the East,
ad man into grass. Whether or not he was giving
e we could not make out. Some days later, in con-
icine man,' and some of the elders of the Tro Gilya
s spirit goes into the ground into the middle of the
bad man's is disturbed, and drifts about like air

Section 13 (1)

1. The table of contents for this chapter is missing in the manuscript.

The bear festivals. Their cultural character and social signifi-
ance. -- The bear festivals among the Amur Gilyak. Cere-
nonies and entertainments before and during the killing of the
ears, as well as during the consumption of them. Burial of the
ones and skulls of the bears. Modifications among the Olcha,
s well as among the Gilyak on Sakhalin and the Ainu.

The bear plays an outstanding role in the life of all the
eoples of the Amur region and Siberia up to Kamchatka. But
mong none of them is this the case to the extent that it is among
he Gilyak. The huge size that it attains in the Amur region (2),

2. See my measurements of bear skulls in Vol. I, pp. 8 ff., of this work.

s vicious nature, which, perhaps because there it does not find
nywhere near the abundance of food that it does in Kamchatka,
nakes it not hesitate to attack even human beings, and its
equent occurrence at all times make it the most feared beast
f prey of the region. It is therefore not surprising that the
nagination of the Gilyak is much occupied with it and sur-
ounds it, in life as well as after death, with fearful superstitious
deas. For instance, there prevails among them the belief that
he soul of a Gilyak who was killed in a fight with a bear moves
nto the body of this beast of prey, which may have chiefly
risen from the fact that the bear in its mode of life and its
earing reveals many a similarity with them, in that it, like
hem, feeds largely on the salmon ascending the river in masses,
n berries, plant tubers, and the like, like them it prepares a
lace for itself for the winter in caves under snow-covered twigs,
ike them it stands upright in combat, etc.

/744 cont./

778 run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
751 lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
532 another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

778 The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
776 figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
532 cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[753] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
[761] him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
775 wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
766 the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
776 to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

778 I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans,
532 if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around
[751] the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/749 cont./

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic; see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chaż, or, as an idol, chaż-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

/761 cont./

II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

116, 775, 787

"The spirits of the deceased occ
relations; for, endowed with super
pay visits to their kindred, give th
troubles. If they desire to show [16
given to man to see them in a state
this subject to an old Gilyak, he sa
times. They come to warn us of so

'But,' I asked, 'how are you to k

'Why, of course, you call, and i
spirit, and then you must throw ou

'Have you ever seen such?'

'No.'"

asionally hold communication with their earthly
-natural capacities, they can in moments of dulnes
em useful counsel and warn them against unknown
5] themselves to any one they can; but it is only
approaching death, i.e. in a dream. Talking on
id, 'Spirits of the departed knock at the door some-
me misfortune.'
now that it is the spirit of the deceased that knocks
f there is no answer you know that it is a departed
t some food.'

"Wild swans occasionally flew ac
tap-tapping the trees. Our natives
aloft or settled on the top of a high
shot. These were the white-tailed
their tail-feathers, for which they
6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are s
of importance by placing them over
the feathers, which they use for ar
placed at the grave of a Gilyak who
his soul in its flight to heaven."

ross high overhead, and a woodpecker could be he
eagerly asked us to shoot the eagles which soared
tree, only to fly away as we approached within gun
eagles (Haliëtus albicillus), prized by the natives f
declared the Chinese gave them three dollars (abou
aid to use them to indicate the residence of a pers
his door; in any case, the Gilyaks themselves val
row-heads. The wings are also prized by them, be
has been murdered or has committed suicide, to a

to be placed at their grave. How and
plain, but the differentiation marks
murdered or suicide."

in what Mligh-vo differs from tlo they cannot ex-
heir conception of the sacredness of the soul of the

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [
tioned, but which possesses some special si
head, which is never on any account eaten. A
dogs which I bartered for were all minus the

It is noticeable that while the bear's head i
bring success and courage to the hunters, bu
eating of the brain would render the consume
The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak
phins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habi
place theirs near their huts and make offerin
and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyal
of the woods, and are not frequented by ther
of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it
of the animals whose spirits have gone back
those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of the
and either guard the remains of the Gilyak o

LSS: The bear fête] which I have not men-
gnificance. This is the saving of the bear's
A skin offered to me, and the fells of the
heads.

is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will
ut I gathered that the Gilyak believes the
er bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows.
cemetery, and there, with skulls of dol-
t common among the Ainus, who, however,
ngs of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them
ks' cemeteries are in the secret recesses
n. What the idea that lies at the [203] root
seems probable that they think the remains
to the great Pal ni vookh should rest near
se animals will come back to these spots
r at least refrain from haunting the living."

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (19
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, t
through the hole or opened door, the
that other world village of Mligh-vo
earth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim
the sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spir
on earth, the spirits of the dogs, th
number according to the wealth of th
to death. The sledge is broken, and
his arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm),
rings (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it sh
(ungu-dzhakho). All these articles w
they must be broken in order to fini
their spirits. Every object has its s
of inanimate objects only on being b
To burn them is not to be thought of

Camping out on the banks of the r
night for fuel, when Mr. X. came u
on the fire, when Vanka stopped him

he soul takes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut]
ence to emerge later and begin its long journey to
, which the Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the
Gilyaks say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where

it of the deceased shall travel as he was accustomed
e sledge, etc., must all be released. The dogs, in
ne departed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten
so are also his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and
or if the deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-
hould read meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife
vill be needed by the deceased in the future life; but
sh their earthly existence, and to give release to
oul, which resembles it. This is set free in the case
roken, and is then used by the soul of the deceased.
, because they cannot have that honour done them.
iver Tim in the forest, we were casting around one
pon a bit of shaped board which he was about to throw
, crying out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

9: Hawes--244-245 T-3 (1901

116, 764, 775

"At this juncture some of the followe
tery, which every village possesses in
impossible for a stranger to find. Ther
is built of cleanly stripped sticks of the
the ends of the sticks projecting, and e
sticks, moss, twigs, and larch chips.
family hastily construct with planks of
two and a half feet long, broad and high
a hole in the side, or a little door, whi
made, for they are anxious to finish th
therefore they use material which has
hand.

To erect the raff for the reception of
tion has been given would be an insult t
cortège is about to start. The journeys
soul is now ready, and only awaits the
divine capacities.

The cortège is followed by a crowd o
hair, loudly crying and weeping tears
other in enumerating the virtues of their

rs leave the crowd and run quickly to the ceme-
the secluded depths of the forest, in a spot quite
re on a site chosen by the family, a funeral pyre
e height of a man. It is of diamond shape, with
ight layers in height. On the top are more dried
At a few feet from the pyre these friends of the
wood a little hut-like building called a raff, about
n, with a sloping roof. This little structure has
ch looks towards the pyre. Great haste has to be
eir work before the procession arrives, and
been prepared by the friends of the dead before-

the soul of the deceased before the divine sanc-
o the gods; therefore the followers wait until the
to the gods [245] have been duly made, and the
purification by fire, which shall assure to it

f kindred and acquaintances, with dishevelled
of sincerity or convention. They vie with each
dead comrade, hoping thereby to gain his protection."

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

of a Gilyak canoe.' Purification by fire is
are not shot, nor are their throats cut, for
appear in the next world with this grave pe

reserved only for the human being. The dog
if any of them had his skin broken he would
rsonal defect."

9: Hawes--246-247 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 764, 775

"The ashes of the cremated corpse are gathe
box (paff), and buried on the site of the fire. So
are buried beneath a hole in the floor of the raf
the deceased is stuck into the ground by the raf
the kindred, and perhaps as a landmark for the

In front of the hole or door of the raff are rai
erection resembling a miniature goal-post, and
provisions, tobacco, etc., for the use of the so
have two wooden boxes—one cylindrical and the
carved with scroll pattern, albeit very smelly—
[247] containing rice, fish, etc., and a pair of
are covered with pieces of bark to protect them
animals."

red together and put into a coffin-like
metimes, as on the mainland, the ashes
f. A stick with pieces of the garments of
f, and serves apparently as memorial to
return of the soul of the departed.
sed two poles and a cross-piece, an
on the cross-bar are hung all manner of
ul of the deceased on its long journey. I
other rectangular in shape, interestingly
-which originally hung at such a grave,
wooden chop-sticks. All these provisions
from the ravages of birds and wild

9: Hawes--242-243 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 556, 764, 775

"Four garments—short-skirted frocks—ar
Only the best may be selected, and in case o
cade, I have mentioned, will be used. Over a
reason of the four garments is this. The spir
each of the gods or lords in turn, Tol ni vook
rivers); Pal ni vookh, the lord of the forest;
the judge of good and evil; and as her duty on
after the fire, so Tur ni vookh is her most in
each one, and the road is long and difficult,
suffices for a journey, and she must not appe
course, if the family of the deceased is poor,
delicacy; but woe to the light-minded membe
four garments on their dead. She and her kin
in the next world will be poverty-stricken ev
condition, and her kindred will suffer many r
whose majesty has been insulted."

e placed upon the corpse of the woman.
f a 'wealthy' Gilyak the rare Chinese bro-
ll the corpse is robed in a shuba. The
it of the dead woman must appear before
kh, the [243] lord of the water (sea and
Tur ni vookh, the lord of fire; and Kiskh,
earth was to keep the hearth, i. e. look
timate deity. Since she must appear before
four dresses are necessary, as one only
ear before the god in torn garments. Of
, the god will overlook that little want of
ers of a rich family, if they omit to place
dred will indeed have a bad time; her life
en as she has shown herself in miserable
misfortunes from the hands of those gods

Our talk then drifted on to the passing of morta
de a rather remarkable statement; but I was no
ch of the form of it was due to the interpreter,
Mr. X., on whose accuracy and appreciation o
end.

Ie said, 'When a man dies, he does not change.
rt just as before, and only his spirit is missin
ıld be alive. Therefore, I believe the spirit liv
xpect to see my father, but where I cannot say.
en his father died his grandfather came in the f
expectation of his father coming for him in the

ls into the next world, and the elder
ot sure then, nor am I now, as to how
who in this case was unfortunately
of the points raised, I could always

He has ears, eyes, nose, hands, and
g. If this were to come back the man
es, [242] if not here then elsewhere.
' Our 'captain' Yungkin declared that
ire and took him, and Yungkin waited
same way."

These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace", the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of G nghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 257] [242]

Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

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845 If twins s
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proof that t
At every m
the others
everybody
power. Eac
himself as
name of a
twins. The
another chi
in the tribe
general cus
ancestors.
845 The grea
766 childhood.
782 mountains
775 beings for
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A little figu
dead child
of the fami
food they e
day. This
parents of
generation
ceremonial

no are descendents of the Ainu bury
eir bodies in the earth.

d after their death. If that were done all
ent at the ceremony would be punished with
their eyesight. Even the parents of twins
buried in the earth, because they too have
atives of the god of the mountains. The
twins, however, are considered to be
embers of the tribe, and at their funeral
deviation from the custom.
stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
r lives, the object of awe for all their
nd friends although there may be enough
hey lack every kind of supernatural power.
eeting, either in friendship or in hostility,
remind them of their unusual progenity and
attributes to them that mysterious innate
h of the twins bears the name he gave
a child. The custom of giving the child the
lead ancestor is not followed in the case of
names of the twins are neither given to
ld in the same family nor to another child
. Here too we see a deviation from the
stom of giving children the names of dead

test awe is felt for those twins who die in
The offspring of the spirits of the
who, while living among ordinary human
a short time, who did not get used to them
feel he was one of them, has especially
o do harm to people; that is why they try
his favor. The family who had harbored
me offspring of the mountains constructs
lel of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a
inside the house or outside in the open.
re carved in wood which represents the
s put into that little hut. The members
y consider it necessary to give some of the
at themselves to that little figure every
ule is strictly followed not only by the
he twins but also by the two following
. Only the great-grandchildren, observing
rites, carry the little figure with its

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, fo
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter lo
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground;
they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tri
is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child,
tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.
753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, whic
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke the
anger. Several diseases which attack the parents an
relatives of the twins are considered to be symptom
of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are
certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone,
squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of
convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is
considered to be a consequence of the mountain
spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says
"tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is
tormenting".
784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to liste
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautio
they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth o
twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow house-
hold articles nor to accept gifts from friends who ha
given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are
considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard
objects, however, especially tools made of metal, d
not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the
new one.
842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this north
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the
transference of physical peculiarities from one man
to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an
explanation for the superstitious remedies they use
for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who
cannot bear children must ask another very fertile
woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and
she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired
success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be
transferred from one person to another like a
contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel
which had been used by the sick person.

"For four days the corpse of the dead woman
his time her soul pays visits to the four gods,
nd receives instructions for the life after death
nd not leave the hut during this period, and wit
nind and loudly recite all the virtues of their de
rder to prompt her spirit, lest her etherealize
ivâ voce. The lord of fire, as the junior god, s
s therefore strictly kept going in all his force."

ies on the nakh of the hut, and during
enders an account of her earthly life,
. All her kindred must come together
n all their powers they strive to call to
ceased kinswoman. This is done in
d self should omit some of them in its
erves in this case as messenger, and

116, 562, 764, 775

"Crying and loud taking fill the hut. The m
and all vie with each other in showing their a
eschewed, pipes are broken in pieces, and t
If the deceased be a man, similar ceremo
maintainer of the hearth, he [244] has to giv
only; and therefore his body requires only t
days. As with the woman, over the other ga
have not yet gained that supernatural capacit
raiment is necessary on their long journeys.
At the end of the lying-in-state, i.e. on t
for the man, the corpse is taken out of the h
team of dogs. The shuba is taken off, for alt
ties, the journeys have been made, and it is
gained by purification."

ourners loose their hair from the pigtails,
.bandonment of pleasure. Luxuries are
ne tobacco is allowed to fall out.
nies are gone through, but as he is not the
e an account of his doings to three gods
ree garments, and lies in the hut but three
ments is worn a shuba; for their spirits
y which defies the elements, and warm

e fifth day for the woman and on the fourth
ut and laid on a narta, a sledge drawn by a
hough the soul has not yet its divine facul-
no longer needed. These are now to be

"In talking of their departed, they never called th
ch, i. e. unlucky, ill-omened. Filial piety as amo
nd the elder before us was no exception to the rule
his father's funeral pyre, his father being a well
ecessary for his spirit to travel with an honourabl

hem by their name. That would be
ong the Chinese is a cardinal virtue,
e. He had killed no less than ten dogs
-to-do man, and therefore it was
e cortège in the next world."

: Bush--102 T-2 (1865) 1871
, 764, 775, 825

"Their funeral rites are sometimes quite impressiv
rned, and afterward a small wooden house or tomb is
ath the soul is supposed to take up its abode in the fa
remains until released from its confinement by the d
escape, it has become customary to sacrifice the d
eature being first fattened for the occasion."

ve. The remains are first
erected over the ashes. At
vorite dog of the deceased, where
leath of the animal. To facilitate
og at the tomb of its master, the

776

SPIRITS AND GODS--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

Totemic beliefs associated with kin groups . . . 61 Hero worship 769
Religious practices 78

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
797 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
• [776] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[77] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[756] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
197 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

/55 cont./

776 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for
782 example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for
these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the
other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such
gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning
to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers.
Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacri-
fice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary.
The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one
cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the
meat of animals.

782 If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he
1484 respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over
the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may
arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out,
he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacri-
fice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not
demanding.

123 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime
776 stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself.
It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost with-
out provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and
some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I un-
expectedly informed my companions that I had decided to
betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect
plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome
with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" in-
tention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offer-
ing as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had at-
tempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape,
perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat,
Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement
Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially
agitated.

/56 cont./

123 "What are you afraid of?" I said to him. "You will stay,
776 be alive, go back home, everything will be fine and do not
782 worry about me." "No, friend," replied Gibel' with anima-
tion, "that is a bad law; we have traveled together, worked
together, written together, searched together for the stone
ax, looked at people together, passed judgment together, and
now I will go back home and are going to die here? Is such
the law? And what will the most great chief say? 'Why,'
he will say, did you not see to it that the "tyan'gi" (gentle-
man) traveled well?' He will say that I killed you. That
will be a great sin. No, you had better not touch the god of
the earth; he is terribly big, strong, and he can get terribly
angry."

123 Seeing that I was adamant, Gibel'ka, after some thought,
776 said: "You have nothing to give the Head of the earth, such
782 an important 'tyan'gi' and yet to have nothing to give. If
we give him a present and say a good word, perhaps he will not
become angry." Then I remembered that a few pieces of
candy that I use for slaking my thirst when climbing a moun-
tain were left in my pocket and, showing them to my elated
companions, said that I /57/ would take them to the angry god
and say a good word. My companions calmed down somewhat,
and I set out on my way. In the evening when I came back
loaded with a collection of herbs and minerals, my companions
surrounded me with joy and began to inquire about what word
I said to the Head of the earth. I was forced to recite for them
impromptu prayers in their national style. "Lord of the Earth,
you are very big and strong and can become terribly angry.
All people know you. I came from a distant land, from a
most distant land I came in order to look at you; please make
it so that I and my companions are healthy and return home,
and do not die of hunger on the way. Please feed me well!"
When, exhausted and starving, we returned that very day to
the settlement of Nyur very close by, and Gibel'ka, while the
tea was being boiled, told the amazed listeners about my
sacrifice and about the eloquent prayer, something extraordinary
happened. All the people looked with tender emotion, while

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus,
thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak,
not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my
companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long
time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are
dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of
sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a
long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn oc-
casions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time,
depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[776] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told:
"Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master
love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion
of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man
before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its
death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life
of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak
offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The
clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe
we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common
fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the
Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon.
The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical be-
ings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own
clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
766 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was
killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he
was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness,
if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/72 cont./

G An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the
776 origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak
761 is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the
262 Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their
G1 Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi
776 woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear
761 and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently
262 often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of
773 a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened,
however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually
she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were
found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she
requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that
in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually
observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear
that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, conse-
quently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G
• 776 Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have men-
tioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides
these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are
evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'ki" and
"kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and
are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They
appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the
shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They
are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground
and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious
creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are in-
dividual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of
beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become
enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the
776 Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others
761 ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all
753 sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/73 cont./

• 776 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people would
761 not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result of
753 the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the Gilyak
will never touch a sable that died in the taiga, even though his
skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil as-
suredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gilyak,
lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him, so
an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every step,
753 in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil being
776 who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly
eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick man
dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from within,
easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ is not
functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortness of
breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has got
inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It is
imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is effected
in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending with
the most complex.

755 Here is an example which quite graphically illustrates
the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman, who
was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was placed
in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clean
fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of rags,
canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the
woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and
prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus saved.
But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others re-
quire stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened by
extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightening
appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing
methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to beat
his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unnatural
voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end /74/
he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a state
of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), chews

/74 cont./

755 the disgusting bitter root of that plant, eats hot coal, etc.
Even such strong measures, however, do not always prove ef-
fective. Sometimes the evil spirit does not give in to any
human terrorizing, and not only that, but sometimes he even
carries off the soul of the sick man into the kingdom of the
shades. Then the aid of the higher beings is indispensable.

[756] Such aid can be proffered only by specially chosen
men, by specialists-expellers, i.e., shamans.

756 Among the Gilyak, shamans do not constitute a class,
• 776 as among more cultured barbarians. Among the Gilyak, the
shamans are chosen ones, who in night visions or in a trance
receive a revelation from the god-protector about their high
calling. From that moment the shaman has gods-assistants,
executors of his commands. These gods-assistants are of two
kinds: the kekhn and the kenichkh. The first perform his most
important tasks. By force or trick it is they who pull the devil
out of the organism of a sick man. They also carry the
[774] shaman's soul in search of the stolen soul of a sick man, making
their way with it even into the kingdom of the shades. As for
the assistants, they are happy spirits who play with the shaman
and help him only in tricks. The kekhn are creatures of the
most varied breeds: there are kekhn-wolves, eared seals, eagle
owls, reindeer, hares, celestial creatures, etc. Each kekhn
has his master, who himself personally, very rarely comes to
assist, sending his subordinates. The kekhn are capable of
assuming any form and consequently can go anywhere neces-
sary to save the sick man.

755 The shamans have three main methods of curing. One
consists of hearing the patient out, falling asleep, and then,
combining the dreams he has had, giving this or that advice.
Having, for instance, seen a skewbald dog in his dream, he de-
cides that for a cure it is necessary to sacrifice a dog, etc.
Another method is the ordinary method of kamlaniye normally
described by ethnographers, namely, expelling the devil by
means of frenzied shrieks, beating the tambourine, in a word --
[776] terror. Since, however, you frequently can do nothing with

/74 cont./

755 only noisy terror, during kamlaniye the above-mentioned
● 776 nikhti kekhn are called on to help. In point of fact, calling
on the spirits is at the present time the essential part of
kamlaniye. The entire power of the autohypnosis which the
755 shaman creates in himself with frenzied shouts, narcotics, the
776 deafening sounds /75/ of the tambourine, wild dancing is used
787 to evoke in himself that high degree of sensitivity due to which
he sees and hears his spirits-protectors. We can fully believe
that he actually hears and sees them. And with his faith he
hypnotizes those around him. I hope that no one will suspect
me of a partiality for the shamans, but I can calmly testify
that in my presence the ecstacy of the shaman and the mysteri-
ous condition in which the frenzied chosen one thrashed and
shrieked brought the Gilyak to such a state that they had
hallucinations and saw everything that the shaman himself
755 saw in his trance. The shaman skillfully has recourse to first
776 one, then another of his kekhn, depending on the circum-
stances. Thus, if the devil has stubbornly settled inside the
organism and does not want to leave, the shaman calls on the
ar-rymnd-kekhn, which turns into a fiery ball and makes its
way into the belly of the shaman and from there to the most
distant parts of his body, so that during the seance the shaman
emits fire out of his mouth or nose or from any part of his body.
After being thus filled with fire, he touches the sore spot with
his lips and lets in fire, which conclusively drives out the
devil. The meaning of this device lies in the same primitive
principle of terror -- in this case, frightening with fire, which
I mentioned at the beginning. Generally the kekhn are quite
a shrewd people. Thus, when a kekhn makes his way to the
master of the sea for the small soul of a drowned man, which
lies on a bed in the yurt of the master himself, he takes along
a white reindeer. Of course, the sea people, who have never
seen such a strange beast, run out of the yurt in order to look
at it. This moment is utilized by the kekhn to steal the
little soul of the drowned man.

/75 cont./

755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
● 776 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new
calico (per) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside be-
fore the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the
seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the prized dish "moo'."
potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will
treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a
corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is
hung in a circle, and a sharp knife with a nail in it is placed near
the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found
its way into the mlyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping
it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it
into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be
placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run
back through the floor.

/76/ The third method of curing is at a distance.
755 When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no
shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the
shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts
with all his might: "Chamnay, nikhovlatyngra n'onyuya,"
i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then
776 supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn,
● 776 and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine,
but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which
[056] has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man
will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the
details of the wonderful night.

756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
[191] the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur
River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even
here. I was often shown places from which shamans were
lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew
up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers.
I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resur-
rected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.
[070] Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

/78 cont./

756 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to
rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal
to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire
organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also
has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose
death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a dupli-
cate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the
Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an
idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive
man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology
lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably
as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a
seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[087] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to
the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course
of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality,
all this is performed by this little soul.

But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
776 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
● 776 shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help
[056] man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him.
This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil
genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body,
these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man.
Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care
of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby
among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some
time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into
a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak --
mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally,
however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the
soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
774 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
774 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/86 cont./

*614 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is
397 everywhere.
193

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is
homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and
the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have
long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and
they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kin-
ship within the clan.

2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of
*614 clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan
397 deity to the Gilyak. It is worth there also according to
● 796 one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of
the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman
with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the
fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent
burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they
are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but
also by those who, having gone to the other world, have be-
come the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea,
etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence
in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a
deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from
any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an inter-
mediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[191]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also
plays the role of intermediary be-
tween human beings and the gods;
he intercedes for human beings,
he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/87 cont./

*614 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sick-
397 ness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey,
● 796 etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacri-
782 fices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack --
and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request.
And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petit-
ion to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the
sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

In order to understand the real basis of the "clan"
*614 attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it
397 is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased
796 are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the
795 fire, who can receive his favorites into paradise, so that
these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire: 2)
in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[191]

2. It is curious that a similar view
exists among the Buryat: a man
who perishes from lightning becomes
a powerful and beneficent spirit to
whom sacrifices are made and prayers
are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman"
(mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint
echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire,
its ability to spread quickly, in many tongues (tongues of
flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda)
understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" spe-
cial advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the
rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions;
finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance,
i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

/184 cont./

*835 levirate. Then, in order that the
woman remain in the clan of her
deceased husband, she is given, ac-
cording to the decision of the clan
council, to any clansman of an
ascending or descending degree of
kinship with her late husband.

634 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons
*835 of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.
● 796 In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such
persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil
[825] spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in
beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a
[827] fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the
same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay
[533] themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging
of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair,
the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a
"bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a
"devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters --
urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the ob-
ject of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age,
could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the
criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the for-
bidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like
the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in
our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced
on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in
himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests
when the question of the promiscuity of husbands of his individual
spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the
noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the
realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; un-
restrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/309 cont./

764 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
764 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
774 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinyn n'kch: "Go eat human meat!" He
rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys.
Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes th
a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has
approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a
sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased o
(to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in con-
stant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into
the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following
day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies.
Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two
summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroye
right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they mak
764 real toinfir and sacrifice from them down to the third generatio
774 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) pa'tkokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:ar
n'vyush -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questio
2) to which particular pal (i.e., pal of one's own or of a differen
[155] clan), and so forth. If cannot drive away the evil spirit, but
can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with
regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also durin
sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad sham
steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are s
764 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
● 797 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [778] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 774 776 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[777] [778]

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/54 cont./

825 [766] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 776 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" -- master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

825 776 554

/55 cont./

776 825 For the Gilyak, the most important gods-"masters" are Pal'-yz' -- the master of the mountains and of the taiga, and Tayrnadz, the same as Tol'-yz' -- master of the sea. The first lives on the highest mountain, and with him, whole settlements of his clansmen. Bears serve him as dogs. All the beasts of the taiga are subordinate to him, and, at his discretion, he distributes them to the Gilyak. It is he who orders the sable to dress himself in a new skin and hurry into the noose of the Gilyak; he, again, orders the bear to offer a good spot for a true blow. The god of the sea, Tayrnadz, lives on the bottom of the Sea of Okhotsk. He is a very old man with a white beard, who lives with his old wife in an underwater yurt. In the yurt there is a huge number of boxes with all kinds of spawn, which he throws by the handful into the sea from time to time. It is he who, at the appointed time, sends the countless detachments of salmon, without which the life of the Gilyak would be impossible; it is he who sends out the kosatki to establish order in the sea and drive all kinds of sea animals toward the Gilyak.

776 Besides these most important gods, there is a great number of less important ones who watch over the Gilyak. In the house of the Gilyak the master of the fire and the mistress of the threshold, keep vigil over him. Some kind of "master" watches at every stream, looking after the well-being of the Gilyak...

Not all the gods, however, are on such close terms with man. The sky is inhabited by whole tribes of tly-nivukh'i, heavenly people, who only rarely interfere in the affairs of the Gilyak, and then to no purpose, for a joke; for example, out of mischievousness a heavenly man will lower a fishing rod with hooks to the earth in order to catch some Gilyak. This does not always work, however. For example, the young [538] Gilyak, Il'k, from the village of Arkovo told me that tly-nivukh once caught his father with a golden hook, and he just saved himself by grabbing a tree, thus getting away with only a scare and a torn coat.

/315 cont./

42 Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chmáus) are placed on the
82 appropriate half; if there is not enough space, then on the appropriate nau (tol or pal'). /316/ /Sketch of the house-plan appears here./

42 /317/ Tyvyz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under
176 the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erkh pusk; if the family is large then also the kemfakh (3) and ponakhfakh (4). The bear's head is placed in the middle (25).

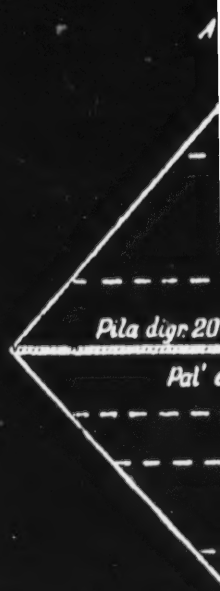
356 In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed:
382 the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back (of the house), and on a thread stretched between them are hung images of the sun (keng) and the moon (long chakh). They are not renewed later.

42 When the house is completed, sacrifices are made: They
82 prepare mos' 1) alys -- berries, 2) rak: -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four corners (chonkh), four posts (mon'-nakh), and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, amkhas', and the rear one, kemkhas', in which the master lives; they also feed the crossbeam -- tyjf (edz:). Here the old man says: "Urla dyf muja' nolagu kýnynguch: humguja', ta sikhydz kh:olaf ta humguja'" -- be a good house (sit firmly). Make it felicitous for my
56) children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." In autumn the house is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv arnydz:.

42 Tyv yz' bakh -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the
78 threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who
76 guards against the entry of the milk'.

Lym yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the
42 ground, they place different foods (chyudz:) -- for the earth --
82 the master and the tol fynydz:.
76



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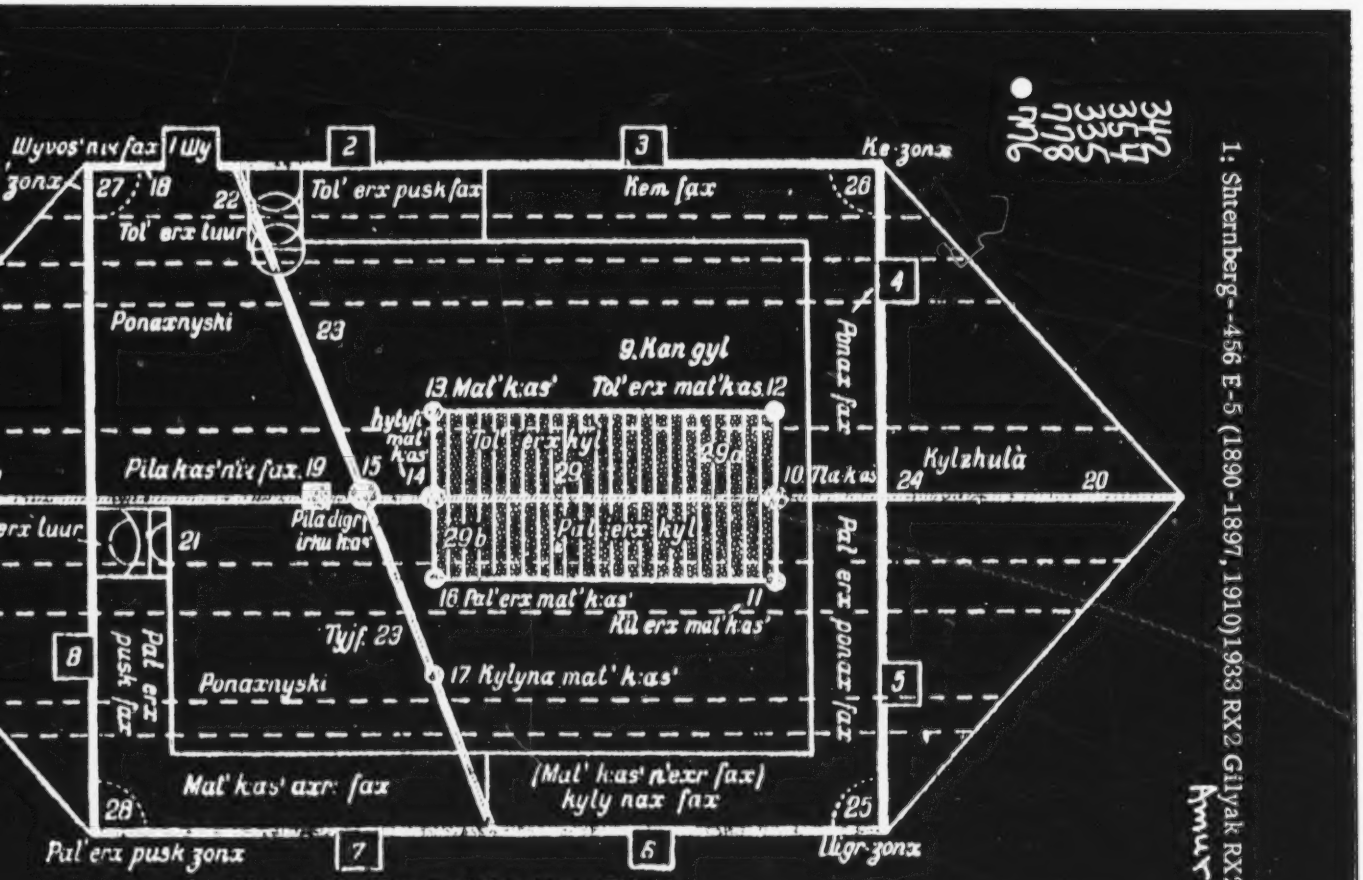

Plan of the House of the Amur Gilyak

the terms above have been changed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other
the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix). /

1: Shternberg--456 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
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346

309 cont./

The shaman calls up his kekhn and treats them to fat, sugar, d vodka. "Children, leave from the window!" shouts the aman. After /310/ a while the window crackles, and the kitus' ters. The kitus' lives, not with the shaman, but beyond the nges, beyond nine ranges, beyond nine streams; there are ol'tsy (pákhtigraf) there. The master there is an old man. he house is of iron and stone and has gates: the first gates are arded by a boa; the second by crocodiles (there are small zards-crocodiles -- mèng:aj here); the third and last gates e guarded by a tiger. Pal'-g:an=haluvidz:(?), i.e., a small ger, sits in front of the threshold and guards. With this old an lives the chief old man pila k:ak hejmar (pal yz', pallung vukh -- the mountain master-man). Near the pila-khas' (a post hich supports the matká) in each yurt there must be a stone for e kettle (nichvakh) and another stone at the threshold. This orm is kept under the first stone. In this house there are vari- s animals: simple frogs -- rall, and the frogs of this particular use, mifpidz:. This little worm was given by the shaman his own little worm for safekeeping. The shaman: "Massi legible), go there, request it of the boa and tiger, the ardians of the gates." Sometimes the boa will continue to be bborn for days on end; they promise it a black dog, dog ood, a double portion of potatoes, a beautiful inau, etc. The l-yz' is promised a spear and so forth. "I shall give thee mor, I shall give thee a spear, a large kettle with four handles, piece of Chinese silk cloth, a furry black dog, and yet another g with spots and speckles I shall sacrifice." "Pet'gir: chkhuz' khtá k:akh chkhuznykhta' pilavyn' noz' nykrvyn' tata arbgir, k:angir ygrluk an'chi kurgur g:angir ch'khyz' nykhta." then agrees and begins to ask the kitus' to come out. The tus' slowly crawls out, the massi wraps it up in white silk d brings it to the shaman. The shaman then says: "Having oved away from the window, sit, the worm is coming, having oved away from such and such a window, sit. "Pakh jenverkhnga e, kitus' pryjvura! Kembakh pakh jenverkhnga fivé." And ere the worm, like an arrow, pierced the window and straight the shaman. The shaman took it.

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pún'chu) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys [776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami [774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

778 824 Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figures, yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first 778 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July. 782 Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount 824 of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

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Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda, a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt. Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja', kholafti lygyguja'," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a crossbow (narródz:) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/313 cont./

morning it is necessary to take back the ski and stealthily. These things are placed so descend the tree, and by these objects they of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good hea "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us g thing while another goes on and on pursuing What is the reason for this?"

During a takh -- smallpox epidemic Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zy lage of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray befo This old man remembers four big takh.

Pal likes a tree with different peculia occasions such objects are selected. A sacr to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mou not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). H seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him versation going on on the other side -- that mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol white one. Each large house has two fires, If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuu bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that kh stoves.

Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a ha is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench / placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, an they invariably boil the dolphins, here the b except the skulls and heads, which are carr n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from of the entire khala, that they throw a little Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tob a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that out and feed it. This is the main office of

and so forth quietly
hat the Tly-n'ivukh
find out the nature
rt," if he will give a
o, one caught some-
but gets nothing.

-- in Tyr all the
present rice, roots,
avkayu from the vil-
re the tree chédzigr.

rities, and on solemn
ifice is always made
ntains), but they are
e is most frequently
. There is a con-
is Pal-yz'. Pal --
-- sea master -- a
Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur.
, and if he must boil
ala who has two

mmer, chong-chtás',
abaz/)on which are
d reindeer. And here
ones are left to lie,
ed away to k:khork
. During the fynyndz:
mos' and muvi
here, in the presence
of everything into the
misfortune will
acco, ag:a (akhydz') --
everyone should come
Tol. People are sent

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 [087] Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 354 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy -- door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side 342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. Tol erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylyná mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor. [354] 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the [335] master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house. 24. Kylzhutá -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a person who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed [078] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things. [076] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do with the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.

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"Make a battue, drive him toward this grass figure. Ah! He has turned into a mouse." The chorus: "He is going there. He turned into a human form... he turned into a bird. He got into the post!"

Finally, there is no other place, and he has to get into the chkhnaj -- the grass figure, whether he wants to or not. When he has entered it, the hand of the person holding the thread appears to shake. The shaman shouts: "Hit him!" And that one hits. They light a candle, throw light on it, and inspect the grass figure: it again does not have its head toward the threshold. The shaman searches for him again. He finds him. Again the same thing. Finally, the chkhnaj has its head toward the threshold, which means that the evil spirit has gone out. The shaman leaves his massi to keep watch overnight. In the evening of the following day the shaman calls the real "master," but that one answers that he was late. The real "master" is generally hidden under the earth; the shaman looks for him and addresses to him the request: "Here they have built an isba, be the master, they will feed you, watch over it, protect it!" Finally the master has appeared in the middle of the floor and stuck out his head. "Come out," says the shaman, "do not be shy, say what you want, we will prepare everything!" The master answers: "Kill the dog, rub the corner with its blood, boil its meat so that the dog steam fills the house. Boil kosterka. Boil mlyk marcho (a fish with two fins at the tail), boil the white lin'ka, the puchka, the head of the Siberian salmon, treat each post to the steam, do thus, make a fumigating smoke with marsh tea, drive in a piece of pig iron several pieces by the threshold and in other places of the floor, then the floor will be iron. Strengthen it thus."

Amur

/319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the
[782] master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year)
776 they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request:
"Pkhys'kyr ururngjd! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
958 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
731 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
753 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for
766 they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
[143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the uni-
776 verse, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
[822] with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

793 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal'-n'igyvyn,
776 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'igyvyn.
614

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunder-storm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'ivukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/320 cont./

821 The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd);
[782] no chukh-chugnd (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

773 The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel
825 were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire,
776 the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajrnandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air,
[821] along the Milky Way (Tairnandz: -- tif); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each kikhal has its own Pal-n'ivukh, its own Tol-n'ivukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Tairnandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-n'ivukh: a fir, an asbberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chikhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose. They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-n'ivukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He comes to the Gilyak, opens a window (kugutf), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avguja" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-n'ivukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself, for Ge-n'ivukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/321 cont./

776 upon himself. Ge-n'ivukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way:
His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chikhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Taru -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (kyz narla n'ivukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Aleksey caught a goya with three worms adhering to it by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing.
But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chikhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/

756 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sick-
776 ness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mighiest master is T'lykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115] 1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman. S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifices to make. So far he has only pal-n'igyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

/322 cont./

756 Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a
776 shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

Shamans make chikhnaj (a wooden image of pal-n'igyvyn),
776 inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists
782 of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it, however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chikhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

755 When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake
776 and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

755 If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to
756 Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the
776 soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will
774 live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Omyr, i.e.,
755 by the Orok. They ask the chikhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chikhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chikhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chikhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chikhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
578 of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
84 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
762 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-cholch. A
578 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
833 away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
558 She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/324 cont./

755 During the seance of the curing of a sick man, a looped thong -- tshyng -- is tied over his bed, and on the floor before him is placed a kettle (nich) with a nail (trofrvat). With this thong the kekhn catches and ties up the sick man's soul in Mlyvo, places it under his arm, brings it to the yurt, sticks it in the kettle -- otherwise it will depart through the floor into Mlyvo-khuty -- and pierces it with the nail. The nail and the thong are taken by the shaman.

756 The kenchkh and shaman conjuring. The kenchkh helps the
789 shaman only in conjuring -- lernd; the shaman pierces his breast
776 with a knife, but in reality he pierces the kenchkh (chekokhis' per'pind). They bind the shaman's hands behind him with a thong, and the kenchkh comes and unties it and throws the looped thong to its Gilyak owner. The shaman's robe, fully buttoned, slides off over his head and flies (sits on a plank bed).

The shaman puts a noose made out of a slender thong on his neck, and two men on each side pull the noose tight while he continues to sing songs. Finally the shaman's head falls to one side and his torso to the other. Then the Gilyak begin to tap, while one beats a tambourine. Finally, one hears stamping outside the door and in comes ken'chkh-yz'n in the shape of a large cow. He walks up to the big kettle, drinks up all the water, eats all the meat of the shaman, and new meat and a head grow. Then the soul of the shaman gets up on the crossbeam over the hearth and begins to sing Kyu-kyu songs. Then the head grows onto the body, and the shaman again comes back to life. In 1897 /325/
956 there were shamans in Pylvo--1, in Tekhrvo--1, in Tyrmych--2, in Chayvo--2, in Kekhrvo--2, in Ornyr--one female shaman, an old woman. The biggest shaman is the old man Kymysk in Tyrmych.

/325 cont./

755 Improvisation of a storyteller-shaman. To compose, tyl'gund, is
538 not allowed; it is a sin. This is a legend, truth.
538 N'as'tund may (be told) by a n'as'tun'-n'ivukh (storyteller)
776 or a shaman, who is helped by a special kind of kekhn (mif-n'ivukh-kekhn, who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When inquiring about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and began to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that this was inspiration by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyum listened with ecstasy and with interest asked for explanations.

756 Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song
533 was far from that which accompanies n'as'-tund; there is a great
538 deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In places a quiet tenor vibrates beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pianisimo, while shrieks and artificial throat vibrations sound with tremendous dissonance. The entire song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of a stanza the shaman comes to the end by abruptly cutting off with the words "hand furu" -- "thus it is said." Frequently, he finishes his song covered with perspiration.

Declamation and singing in narration. 1. In a nas'-tund: a) first humming, b) then -- monotonous, vibrating, doleful singing with all one's might, ending in c) fortissimo with exhaling.

2. In descriptions -- a single-tone recitative.

536 3. Dramatism: the artistic communication of conversations in a rhythmic recitative is especially good. If one becomes accustomed to it, it is very melodious.

4. Those present support him with yells: "Ola! epoj, epoj!" etc.

756 The kenchkh is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull
776 on a thong with the kenchkh during the song. Two men (one a shaman) cast a rope, and the kenchkh seizes it and pulls over the people.

/329 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A homkh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka.
First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
231 raf mu nig'yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu n'igyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
231 pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the k:khal.

766 After death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp. 475-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

775 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
761 killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
776 is afraid and hides with Pal-n'igyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

/335 cont./

392 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four
782 inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Ugur n'ri', nekhlang kun k:kholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'laung ankh --" the birch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe; one is thrown by the woman, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

776 The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house --
342 four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.
688 If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

832 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person
825 fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/336 cont./

854 A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15
347 and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year th
whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung --
789 ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is u
instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child d
they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next
child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, the
preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride
784 along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be
854 fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arro
765 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head
789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung u
at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of he
husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a pi
of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are
too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not
take names from an alien-khal; otherwise one must give the la
the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twin" a
776 the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'
i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyayn -- the master
the sea.

845 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged fo
782 Pal-n'ivukh; mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small
quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them them-
selves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called cha
If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one deper
ing on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chk
Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey
a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill

342 787 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 787 789 [776] If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They

342 776 782 [392]

1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 789 [534 756] /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 756 789 [776] The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy, gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner. Massi (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

585 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
(774) wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
774 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

583 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand) or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

182 /354 cont./
614 5. The members
796 sacrifices and festivals.
[574] everybody, is held, no
clan, even though /355
part. The bear is boug
penditures in connectio
men. These expenses
Clansmen assemble fro
of specially invited gue
tertained and fed for m
numerous dogs as well,
festival. The opinion
ter or that the bear is c
Gilyak is completely u
clan festival. Natural
[224] tack on a bear, an atta
the whole clan, was a
the huge beast at a com
was most conveniently
was captured in his lair
winter was perpetuated.
ritual for the festival,
eyes of the barbarian th
[782] All the sacrifices durin
[776] to the god of the taiga,
[825] It is also understandabl
of honor: Its meat cann
eaten with seasonings,
revenge for such offens
hard. To sum up, the
[562] this basis, women, as t
are not present at the k
614 participate in the eatin
372 the meat of the bear is
[252] steel. A touching cus

of the clan are bound together by common
The "festival of the bear," known to
by an individual settlement, but by the
/ guests from other clans are invited to take
ht by someone in the clan, but all the ex-
n with the festival are covered by the clans-
often reach a sum of several hundred rubles.
n all directions, as well as great numbers
sts from other clans, who have to be en-
any days, and not only they, but their
devour a great amount of food during the
hat the bear festival has a religious charac-
onsidered to be divine or a spirit by the
nfounded. The bear festival is purely a
y, there were times when a successful at-
ck conducted in those days collectively, by
eal triumph for the clan, which devoured
mon feast. Since the attack on the bear
made in winter when the sleeping animal
the custom of celebrating this holiday in
The experience of centuries evolved a full
which, like everything old, assumes in the
e character of something sacred and inviolable.
the festival are made, not to the bear, but
the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
that the bear itself has acquired a position
ot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be
etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact
s, ordering other bears to bite especially
bear festival is a clan festival, and, on
e nonpermanent element of the clan,
illing of the bear, although they
of it. The fire in the stove in which
cooked is started only by the clan
tom among the Gilyak is

/363 cont./

177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

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III.

Religious Views

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Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting, or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

[688]

/364 cont./

Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the number of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similarity but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination, "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared in the sky with their rider. One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("khal") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mountain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Tol'-nivukh," and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses; the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils "nenkharmu". This is a whole khal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply

/365 cont./

776 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed. But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes on his way without further consideration.

776 The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods -- 782 nivukhi -- is quite clear. It is they who provide him with sables, 22 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and bears are just as much the property of Pal'-nivukh as fish and seals are the property of Tol'-nivukh, and as sled dogs are the property of the Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to man. It is not an accident that the fish appear with such amazing regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is not an accident that swans, geese, and ducks molt in the summer and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the 776 gods for man; he lives only by these gifts. It is clear that the 782 Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail themselves of: saranka, roots, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When I once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Tol'-nivukh at the beginning of the seal season, they asked me: "But will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the exchange of portions with the nivukhi. That is why the sacrifice may never consist of the same objects for which sacrifices are made; for example, among the dishes offered in thanks for the seal, this last does not figure, although it constitutes an indispensable dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice. Thus, the bear at the well-known festival is in no way a sacrifice, as some think, /366/ for not a single piece of its meat is apportioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory: to sacrifice -- means giving the god something real. And actually, at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-nivukh, is given a sacrifice of saranka, "moss," yukola, and other viands. The principle of exchange in sacrifices is not contradicted by the fact 825 that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the 826 head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple:

/366 cont./

776 the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the 782 creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason 224 the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and 825 any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable 342 season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen. He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka, tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up, he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same. Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had 771 been heard. There is a tremendous difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition," the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no 781 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

/367 cont./

022 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism, 782 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It 224 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true 1554 that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical 756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers. 1554 In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient 158 dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the 1782 result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturbances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, pongukhla!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about 577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material 577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com- 573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life 1776 and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. A hunter is supposed to take a reindeer from a Gilyak; "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big dealer, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not undertake to judge how much this outrageous sophism has been in vogue among the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or simply a popular

/719 cont./

*776 that led him to it and was the cause of it all. It itself thus recog- 825 nizes the toad as the culprit. The Gilyak, on the other hand, have shown it only kindness: they have received it as a guest in their houses, put it in the seat of honor, offered it some of all the foods, in general did everything only with its knowledge and permission, and their women show it a final act of kindness by consciously dying the tears in its eyes. Therefore on guilt for its fate or responsibility for it falls on them. At the same time a second symbolic 776 act is carried out on the bears, the explanation for which, it seems to me, must be sought somewhat further afield. In addition to the tschudbas, a second head-band is put on them: a strap tied crosswise, on which are found one or two agate balls about one and a half inches large, which rest on the forehead and a little to one side (2). The small bear was given a band with one agate

2. See the woodcut, p. 1163.

bail which lay above its eyes in the middle of its forehead; the large bear was given two such balls, that is, in addition to that one, a second one which rested over the right parietal bone, and, finally, a band with two agate balls in the middle of the forehead, one directly over the other, was put on the medium-sized bear displayed in another house (that of its owner). On this point it seems that if more balls than bears are available, there is room for choice and only the ball in the middle of the forehead is obligatory. These agate balls are of Chinese ("Manchurian") /720/ workman- 776 ship and are highly prized and never sold by the Gilyak. Their 197 exotic origin seems to me to suggest an explanation for the entire procedure. /Illustration appears here./ During the many years of frequent intercourse between the Gilyak and the Chinese on the Sungori, it could certainly not have escaped them that the Buddhist divinities of the latter as a rule had a bump or swelling on the forehead above the eyes, indeed, it is possible and probable that they viewed this as a sign of the special holiness of the divinities 782S concerned in the eyes of the Chinese. If one now considers the 776S striving of the Gilyak to imitate Chinese ways, it is quite

/720 cont./

*776 825

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

*776 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead 197 swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in 577 superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine, 825 and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished 776 them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the 776 toad and agate ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been 577 showered to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete 445 innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give them- 577 selves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred 1262 utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it simple circular

/737 cont./

A 776 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Schei- 782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage, 1535 whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank; and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

1. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information con- 124 cerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" yŭgzy (**) and designate

G 361 * From the villages of Patchá and Wass) at the mouth of the Amur.

G 104 ** Wherever the author used ŭ and ŷ from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

G 776 him as the good one, kŭngulŭsch, an attribute that means the 782 same as good (nontz). They did not understand my question as to 1535 whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not know anything about God (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kulk (**). But they

G 361 *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuégda, Kuégra, Kŭegri-wo, see pp. 448, 535.

/739 cont./ But they
insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
called Nikhi and that the Manchu have carved in wood, human
figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms
akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but
the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

I required further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise
them, and I realized that the placing together of words "good" and
"evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they
replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of
superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction be-
tween their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for vari-
ous idols and their shamanism that I found:

Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
of "God," of a supreme being, who is called "Nikhi" or "Wind
One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who
is revered by humans being. But this conception is a wholly
abstract, completely empty one and does not at all fit into the life
into the customs and practices of the Gilyak, there is nothing con-
crete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word
"pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about
"God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except
that he is "Ungusi Tech, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and
there are many forces of nature which, especially in hunting and in
fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal to them,
such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the
often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them
inexplicable absence of fish, and the like — forces against which
man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent
upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always
escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him,
therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the
general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/740 cont./
powers always only directed against him and superior to him in
strength, and which he more or less personified, mainly in wood, human
crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the
face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to
avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life — there cause,
together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view
that in the action of these powers, as in his own action, there is
a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead
him to a series of conclusions from which his own acts and the
action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus
And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives
rise to customs and special performances that are intended to
facilitate the protective, that is, the devil. According to the re-
spons of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing
but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
him. That is the end of all who /741/ die of sickness. It is no
wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on
earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of
counless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as
well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the
latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigan,
if that is what they are. The hearr, however, has reference to the
sex purpose of the whole semicircle. Namely, it is to be worn around
the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The
name kinj, however, which was given me for it, seems to have a

Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

The Nivkhi

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its ys', who look carefully
of man. The ys' was thought to be initiated by "ancestors" who lived in
people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi
were always on friendly terms with the ys'. "Descendants" from time to
sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice
to them. The cult connected with the "ancestors" of nature was of primitive
clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi
thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-in-
khavo—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the
festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was
connected with the idea of the dead, which was well developed. Every man
a dead clan kinsman. Buildings were made for the dead in the forest
placed in a particular place. The buildings were also cleared by members of
the clan concerned. The bear was taken out and fed on a clean trough for
the government. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival,
all the clan members of the Nivkhi, in accordance with their master's
master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February).
Such a plentiful meal—abundant enough even with one or several pairs of two-
hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was
and between symmetrical combinations of bone, horn, and wood
sarkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan
holding the festival. The festivals sometimes lasted several days and con-
sisted of a complete ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow,
ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The
bearskin with the head was lowered into the pit through the smoke vent
in a high pole. In the interior of the dwelling, eating, bear meat was served
shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing.
After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils of
others were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi
lived, he retained his contact with the clan storehouse, which he visited
brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites, the clan deities, the ritual dances, the
Tungusu-Manchurian of the Amur region. The Nivkhi characteristically

Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the bilay—sivak came to the
offending clan with men of the victim's clan, bringing a bear, and a bear
expected among the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan repre-
sentative killed a dog, and peace was considered restored. After that, the
ransom was paid: it consisted of coats of mail, quivers, silk materials and
other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship, but, in distinction to
the Tungusu-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them
lasted always for periods of one, rather than different generations. As
shown by the kinship terms, the Nivkhi family was developed even in
the 18th century some remnants of group marriage. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
the 19th century some remnants of the same generation, and were categorically
forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of the clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
fathers and great-grandfathers; 2) fathers and mothers, their brothers
and sisters, and the fathers of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husb-
bands of the mother's sisters; 3) children of the fathers (sons) and of
the mothers (daughters); 4) children of the children.

Trade with Chinese and Russians, the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
fishing into commercial activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which developed
first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early began to trade with
the Chinese, from whom they received the tobacco, tea, sugar, the fish-hooks, and
buttered furs and beings backbones for ten, tobacco, fabrics and metal
utensils. The Nivkhi also hunted sables, the Chinese, and with other
neighbors. Members of the Tuvinian clan, for instance, were for a long time
the middlemen between the Nanhiu Nivkhi and the Chinese. Thus, long before
russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
The rich could have several wives and keep slaves. The poor had a lesser
price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity
relations developed slowly, since the clan still played a role in the medium of fur
and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsi-
stence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
and marry. Descendants of the slaves, however, belonged to the lowest group
were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the
Nivkhi, as it was among the Tungusu.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
the Amur Nivkhi, as well as the Nanhiu Nivkhi, under their clan order,
and gosyanda—village elders.

Beginning in the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had been
become a part of Russia, they were disoriented; a new form of exploitation
appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi switched the simple
of production fell into the position of "half-shares." Nivkhi had been
was divided according to the number of working hands, or shares. Thus
the single-members of others had to yield half of their catch to the "half-shares."

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
Christian, but their village remained pagan. They thought of the island
of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature, the island of Sakhalin
"Ivan," mountains, rivers, water, rocks, and the like. Almost every village
their thinking on yr'—"master" of other nature. Thus, there were Pul-yr'—the "master"
shoreline—the "master" of the sea, Ch'ut-yr'—the "master" of
of the mountains and the taiga, and Tuyrasdi, or Tol'yr'—the "master" of

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
226 the ice begins to recede from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of murtx (except for scooping
water of the boat), pieces of jelly called [79] mox. (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to jelly. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on Tebes, where the Gilyaks
jump from floe to floe chase a seal and kill seals with har-
poons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates
or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter,
say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those
at home must be very careful.

On the day when the hunting goes wrong at home, the hunter
will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries
to find out who disturbed the "friends" of their quarry.

Rovgin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
of kins, 'god', a point on which he was at first in the dark. The
Gilyaks are a sea-faring people. 20 versts from home, know what is going
on at home? he told me. "Surely kins must be telling him
about it. That is why we pray to kins (according to the
beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like them-
selves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind
puchka on fish-tail bones (mamye) which they then throw into
the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that
the dogs of the spirits, with eat the bones and, having had
their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their
masters.

When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore
the hunter selects a suitable place, at the very
edge of the water; one twig is a keylak-yks twig and the other
is a qaak-yks (frozen twig). A small distance away from
these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the
water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
the ul-yhr, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

2. Ul-yhr is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first ul-yhr "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

225 has long something in front of the seal. The seals will also
226 kill of a theft in the "friends" of murtx. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
786 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
787 course. When they witness some wrong, some sin, for
ple Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives
and hunter on find out the wrongdoer. In the village what has
added to the jelly. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it
and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

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225 (86) During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul-
226 kin-Tebes use different types of seals. They also catch no occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of
seals: 1. Nevgu-a 'present-time animal', i.e. a siwuch born in the
given year.
2. Tayr-a literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year
old siwuch or one born in the previous year.

/338 cont./

752 789 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue [572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a [614] drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur- [628] rounded with sticks. [766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will [772] be a god.

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri- 782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/337 cont./

Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass mu
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the siv
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebb
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-usk
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).

776 There arises the question why this pebble is called
and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of f

Of some help in answering this question may be the
ing opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhal
1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Mur
informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the m
of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fir
fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no
"We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we a
not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea co
the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Suppleme
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language
The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40
versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told
by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were
fering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads o
hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ sa
"Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to g
"Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In th
morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpo
tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put eve
thing in the boat." Then we brought out things to the bo
and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boa
Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowi
we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside
shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled o
boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2)

2. I.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one w

Hawes--179-180 T-3 (1901) 190
6, 224, 776, 782, 825

Gazing carelessly at the bank, I espied a h
my interpreter and the natives in a low vo
eeing nothing, they smiled; but on my reite
, and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! Gilyal
og). Now, occasionally we had seen a nativ
llage, fishing or waiting for his master, a
ad realized the mistake the animal had got
ushes and grass, giving us, however, one
white tip to his great brush. Even as he di
tryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh bud
od of the mountains will be angry), and mu
ould have in store for us should we cross
ss to expect to come up with the animal.
According to Vanka, if we had killed it, it
hen we set out for the winter's hunt they w
anka was really sincere, I think it far mor
unt should suffer, because, by killing thus
ugurated with the usual ceremonies. To se
e is lord of the forest and all therein) befo
nd bounty, was to risk bringing down his w

ead peeping out of the long grass, and called
oice, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!).
erating and pointing, Vanka caught sight of
kskiy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak
e dog sitting alone at a distance from a
nd we therefore hesitated; but before we
up and trotted off, disappearing into the tall
clear view of a beautiful coal-black fox with
sappeared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet
et serditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The
ch more as to the fate the lord of this region
his will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hope-

s brethren would have been informed, and
ould have banded together to kill us. If
e likely that he feared lest his winter's
in a haphazard fashion, it had not been in-
ize of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh
re acknowledging in due form his sovereignty
rath upon our heads."

16, 527, 776, 782, 825

"The original signification of the whole ceremony
argely lost, but the religious motive in the minds o
he sending of a messenger to the great lord of the r
o their punctilious observances of the rites of offer
senger may not miss his destination, it was usual,
some villages to assist the spirit of the bear in find
ids were given him, one the planting of a stick on t
east where the great lord lived, and the other, the l
vere to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh. For it w
e was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He would ea
nd all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh and Tol
nd water, but in nothing would he give thanks; whe
fferings after every meal, therefore it could not be
o find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be incline
ways most punctilious in placing some fish or tobac
fferings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasion we ov
ion from a watery grave to this timely act of his.

Probably the fact of the bear being the most diffic
dds to the value of the offering, of which the bear's

of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is
of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be
mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness
ings; and, in order that their mes-
and is, I believe, still so among
ing his way to Pal ni vookh. Two
the execution-ground, pointing to the
killing of two dogs, whose spirits
was explained that the bear, though
at of the provisions made for him
ni vookh, the lords of the forest
reas a true Gilyak always made
e expected that he should know where
d to go to him. Even Vanka was al-
co on the ashes of our camp-fire as
wed, so he assured us, our preserva-

ult and dangerous animal to capture
s spirit would be a witness. There

116, 224, 776, 782

"It is a wintry scene. The snares are set on
streams and forest creeks. The first snows ha
thin mantle of white. The cold north wind hurri
silent in the sombre depths, hanging their hoar
the hush a shadow steals quietly across the sce
accustomed paths. He does not care to swim th
log whereon to pass. All unsuspectingly he cre
blocked by a tiny barrier of sticks, arranged in
one way, is left, and that through a loop in the
pushing through, he struggles, and in so doing
and a bent twig at one end of the cord flies back
are out, but each brings his first catch to one p
the great giver of them, the lord of the forest.
without grace, to start off on the important hun
are so valuable that anything, even in later tim
them--without due acknowledgment to the giver
dispense with feasting? and pieces of roasted fl
ground as an offering to the god, just as in the
cast into the sea. At this point it is necessary,
elsewhere, to call the attention of Pal ni vookh

logs and branches spanning the narrow
ve fallen, covering all the forest with a
es across the land. The trees stand
y, lichen-covered branches, and amidst
ne. [212] It is a sable. He goes by
e cold water, but seeks a fallen tree or
eps along a trunk, only to find his way
the shape of a fan; nevertheless a way,
centre. Rising on his hind-legs and
releases a peg hitched with a ratchet,
, tightening the noose. Many trackers
place, where due honour is then paid to
It would savour of greediness, of meat
t of the sables--creatures whose skins
es 'fire-drink,' may be purchased with
. A feast is made; for what function can
lesh, tobacco, etc., are dug into the
seal festival, we shall see, bones are
lest he be not observing or engaged
to their offering, so they whisper,

116, 755, 776

"If a Gilyak is so ill that all domestic r
arrives, followed by one of the elder repr
to show honour and courtesy to the healer
sufficient for him to determine whether th
decides upon his measures, the cham trie
has been doing prior to his illness. Then
the sick man, and has sent this illness as
about it, and ask him how his anger may
before the evening, for the element in whi

esources fail, then the cham is sent for. He
resentatives of the hut, who has been told off
. An inspection of the patient is generally
ne sufferer will recover or no; but before he
es to find out from the relatives what the patie
he tells them that the evil spirit is angry with
a punishment; but he will speak to the spirit
be appeased. Nothing, however, can be done
ich the spirit lives is the night."

116, 755, 776, 778

"[LSS: In the cure of illness by th
appears, and drives out of the hut al
his head a band of birch bark, with t
These, it is said, are to aid him in
but are more probably to inhance the
then places in the corner of the hear
tobacco, and roots; and close to the
back to back; one having the face of
woman. The ch'khnai are there to pr
he leaves the body of the sick man.
ch'khnai that the image of the weepin
evil spirit, summoned from the body
cies, naturally enters into the image
himself kind-hearted and weak as a
and takes refuge in the other image;
man, especially when the cham draw

The evil and good spirits finding t
there is never any doubt of the resul
spirit. Then commence negotiations
or what offering he will accept to kee

e medicine man] When the sun has set, the cham
l unnecessary persons, and proceeds to place upon
hree little rustling rosettes of papery bark lining.
the expulsion of the evil spirit from the sick one;
e mystery [237] and authority of the exorcist. He
th three little bowls, containing respectively fish,
se, two wooden images, ch'khnai, bound together
a laughing man, and the other that of a weeping
rovide something for the evil spirit to enter, when
Note here how clever the cham is. He so places th
ng woman faces the cups containing the food; and th
y of the patient by exorcism and attracted by delica
e so placed; and, having taken this form, will be
weeping woman. The good spirit is then exorcised,
where he becomes jolly and strong as a laughing
vs nearer to him one of the bowls of food.
hemselves in close proximity, begin to fight, but
t, for victory must be to the stronger—the good
between the cham and the evil spirit as to how mu
p away from the sick man."

Only on one occasion did I hear of anything a
-worship.'
was told me by the ex-overseer at Derbens
taken him down the [194] river Tim. On one
e him to seek refuge at a Gilyak village whe
in the headman's hut, and about to make a
e god (lord).' The overseer therefore place
ing in a corner before a wooden figure, suc
s crossed on its breast and wore a belt. On
basket was empty, the cakes had vanished.
of more, and lay down pretending to sleep.
aw a Gilyak come forward and take the cake
you doing? Let the god eat them!' Whereupo
ly offended."

pproaching what is vaguely termed

k, whose duties in the previous years
of his journeyings a severe snowstorm
ere he was a stranger. As he was sitting
meal, the Gilyaks said, 'Give something
d some little cakes in the birch basket
h as I have described, which had its
the morrow the Russian observed that
In the evening, therefore, he made offer-
Keeping careful but unsuspected watch,
s and eat them; so he called out, 'What
on the Gilyak, as may be imagined, was

"As a rule, offerings were made in the o
and left for the consumption of the deity. N
filment of the rite brought good luck, and th
attributed to the anger of the god. If the Gil
have been some of his kindred who provoke
his wife, who had failed to guard the honour
spit upon it, or to leave the hut with his pip

pen air, always on deserting our camp-fires,
ot only were they the god's due, but the ful-
ne omission ill-luck. All misfortunes are
yak is unconscious of guilt, then it must
d the god to righteous anger; perhaps it was
due to the hearth by allowing somebody to
e lighted from the sacred fire."

6, 527, 776, 782, 825

s another consideration which lurks, however
Not only is the bear the most dangerous anim
as deteriorated to the seizure of cubs and the
st rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as they do,
he forest; and even robs the Gilyaks' snares
ore on every [202] count he must die."

unconsciously, behind this ceremony.
al to capture, although now the custom
rearing of them; but he is also the strong-
on the fish of the river, the berries of
of the small animals caught therein. There-

'Chookh, Chookh,' i.e. 'God, Thou God.' The
rush (daimones) should hear; for these evil sp
of the forest, and might make off with the offeri
Pal ni vookh generally walks among the mountai
making their offering on high ground."

y do this in an undertone, lest the pal-
irits dwell in the swamps and the depths
ngs. For this reason, and because
ns, the Gilyaks take the precaution of

"Being anxious to know what claims t
whether he could cure illnesses. To wh
cham, pray and make offerings of tobac
out of the door to the spirits (of the for
added, 'and we offer to fire at one time

the cham had to healing power, I asked him
ich he replied, 'If a child or person is ill, I, the
cco to the lord of fire and cast some rice or tea
est and water). There is one god—Nature,' he
and to water and the forest at others.' "

9: Hawes--254 T-3

116, 225, 731, 776, 782

young seals, which will be equally d
west wind drives away the ice-floes

ivided among them. This continues until a south-
and their passengers."

Hawes--239 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 753, 776, 782

"The Gilyaks explain the visitation of disease in thi
fended the good spirit kiskh, who thereupon deserts
the evil spirit. The offering made to the latter is a
e evil spirit to quit him.
The Gilyak makes no offering to kiskh, the creator
oral world, for he does not know where he is; in fa
at it can only be said to exist in his mind as a nebul
osition of the cham, the evil spirit cannot but be ang
nd the want of respect paid to him; but we need not b
secure in his knowledge of many exorcisms."

s way. The sick man must have
him and leaves him in the power
bribe, whereby the sufferer coaxes

, the great spirit, the god of the
ct, so vague is his notion of him
ous conception. With regard to the
ry at the trick he has been played,
e anxious for the healer, since he

9: Hawes--260 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 372, 776, 823

"The honoured place at the end of the hut, [LSS: c
door (the east end it happened to be in this case), w
preter. Honourable as it was, we took the precautio
secticide, a proceeding in no way resented, and pro
came to shake a cloth over the fire, I was politely r
derogatory to Tur ni vookh, the lord of that element

of the headman at Nivo] opposite the
as reserved for me and my inter-
on of sprinkling it freely with in-
obably not understood; but when I
requested to refrain from an act
t."

awes--238-239 T-3 (1901) 1903
755, 776, 782

On the following day, the head of the hut takes
ible to the village appointed where the bear i
re he kills the dogs near the cage of the bear,
n in the forest to the east, and sings, 'Make s
.' The offering is made near the bear becaus
, and therefore is to be found near at hand.
he cham having been liberally rewarded for hi
he old Gilyak in reply to my question as to wh
stoical submissiveness, 'We make offerings,
f the spirit does not restore it, it is well als

the offerings, and goes as quickly as
, even if it be a hundred miles away.
takes out the heart and liver and casts
o that the sick man may [239] be quite
the evil spirit is a great friend of the

s pains, the matter is ended.
at happened if the patient died, said,
and if the child recovers, it is well;
.' "

awes--248 T-3 (1901) 1903
776, 821

Mention has been made of four gods—the lords o
ator, or judge of right and wrong; but these do r
ception of the Gilyak. They are his nearest prot
owd who are too numerous to maintain communi
s each has its ni vookh, but the Gilyak has no in

f the forest, sea, and fire, and the
not exhaust the whole polytheistic
ectors, the most intimate among
ications with. The sun, moon, and
ntercourse with them."

: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 183, 776

"All the four gods are Gilyaks, have wives, we
n common with men; in fact, they are the Greek
he belief of the Gilyak in the existence of his god
lso an illustration of the subtlety needed in quest
nysteries of which he is, as a rule, so reluctant
'How do the Gilyaks catch fish? and why at one
ime less, and at another none at all?'
Gilyak. Well, at one time the fish come into th
Russian. That is not the reason. How can a fis
ever enter of its own accord into the net. You G
here, the God who has created everything and li
Gilyak. No, it is you Russians who don't know.
end into the net the fish which live in the water?
n the water. He, the god in the water, has creat
ish, and where he wishes, there he sends them.
Russian. What sort of a god can there be in the
lrown. There of course he is not, and the Gilyak
Gilyak. It is untrue. All is untrue what you are
Myself knows. There are such (striking) things h
n his clothes; but afterwards he was found on th

ar Gilyak garments, and have much
gods in Gilyak dress. How strong is
s the following talk will show. It is
tioning a native about his religion, the
to disclose. A Russian asked—
time do they catch more, at another

e net and at another time not. [249]
h go by itself into the net? It would
ilyaks know that it is God who sends it
ves in the sky.
How can a god who lives in the sky
No, not in the sky lives the god, but
ed nothing, and only commands the

water? If he is a Gilyak, he will
s only think so in their stupidity!
saying. The Gilyak knows very well.
ave happened. A Gilyak was drowned
bank without clothes. How do you

: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 183, 776

hink that came about?
Russian. I don't know. Perhaps somebody robl
Gilyak. Hey! Kaukray! Nobody had robbed him
y Tol ni vookh, kiskh!
Russian. Then why has he done it?
Gilyak. Because the Gilyak offended him in so
im, and his garments he has taken for himself,
he shore so that all should know that this Gilyak
rightened to offend the powerful Tol ni vookh."

ped him.

n. You yourself don't know. It was done

mething, therefore the god has drowned
and the naked corpse he has cast on
had offended the god. May all be

9: Hawes--254 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 225, 731, 776, 782

"It often happens that by the time of the arriv
quite exhausted, and hunger reigns in the villag
fête held in honor of the first catch; see categor
with all due ceremony. On the following day the
groups begin to gather up the 'fragments,' inclu
and reverence, are cast into the sea. The flesh
has plenty of raw, are offerings to Tol ni vookh
permission to use tne products of his domain, t
offering in acknowledgment of the god's goodw
Gilyaks to open the New Year's fête with the du
bones the great Tol ni vookh will make many m
the bones to the four winds, thus making it mor
Tol ni vookh would in that case have to recreate
has only to reclothe them with flesh, and lo, th

The offering is cast into the sea in complete
Uichkha rush, or water daimones, who, if they
would spoil the whole affair, by seizing what wa

After the day of the offering, the Gilyak is fr
ful is he with his harpoon that a canoe of five w

al of the seals, the winter stores are
e; nevertheless, the fête [LSS: The seal
ry 116, pp. 252-254.] must be celebrated
whole village turns out, and the family
ding the bones, which, in deep silence
and fat, boiled or roasted, for the god
, with the request that he will give them
he sea; and the bones are the thank-
ill in sending the seals and allowing the
and proper ceremonies. With these
ore seals. It would be a sin to scatter
e difficult to create for want of material.
entirely, whereas, given the bones, he
seals are complete, alive!
ilence, because there are many
should overhear the Gilyak praying,
s intended for the god.
e to follow up the hunt, and so success-
ll sometimes take as many as fifty

Hawes--238 T-3 (1901) 1903

, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The eyes
ams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evil

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man well.

The first syllable in each line is articulated quickl
owly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to en

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has any
may ruin the whole family by his interpretation of
bring all their dogs and everything that they value
nes human offerings were demanded."

s of the cham are like flames; he
spirit—

y, and the last vowels in the line

d in a—aa.

spite against him or his relatives,
the spirit's demands, forcing them
most. It is even said that in olden

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

10: Coxwell--128[3] B-3 (no date) 1925
116, 539, 776, 825

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AND THE GRATEFU

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 121-124.]

The story of Androcles and the Lion will occur to the reader. It the East transmutation is into the larger animal forms, thus here in a Kalmuck tale, a demon appears as a buffalo, as opposed to th wolf of a Russian tale and into a yellow dog of a Mordvin tale. But transformed into a tiger by a curse, as in Western werewolf stori the general Gilyak belief that there are special beings in the moun having the appearance of Gilyaks, can assume the shape of wild be shadowed forth. The absence of ceremony is noticeable when the G tiger-man's sister."

L TIGER

is observable that in
is a tiger-man and,
e transmutation into a
the man has not been
es; on the contrary,
tains and forest who,
asts, seems here
Gilyak marries the

10: Coxwell--128 [2] B-3 (no date)
116, 372, 539, 776

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFENDED TH

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539

The Lord of Fire is considered by the Gilyaks
and all the deities; and the hunter who sacrifices
propitiates the Lord of the Forest, and secures s
story, 'The Mountain-devil in the form of a Tige
fire. In the Yakut tale, 'Al-Iot: the Spirit of Fire
the Fire. Among the Yukaghirs, a definite form
when a new net is dedicated."

HE FIRE LORD
, p. 121.]

to be an intermediary between man
to fire considers that he thereby
success in the chase. In the Gilyak
r, ' a party of hunters sacrifices to
, ' a spoonful of all food is thrown to
of words is employed before a fire

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

10: Coxwell--119-120
116, 776

"The Gilyaks believe
or river—sky and fire,
their place of habitatio
man,' a 'Mountain-man
manner of life and outw
can assume the shape o
bears which belong to t
creatures have a care
wild animals, or rescu
account of their life at
benevolent or indifferen
Gilyak form) which str
which for want of a bett
devils, sea devils, etc.
his health or to destroy

that each element: earth, mountain, forest, water—whether sea has its own special inhabitants, who are called according to n; thus, the Gilyak speaks of an 'Under Earth-man,' a 'Forest-n,' a 'Sea-man,' a 'Sky-man.' These beings resemble Gilyaks in ard appearance, but possess special powers; for instance, they f any wild beast, or of a tree, or stone. Wild beasts, such as the he mountain-man, serve him as domestic animals. Many of these for the well-being of the Gilyak; thus, they will send him fish or e him from misfortunes. But a few, such as the Sky-men, on a distance, are indifferent to the Gilyak's fate. Besides these nt creatures, there is, in every element, a race of beings (of ive [120] to harm the Gilyak. They are called 'Melk,' a term ter word, may be rendered, 'devil.' Thus, there are mountain . These creatures frequently waylay the Gilyak and seek to injure his life."

10: Coxwell--120 B-3
116, 761, 776

"Death is always the result of the mac
the Gilyak's body, slowly devours him
them forcibly, enter into disagreeable
the devil's advantage."

chinations of a devil, which, taking up its abode
n. But sometimes devils seize people and, holdi
e relations with them, or force them to work for

predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imagination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversations, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not emerged from fetishism.

God (kush or kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In this we may already see something like priestly self-glorification. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

The bear usually appears as the executor of divine ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their lifetime. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstitious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as a god or demigod.

The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians regard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
273 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.
Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the hut; only during the most severe spells of frosty weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in case she herself is the housewife. If she is not the housewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these spirits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the most important and mysterious natural events takes place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the hut designed to banish the evil spirits. But this convenient and easy way of protection is not always sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who was compelled to do all the work in the narrow and disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood, had, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's head. On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire when she had started a fire in order to warm her chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur as frequently as one should expect is due to the admirable strength of character and fortitude of the Gilyak woman who, even worn out and sick, never loses her presence of mind and her ability to work. It is the might of her motherly love which, in such moments, increases her will power and her fortitude to a degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.
847 Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
163 which they would have to suffer, sometimes effect artificial miscarriages; they use the same means which are said to cause natural miscarriages. But their skill in committing abortion is not great, for there are many cases of infanticide.
Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman gives birth to a dead child; but that happens so infrequently that I could not be shown a single woman to whom that had happened.
814 The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
864 matters and about facts connected with them. That is probably the reason why the appearance of a new member of the family is explained to children in such

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are
told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree
or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to
have found it in the snow.
845 Twin births.
163 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth
of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why
there are no legends about such an event either.
Not infrequently twin births take place among the
natives. They contend that in each one of these cases
both children are of the same sex. I personally came
to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were
between forty and forty-five years old. In regions
rather well known to me there occurred three twin
births in a population of more than 300 persons
within a decade, but all these twins died immediately
after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month
old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of
845 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song,
asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he
will die.
The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is
the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-
ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now
benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak
Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away.
But, not being certain which of the children is not an
offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them
both equally.
845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground;
they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe
is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child,
tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.
753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their
anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and
relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms
of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are
certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone,
squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of
convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is
considered to be a consequence of the mountain
spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says
"tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is
tormenting".
784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions,
they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of
twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow house-
hold articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had
given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are
considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard
objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do
not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the
new one.
842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the
transference of physical peculiarities from one man
to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an
explanation for the superstitious remedies they use
for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who
cannot bear children must ask another very fertile
woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and
she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired
success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be
transferred from one person to another like a
contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel
which had been used by the sick person.

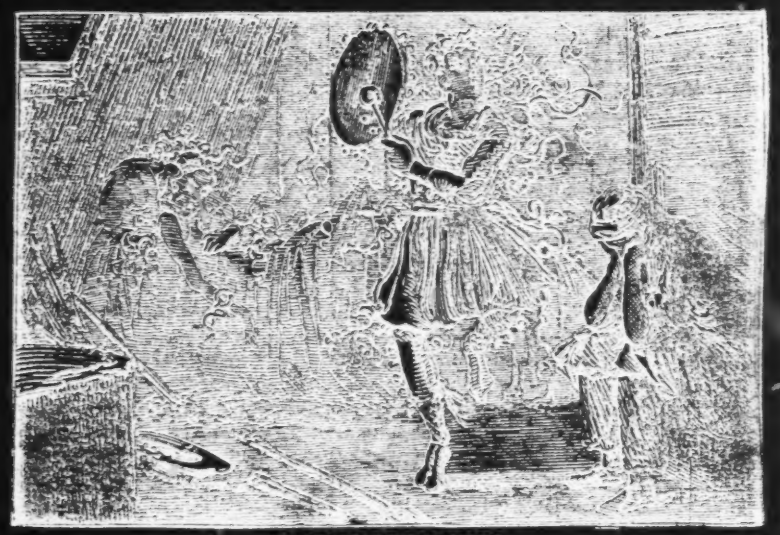
171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up des-
truction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over
the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village
of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when
Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and
they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task,
since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed
by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred
position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a
personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak,
it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does
today among the Buryat.
776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious con-
ceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems
to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223),
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi
pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are
fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden
spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually
held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of
the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now
give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the
opportunity of observing in person.
796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a
festival was to take place on that day. From several other
villages, some of which were considerable distances away
large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole
place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The
opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they hono
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobs
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, eve
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, i
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter ar
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible afte
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. Th
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

756 tume. Both doctor and patient are generally decked with wood-shavings while the work is going on.

Sometimes an effigy of the sick person is prepared, and the spirit is charmed from the man of flesh to the one of straw. The shaman induces him to take up lodgings in this effigy, and the success of his persuasion is apparent when the in-



PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

valid recovers. If the patient dies the shaman declares that the spirit was one over which he had no control, but he does not hesitate to take pay for his services.

A Russian traveler who witnessed one of these exorcisms said that the shaman howled so fearfully that two Chinese merchants who were present out of curiosity fled in very terror. The gentleman managed to endure it to the end, but did not sleep well for a week afterward.

776 The Gilyaks believe in both good and evil spirits, but as the former do only good it is not thought necessary to pay them any attention. All the efforts are to induce the evil spirits not to act. They are supposed to have power over hunting, fishing, household affairs, and the health and well-being of animals and men.

777

777 LUCK AND CHANCE--concept of good and bad luck; ideas about chance and probability; things associated with good or bad luck (e.g., lucky objects, luck-bringing formulas, lucky and unlucky numbers, propitious and unlucky days); techniques for controlling luck (e.g., wearing of luck amulets, reciting of lucky formulas); conception of fate; etc. See also:

Insurance 456
Gambling 525
Protective amulets 751
Theory of accidental injuries 752
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cont./
er has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
ree days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
s apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
irth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
ut if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
p. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz′ nyngydz′ (from kyz′ -- risk, luck, and nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

/306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
two k:ong z′akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
pylng z′akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special
(m′erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus′. When
repare food, these trees -- ola′ bituz′ -- must be fed
ment of Kal'ma).
While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
ng it on a tree. O′ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make
child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj
figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
at which he dreams.
The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
nd female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
missible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place
d ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/321 cont./
776 upon himself. Ge-n′ivukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

● 777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way: His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chkhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Taru -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (kyz narla n′ivukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Aleksey caught a goya with three worms adhering to it by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing. But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chkhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/
756 776 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sickness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mightiest master is Tlykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115] 1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman. S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifice to make. So far he has only pal-n′igyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

/352 cont./
342 352 354 171 [113]
8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

352 354 512 171 513 [177] Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, [123] when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth [984] yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused gen- ● [177] eral indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uitsch, uitsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

/61 cont./

96 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku,
78 the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
6 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together
4 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out
4 to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry.
6 Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

96 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called
3 Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/66 cont./

796 fed, and then, exchanging farewell glances with the dogs, they silently leave. Upon passing over the threshold, it remains for them to conclude the last ceremony, which bears the characteristic name of "lymyzyn zychyvynd" -- "the stamping of the threshold." This ceremony consists in placing nich'i (a kettle and an ax) on both sides of the threshold, the nich of the departer -- on the inner side, and the nich of the host on the outer side; the departer must first step over the inner nich with one foot and then over the outer one with the other.

796 On this same day the last act is concluded -- the sacrifice
782 of the dogs. The dogs presented by the narkh'i, as well as the dogs sacrificed by the master for this occasion, are led out to the plot of ground where the bear was killed and tied up to those same trees /67/ to which the bear was tied. The head of the bear with all the presents given to it, is also brought here. Each pair of dogs consists of a male and a female so they will be
● [778] happier on the journey. Pairs of inau of the same kind as those that were prepared for seeing off the bear and equal in number to the number of pairs of dogs are then stuck into the ground in the neighborhood of the trees. The heads of the dogs are ornamented with shavings, which are painted with the juice of berries and attached to them. Before they are killed, the dogs are fed with choice viands and are exhorted in the following way: "Go, go to your master, take yourself up to the highest mountain, change your skin, and next year come down here, come down here as a bear so that I may have a look at you, do this, come down, farewell, travel well!" After this, they kill the dogs by strangulation. This procedure is carried out somewhat peculiarly. Two men seize a dog by its hind legs and forcefully pull the unfortunate animal as far as possible away from the tree to which it is tied with a tightening noose. At that time, two other men seize the two front paws; a fifth presses on the dog's neck, accelerating the process of strangulation, and a

/96 cont./

*614 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-
825 "murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their
672 most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock
766 out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

● [778]

1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of shavings. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

Amur

/306 cont./

● 778 A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir
824 trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'akh, the head of a pike (ius), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

774 The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul -- cheg:n, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- cheg:n, and its two
[756] shadows, assistants. When the cheg:n of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

774 If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true,
787 it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

765 In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a
[764] dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyv), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pŭn'chu) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys [776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami [774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

● 778 824 Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figures, 778 yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first 782 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July. 824 Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

824 /312 cont./
● 778 Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather 782 at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda, [614] a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

796 Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt. 782 Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are [184] carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja', kholafti lygyguja'," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a cross-bow (narródz:) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and [789] taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a [776] hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/313 cont./
796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly 782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught some thing while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the 782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots, [165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the vil lage of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzig This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solem 782 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they a not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a [372] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tu [354] If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must b bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

● 778 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtá 782 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are 224 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And h 225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyn only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presen of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhyd a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should co out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are se

/546/

Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon. Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

/563 cont./

it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

ont. /

l, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch and put it with the other possessions of the house. My to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price offered; I was told categorically that it was already ı" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal un- d, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact 1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

ward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connec- ith which they are evidently governed by the same super- belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in ng about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does end to worthless animals whose capture means nothing Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by yak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

225 mu-ziyəd on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziyəd on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziyəd, t'aj is performed on the boat. T'aj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ɣəks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these t'aj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-pək-əzd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines t'aj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Uiɣ-krə "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
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1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among
the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

If a child is born with a caul which, however, happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

The newly born child is not simply called a boy or a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

845 dwelling to the
766 the last time,
782 Next to the sac
775 stick carved in
they call it nau
is safe [762] fr
tonhr ehlian, w
753 If the relative
845 are designed to
776 the mountains a
anger. Several
relatives of the
of their revenge
certain disease
squint-eyes, st
convulsions. Th
considered to b
spirit's dissatis
"tonhr ehlian si
tormenting".
784 The Gilyak a
845 young women a
777 to reports abou
they believe, th
twins. Women a
hold articles no
given birth to tw
considered to b
objects, howeve
not transfer the
new one.
842 It is altogethe
777 tribe that they b
transference of
to another man
explanation for
for overcoming
cannot bear chil
woman to lend h
she has to wear
success. A Gily
transferred fro
contagious disea

top of a near-by mountain; there, for
hoice food is offered to the figure.
rificial objects a one to two meter long
curly design is dug into the ground;
From this moment on the whole tribe
om being haunted by the dead child,
ithout further prayers or sacrifices.
es neglect to follow these rules, which
appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
nd to win their favor, they evoke their
diseases which attack the parents and
twins are considered to be symptoms
(tohr ehlian). These usually are
s like deformation of the jaw-bone,
iffening of the neck or any kind of
e appearance of such diseases is
e a consequence of the mountain
sfaction; in such cases one says
ngrund", that is "the twin child is

re so afraid of these dangers that
d girls are strictly forbidden to listen
such happenings; by these precautions,
ey will be able to prevent the birth of
re neither allowed to borrow house-
r to accept gifts from friends who had
vins. In this case old soft objects are
e the most dangerous ones. Hard
r, especially tools made of metal, do
bad luck of the former owner to the

r a trait characteristic of this northern
elieve in the possibility of the
physical peculiarities from one man
by way of his tools. This gives us an
the superstitious remedies they use
a woman's sterility. The woman who
dren must ask another very fertile
er the waistband of her trousers and
it up to the moment of the desired
ak told me that fertility can be
m one person to another like a
se, for example by way of a vessel
used by the sick person.

622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their in-
voluntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house
to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that
they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are
attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these
chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and
others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand com-
pletely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on
whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it
wants to attack its leaders.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also
fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, how-
ever, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the
track by their owners and placed next to each other, they
were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the
way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do
not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

22: Knox I-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles, knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

778

8 SACRED OBJECTS AND PLACES--conception of sanctity (e.g., possession by an indwelling or frequenting spirit, infusion with impersonal supernatural power); idols and fetishes; extraordinary objects (e.g., bezoar stones, albino animals, mandrake roots); sacred places (e.g., shrines, altars); places of asylum and sanctuary; notions of impersonal supernatural power (e.g., mana, soul-stuff); animatism; beliefs and practices of consecration and desecration; etc.

See also:

Churches and temples 346
Heirlooms 523
Asylum 696
Protective amulets 751
Relics 765
Conception of the sacred and the profane 771
Luck amulets 777
Notions of uncleanness 783
Taboos 784
Phallic rites 786
Conception of magic force 789
Holy men 792

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [798] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the
appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a mar
of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impress
approaching the island from the sea with its gra
stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger,
dren and compelled his wife to run hundreds of
him and form another cape in a new place. An
cliffs sticking out of the water all along the sho
all of this is alive, gods who ran away from thei
the influence of internecine wars.

82 774 776 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the
(the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous
fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a
Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places up
special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), so
"inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. Th

[777] [778] 1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only
which the gods conceal themselves from the cur
The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysi
825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak beg
to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) ac
large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the
big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment
to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a
fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master
latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, a
seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat
kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs,
which are distinguished the older --
and the younger -- soldiers. In an a

/60 cont./

796 231 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is [614] [182] displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

796 621 476 There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival 796 come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of [778] ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

for the head. There is another justification for this custom i the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which al ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over th face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refus to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on th Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 164 45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which wo

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at th time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Kraschenin and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described abo Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latt third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/313 cont./

to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

The customary takñej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

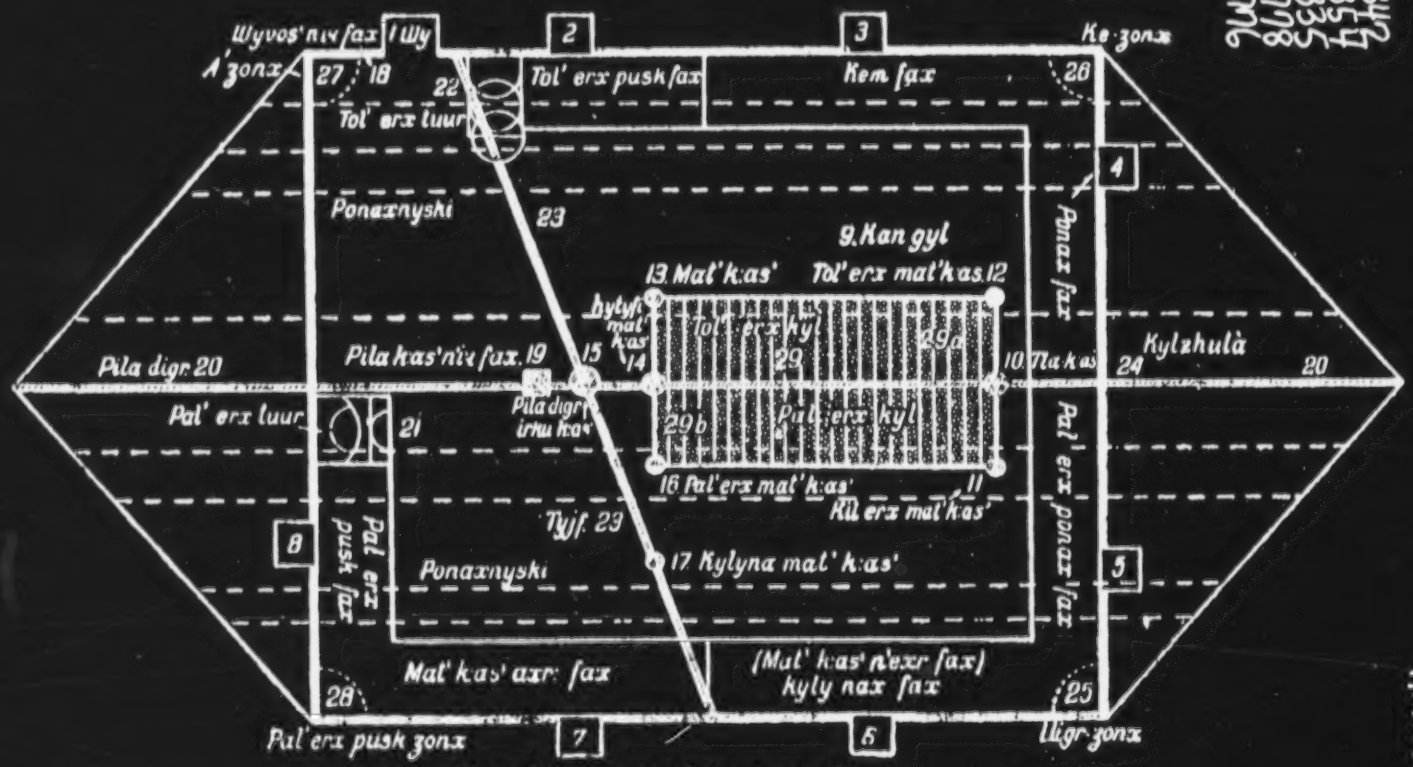
/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 [087] Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 354 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy - door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- windo alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side 342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'l digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylyná mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor. 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth o [354] the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the [335] master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house 24. Kylzhutá -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a p son who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooe [078] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things. [076] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do w the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.



Plan of the House of the Amur Gilyak

/Three letters in the terms above have been changed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix)./

1: Shternberg--456 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
342
357
335
798
96

/343 cont./
the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his wife continued doing the same. He has one son -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand) or pay tkhusnd, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/369 cont./
799 baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the part of converters of natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.

583 584 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring 584 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/699 cont./
After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the Nikolajevsk post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festival. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

/704 cont./
796 described above. for the latter was done after the hind legs of the
231 animal had already been fettered in the cage. but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house. all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feat were held in readiness. Seizing the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect. one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one muzzled the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear. pulled its hind legs from under it by means of nooses. and held them against the ground. The bear fell on its front paws. but here. too. someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. Thus through quick and concerted steps the animal was completely disarmed and fettered in an instant. and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done. all the Gilyak jumped off the bear. all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk. and the bear again stood there on its chain entirely free and unfettered. except for the neck and body band. roaring loudly. repeatedly shaking itself. Now. together with the small bear. it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and cowberries /Strickbeeren/. whereupon. after a short pause. the same procedure was again repeated several times. that is. the small bear was taken immediately from Judin's house to another one. but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times. or sometimes only twice.

796 Immediately after the bears had been removed. the male youth
338 of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and
998 mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood. until there was a large pile of them. Everybody who had a knife. except for the women and girls. began to cut the sticks at one end. or. more properly. to whittle them. that is. to make the so-called nauwa (1) of the Gilyak out of them.

[104]

1. The s here is to be pronounced soft. like the French z.

998 /704 cont./
796 Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side. but
231 most of them on two opposite sides. and some all around; indeed. from some of them very fine and gracefully curled wood-shavings (the repeatedly mentioned so-called zach of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol. which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits. such as the giving of offerings to the river (2) conjuring away storms (3). etc..

2. See pp. 802-804 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

may not. of course. be absent from the bear festival. Thus we already see it exhibited over the roof of the house in which a bear festival is to be celebrated and at the same time a part of the bear cult is to be enacted. We were to /705/ encounter it in more copious masses as the bear festival progressed. For the moment. however. the whole heap of whittled sticks was again carried out. in order to be used on the following day. While the men. youths. and boys carved on the sticks. the women prepared a fresh supply of mosuj. into which this time they also mixed pulverized fir-needles (from Picea ajanensis. Fisch.. Gilyak twisk -- an activity which lasted until evening.

796 Meanwhile the leading of the bears in and out of the other
231 houses of the village went on without interruption. The Gilyak can never have enough of this entertainment. and they take as lively an interest in all the individual incidents that occur in connection with it as is shown among other peoples at. say. contests. festive games. or dances with the merry music. which in this case is provided by the roaring of the bears. Everyone has an opportunity as the head of the one or the other row of bear-leaders to display his prowess. intrepidity. skill. and presence of mind: the closer he allows the infuriated animal to approach him. the greater the danger to which he exposes himself. the louder is his share of the applause and the greater his fame and distinction among the people. Every detail is followed attentively and afterward

/733 cont./
796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip. such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here. the road carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent. while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

796 In the meantime. in the interior of the yurt there. the rack
184 for the bear's head. made. just as on the mainland. out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches. has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench. or bench of honor. that. in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious.
184 two separate firs can be kindled on it. corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf. over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or

[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur. the bear fire. in which fresh branches of fir

[192]

1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees. and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin. are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

The wooden curls (zach). being regarded as a symbol of holiness. purity. and inviolability. are an essential ornament in the interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof. and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones. which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt. In the Gilyak houses. on the mainland one usually sees only two of them. and not always even these. suspended from the two supporting posts of the house. but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu. among whom they are used under the name inau.

Ainu RX2

/737 cont./
796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Schen
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
[535] whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix. "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

/739/

1. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

796 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information con-
124 cerning the religion of the Gilyak. I received it from the long
Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ŷŷigy (**) and designate

[361]

* From the villages of Patchá and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

[104]

** Wherever the author used ŷ and ŷ. from the Russian alphabet. they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here. these letters would be transliterated as y and ya. respectively/.

him as the good one. kingullisch. an attribute that means the same as good (nontz). They did not understand my question as to whether "God" lived in heaven. or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols. since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kulk (**). But they

[361]

** On the left bank of the Amur. below Nikolayevsk. also Kuégda. Kuégra. Kuégri-wo. see pp. 448. 535.

/739 cont./ But they
insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
called Maü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms
akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but
the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise
them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god"
and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they
replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of
superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction be-
tween their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for vari-
ous idols and their shamanism that I found:

Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good
One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who
is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-
[682] stract, completely empty one and does not at all fit into the life,
into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing con-
crete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word
"pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about
"God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except
that he is "kingulātnch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and
there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in
fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them,
such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the
often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them
inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which
man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent
upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness, and cannot always
escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him,
therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the
general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/741 cont./
tradition, reaching any pretensions of a religious one or completely
driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[124] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt
/742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer
of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the
village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the
same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house
playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were
not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they en-
joyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward
off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated
to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kāgn and tschngai (i).

[199] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to
idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also
given to them. I create myself a new idole human form
(Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as
a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame,
above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away
from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
and Goldi the similarly-shaped sīwa stand). Sometimes, however,
the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
give the name panych (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises
him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

/742 cont./
it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often
it is not exactly an idol, but some other wooden kind of amulet, straps
knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's
neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery.
[126] Such an amulet is called nqif and kisij. From Judin in Tebach I
obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face
(see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. I, pp. 57, 58.)

3. Gilyak. The village of Pogbok on the west coast of
Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings
on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole
bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This
zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in
her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was
tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her
bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to
be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the
woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the
rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a super-
stition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still
used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to
take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures
which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman.
(2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate
LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 1 was named to me by the Gilyak as mvihr.
It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm: the other one
was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circum-
stances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is
carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off
[126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kulk. In the same vil-
[352] lage among the belongings of the Gilyak there had been put away
for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of
another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical
pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented
human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically
pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/743 cont./
down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
[532] back and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fas-
tened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate
LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols
stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose
grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols
were named for me by the Alhof Gilyak as tybyx. The Gilyak
Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression
tyf-yzigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard
the word yzigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and
I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand.
I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house,
the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since
the latter bears the name kāngn, I must relate it to the yurt of the
Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part
of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

[778] 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
[184] of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
[532] human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
[171] of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which
seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I
inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kāgn
like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but
not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to
me: three large, wooden human figures with old, smoky zach
around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood
there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --
[778] In the village of Kulk, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
[532] same place as in Patt. This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
[184] cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
[352] keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may
therefore be furnished with idols, while seeming to me not to have
any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered
in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one
goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously
revered the idols are. (I W.R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

/744 cont./
[778] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Ditmar, following his visit in
[755] Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols
[532] which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII
[760] /p. 1258/. In part to other things. Subsequently, I learn about their
significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious
views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various
kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away
from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most
of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are
supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254 / and LV /p. 1255 /.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255 /, with a jointed body,
is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one
with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of
these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and
legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschalutscha-tschngai, is made,
as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be
spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol
with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV
/p. 1255 /, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest,
coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.
[760] All these idols or amulets, the tschalutscha-tschngai not ex-
pected, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify
their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces
of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the
neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar
[778] purpose: they are the lalē and kisij (Plate LX /p. 1260 /, Figs. 1
[532] and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is
[755] worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

/744 cont./
[778] run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
[755] lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
[532] another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion
is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the
one end.

The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
[778] figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
[532] cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangu-
lar piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to
represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged
ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human
shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the
evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[753] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing
but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
[761] him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
[755] wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on
earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
[776] to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of
countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as
well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the
latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads
on these two or three-headed forms is a human
head. This therefore indicates that the kins
has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigan,
[778] if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the
[532] purpose of the whole semicircle. Namely, it is to be worn around
[757] the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The
name kisij, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/745 cont./
[778] more general meaning and to refer to amulets in general (Bm.
[532] pp. 30-32).

7. Idols in human shape among other Amur peoples. The
[778] wooden idols, sīwa, of the Samagir are shaped exactly like th
[532] of the Olcha and Goldi (Plate LIII /p.1253 /, Figs. 6-8) and m
[184] in the same place, propped upright on the sleeping bench along
the transverse wall of the yurt, away from the door. (I W.R.
[171] p. 77.)

8. Goldi. The same custom as among the Gilyak, wearin
[171] idols around the neck, probably exists among all Amur peoples
[126] Fig. 1 on Plate LIV /p. 1254 / represents such a small idol wo
in lead, which I obtained from a Goldi on the Usuri. (Bm. I,
p. 58.)

9. Samagir. I found a small idol hanging in a deserted
hunting-hut of the Samagir along the Gorin, and it reproduced
the human figure in exactly the same manner and with the sam
features as the large sīwa which one sees in the yurts of the Sa
Goldi, and Olcha. The single deviation was that it bore a wo
eyelet on the head, through which a strap was drawn for the pu
pose of wearing it around the neck (Plate LIV /p. 1254 /, Fig.
When this is done, my guide said, the sīwa is fed by the one w
it, in that the owner smears around its mouth a bit of everyth
he himself eats. When I asked what the sīwa actually is, he s
[755] it is everything, the well-being of everyone, and thus his, my
physical well-being, for example, the healing of his leg bitten
[000] of my dogs. I could not find out anything more (2). There is

2. The guide of the author also called sīwa the
little stick, mentioned on p. 1113, deposited
for a musk deer taken from a hunting tent on
the Gorin (1 W.R. II, pp. 84, 85).

[171] There is
[171] evidently connected with the sīwa the idea of the property of
[171] well-being of man under the influence of a power outside of hi
[171] and superior to him. This conception may not be very differe
[000] from that of the Gilyak. A /746/ fact which speaks very much

Sakhalin
Goldi RX2

/322 cont./

Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

Shamans make chkhnaj (a wooden image of pal-n'igyvyn), inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it, however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chkhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Ornyr, i.e., by the Orok. They ask the chkhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chkhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chkhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chkhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chkhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/882/

775 This bird (the soul of the slain man) enters the avenger of
825 the slain man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagn,
[532] takhchynnga) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and placed,
with the roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the
[778] slain person. The chkhnaj of this bird must be made out of the
root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

775 The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin from a person who has died, he will say, even before sustained speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.

775 When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him
789 backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and then he says quietly, "Well, that is enough, forget the past," and puts the hat on him in the proper way. Then the boy forgets everything and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the milk.

II.

Hunting and Fishing

224 Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vyzn:d (fynydz:). 1. When winter
782 sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol n 'ich: -- to the master of the sea, Tol yz 'dokh.

To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the other hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

/337 cont./

45 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

532 A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
078 storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
082 if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

775 When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
787 gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

66 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

78 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
24 The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
34 (Slyavo).
82 Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
47 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

82 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

53 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
76 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/749 cont.

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak — amulets or small idol-like images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is obtainable in a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Atlof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the upper part with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. This idol is explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, suspended from one to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (nti) and /750/ a human being, with the face of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic. see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an ant head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal resembling a seal or a sea-lion, or a sturgeon. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide mout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chak, or, as an idol, chak-idgu, but knew of no cultural implement and tool used for the same purpose. No amount of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to tell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that they were in ninsh and would cause her death.

/750 cont.

figure was made in case of backache, in order to rid oneself of this sickness (Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Fig. 9). (S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy many idols, all different and some of them very interesting. Sakhalin Gilyak, one side of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ozlak, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ti) on a human body (Plate LVII /p 1257 /, Fig. 9), in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 9). several human figures had cavities in the body in bold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put out in the shape of a bear's head.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pomi-nebo) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p.1256 /, Fig. 3), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tchelimsk many idols with nash wound around them and hidden in a bowl made of wood on a shelf in the corner of a yurt I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p.1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with two heads, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many bowls made of a hard wood, some of which represented a bear, various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toil-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p.1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel was called tchelbyk-ngir and was used for the same purpose. No amount of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to tell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that they were in nash and would cause her death.

/750 cont.

several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patti. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart; on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two bears (Plate LV /p.1255 /, Fig. 3). The heart (nqil), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1262/ above).

Among the idols here there was one with the head of a raven (ot sea bear /or seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (S.R. I, p. 15).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tchchytyrakch at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a human being with a head and a body made of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached to the sides of the fish's body. The former are only indently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out forward, the latter are bent, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1268 /, Fig. 1). — Dzimar (see also in the preceding section in my mentioning the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patcha there is a legend which he was not distinctled to connect with it, since this village and the cape named have not for apart.

— The story goes, "the Gilyak of Patcha returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly showed that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They also therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

/751 cont.

third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time they decided to keep watch during the night in order to catch the destroyer of their catches. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a prominent place in the center for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchi and Cape Tchchytyrakch and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the boat, however, was the representation of the khai (chai of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the tool and the bowl, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak and called wapi, and which is carved by the Olcha a protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak nkgn and the ukwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (S.R. I, p. 15, Fig. 22-33.)

Shamans

/752 cont.

the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chaia has had only a few inhabitants. (S.R. I, p. 39.)

25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a sikwcha, provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn. Unfortunately I did not obtain specimens of this belt (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two makes (ohnala), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fur carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khai (chai of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the tool and the bowl, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak and called wapi, and which is carved by the Olcha a protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak nkgn and the ukwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 22-33.)

Shamans

/752 cont.

26. Ulcha. Among the Olcha the shaman is employed much less than among the Tungusic Amur peoples, the Olcha, the Gilyak and Kilie, and other, and therefore the shaman's implements are much less frequently found among them. Just as among the Amur people in general, so also among the Gilyak in particular, the shamanism is found more and more rarely downstream toward the Liman or toward Sakhalin. One scarcely comes across shamans and shaman implements from Wasi on and anywhere along the Liman. After repeated inquiries about them, I did not see any or hear of any. Thus shamanism seems to have moved downstream and to have had its origin further inland. (Bm. I, p. 76.)

/752 27. Gilyak. In the whole area of the Amur Gilyak there are only a few shamans who have a reputation among their countrymen. I was told that the most famous of them "a great shaman,"

/752 cont.

the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chaia has had only a few inhabitants. (S.R. I, p. 39.)

25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a sikwcha, provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn. Unfortunately I did not obtain specimens of this belt (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two makes (ohnala), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fur carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khai (chai of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the tool and the bowl, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak and called wapi, and which is carved by the Olcha a protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak nkgn and the ukwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 22-33.)

Shamans

/753 cont.

26. Ulcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the information of the Olcha Chomiambo the representation of the wagn is based on the bird hibo whose appearance in any village is disastrous for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a case had happened many years before in the village of Chaia, opposite Kiri (Kidur). The hibo had come and perched on the tip of a larch tree (Chaia name, Gilyak kuh), where the inhabitants of Chaia saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

/761 cont.

II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life After Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Sargin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death remain on the earth or under the khai (chai of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the tool and the bowl, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak and called wapi, and which is carved by the Olcha a protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak nkgn and the ukwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 22-33.)

43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutchkin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained an explanation of the meaning of the song. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rechyguk, from Wait, whom he had abducted (?). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Grube's and Jutchkin's work, "Linguistic Material, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Miygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place in the interior of the strits to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

/768 cont.

A rough little roof or a similar stick (wadikch) stuck in the ground is likewise said to be used in many places where the dead is buried. (Bm. I, p. 18.)

31. Gilyak. In September, 1894, the Gilyak of Kuft discovered two graves of Russian fishermen, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously called by Russian people, or Gilyak, the like are deposited there. Near Kuft, in the beach forest along the Amur, four or five small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in the forest. The Gilyak said that in the village of Kuft there were little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one vessel, over which the same number of table fun had been placed. Other little houses, in which the ashes of children dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

32. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never be transferred to another place. This would be uhech. There are, however, two cases in which the Gilyak from Kuft revealed and communicated about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which they themselves had moved from Kuft. (Bm. I, p. 56.)

33. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an upright position: hakk, also tar. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kytim, stuck in it; a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen, and decorated with tassels, hakk-or tarr-rawl (Plate LXVIII /p.1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir,

/769 cont.

the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in nonsinged frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with nach were placed (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, to the right, in the middle distance).

There was no nilyun; in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death, otherwise it would be uhech to set up a nilyun; (S.R. II, pp. 4-6.)

57. Gilyak. According to Sargin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very young person dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. If the corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /?/ in the hunting grounds, and if the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyb-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of food are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, grasts, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong cautive power against various sickness, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The depositing of food is such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it are a cure. The corpse of a person killed by an ant (tiger and leopard) is taken to a similar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 56-58.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the branches of birch. This is the usual period of mourning, also also for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LVII /p.1257 /.

59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk, and Tchchiri (on the Amur) are accustomed to bury in the forest their corpses, but the other, including those of Tau-wai and the villages up to Chiare (Inel.), cremate them and erect raff for them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (S.R. I, p. 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near Aly (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of these two ends there was wood stag (nach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the place in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree-trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-stretches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

/771 cont./

wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,

† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266 /, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn, projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wasuj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the wgn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Much stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frame-posts in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the wgn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

/772 cont./

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-ngit in it. The pittysj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-nga, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tucham-ngar is missing (†). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

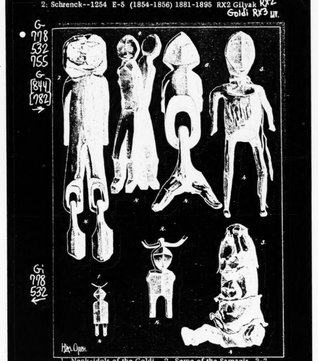
* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as unech, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 43.)

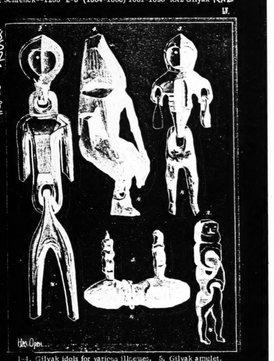
/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Ocha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of Bogorodickoye in the vicinity of the Ocha village of Pulli (Pulu on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Ocha tombs ornamented with various paintings

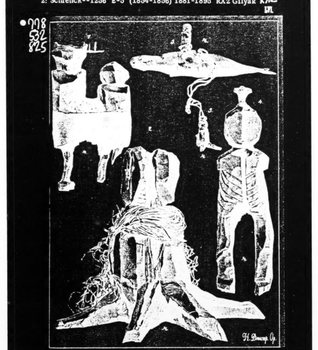
Idols in simple human form. 1, 2--Gilyak house idols. 3. Dwelling of the idols. Fig. 2 (reduced). 4. One-armed Gilyak idol. 5. Gilyak neck-idol. 6-8. House idols of the Goldi (reduced).



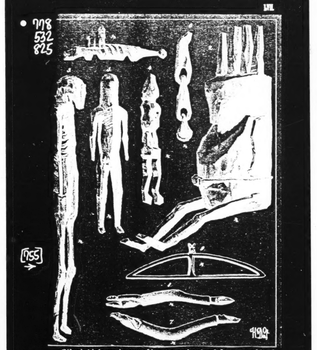
1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.



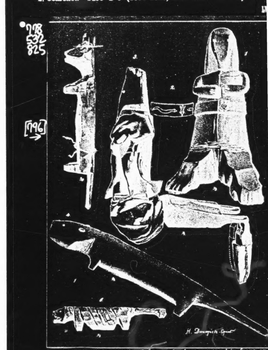
1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.



Gilyak idols made out of combined human and animal forms. 1. Human being and tiger. 2. Human being, tiger, and bear. 3. Human being and bear. 4. Human being and owl. 5. Human being and white whale.



Gilyak idols made out of human and animal forms combined: 1--human being and tiger; 2--human being with tiger head; 3, 4--human being with bear head; 5--human being with owl head; 6--human back-joint with bear head and paw; 7, 8--Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9--similarly, a bow with human head.



Gilyak idols in animal form: 1--bear, a toad in front of belt; 2--in the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3--bear, painted, dressed in fish skin; 4-6--tiger.

/746 cont. /A /746/ fact which speaks very much in favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples, whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kulk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

/746 cont./

178 the front side of the bear-idol, the lizard mä(r)ngai on the back side
232 of it, and the snake kÿlanga, whose image is found on either side
325 between the first two. I often witnessed the awe and fear of the Gilyak before reptiles (*).

* See Appendix 20, paragraph 2 /p. 1204/.

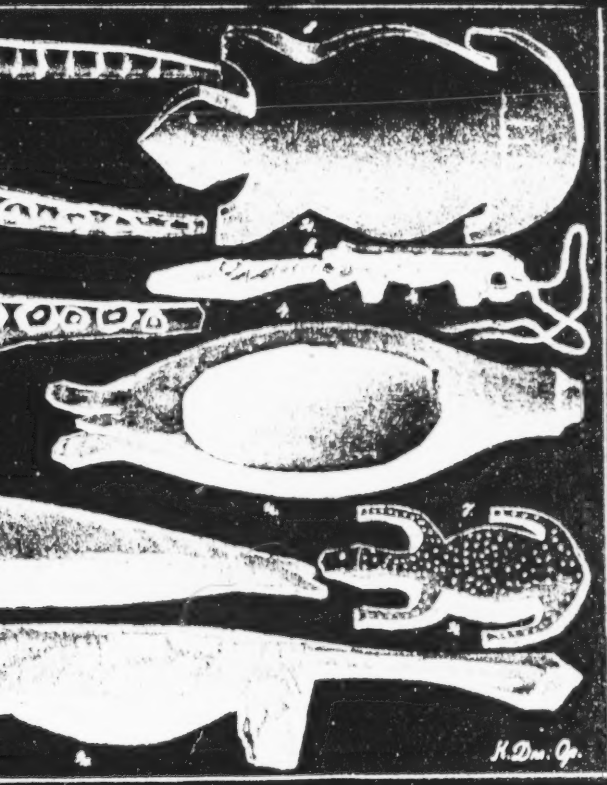
Among the Gilyak, besides the bear, one finds idols of the att or märeder, with downright superstitious fear connected with it among them. But since the tiger and leopard, which are united under the same name of att or märeder, are rarely seen in their northern homeland and casualties caused by them are rare, the idols of the att are less common than those of the bear. The slight acquaintance of the Gilyak with these predatory animals causes them to make the idols of them poorly and superficially (3);

3. See Vol. I, pp. 92-94, of this work.

see Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, Figs. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 represents an att idol which I found in the village of Kuĭk. It bears none of the marks which characterize the tiger and leopard and are present on the representations of these animals among the Goldi. Only the general shape is similar to those figures. /747/ But that this figure is in fact supposed to represent an att is certain, since I obtained the idols from a Gilyak expert in this. (Bm. I, pp. 59, 61.)

232 11. Gilyak. A fish carved out of wood, which came from
325 the Gilyak village of Tebach, seems to serve less as an idol or amulet than as a piece of carving, as a representation, tschngai in general. It is supposed to represent the fish ngy-tscho, which is unknown to me. Even earlier I acquired from Tebach the figure of another small fish, the pilengat, Cyprinus carpio, which likewise had no significance other than that of pai (see p. 1090). Both are illustrated on Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 4, 5. Later, I obtained another carved fish from Tebach, which was supposed to represent the pak(ch?)-tscho, i.e., a large pilengat-tscho. (Bm. II, p. 32.)

Idols in animal form: 1--tiger (Goldi); 2, 3
animal, a human heart in its mouth (Olcha a
9--"chas" of the



--leopard (Goldi); 4--seal (Olcha); 5--unidentified
mulet); 6--white whale (Gilyak); 7,8--toad (Gilyak);
Gilyak.

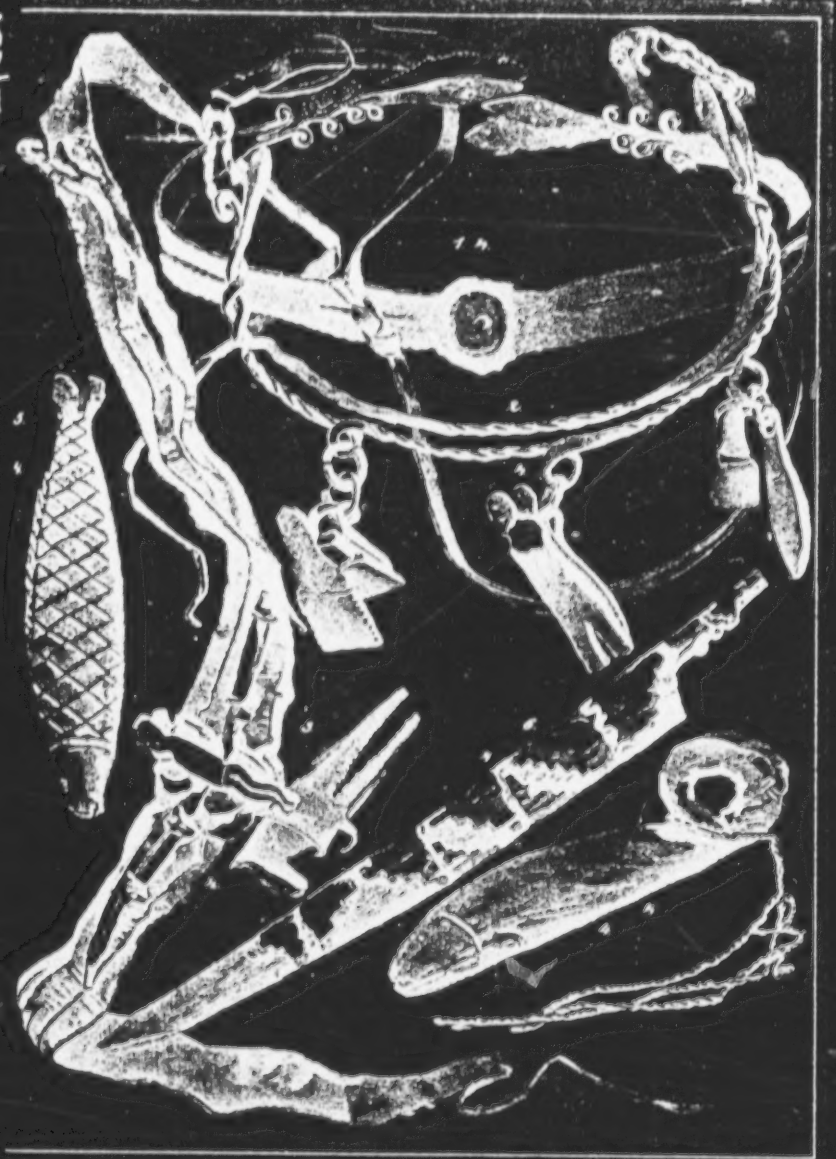
2: Schrenck--1259 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3

20: Bush--124 T-2 (1865) 18
116, 778, 782

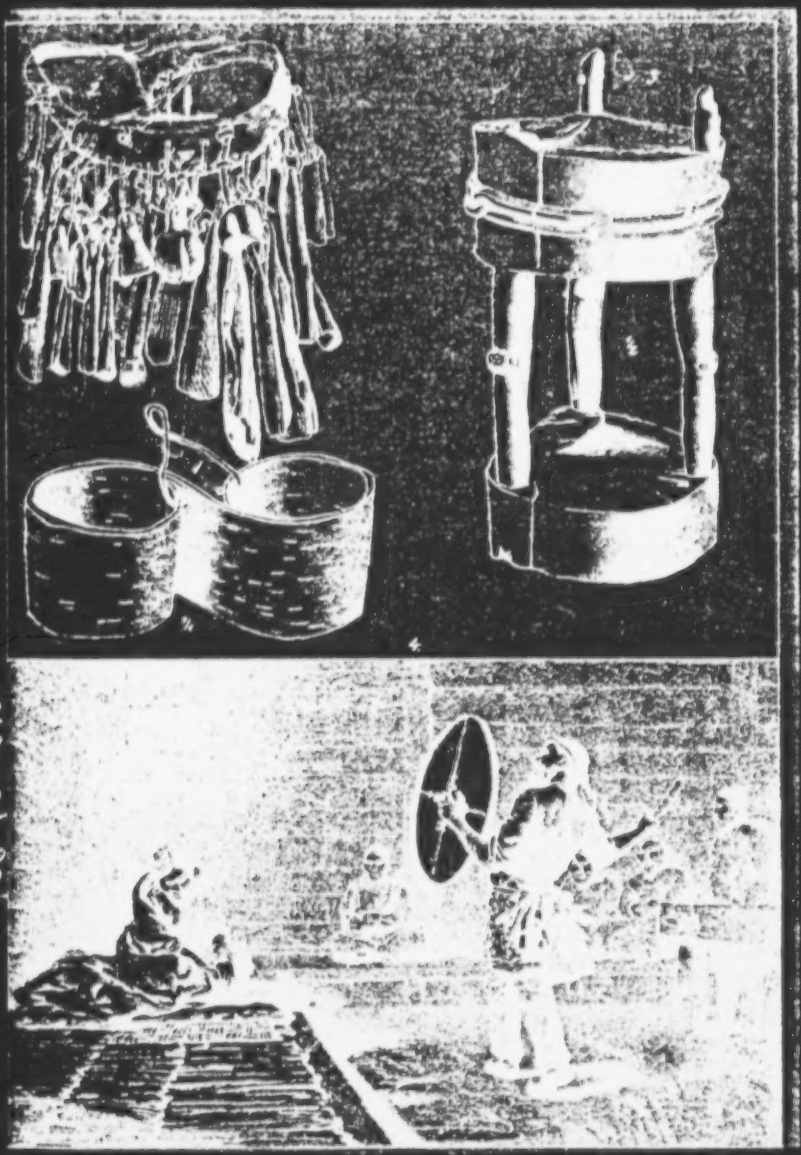
"Upon leaving the Gilak encampment, we
the woods above, when we found ourselves u
all sides, scattered through the woods, wer
small trees from four to six feet above the
of offering to the native gods, and, when ne
were sprinkled with tobacco, berries, roots
appeared to be of more recent date than two
crumble beneath the touch, and others were
hardly recognizable. After being once place
disturb them again. Time and the elements
tamper with them with impunity."

climbed the bank just in front of it, to
pon a spot held sacred by the Gilaks. Upon
e skulls of bears, poised upon the stumps of
ground. These were intended as some kind
wly placed in position (we afterward learned)
, and other articles. None of these offering
years, while some were so old as to
buried in such a profusion of moss as to be
ed, it is deemed very sacrilegious ever to
, according to Gilak notions, can alone

:Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LX



. Iron-circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to event sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal gures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak



1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

9: Hawes--193 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 751, 756, 778

"The cham, or medicine-man, exorcises spi
charms made in the shape of a human being.
as an amulet. A pair of these, carved from v
be worn on the limb or part of the body affect
little figures would be tied round the neck."

rits which take up a temporary abode in
Otherwise even this anthropoid kind was
vood, which I have (p. 194), are intended
ted; for a sore throat, for instance, the

116, 755, 776, 778

"[LSS: In the cure of illness by the m
appears, and drives out of the hut all u
his head a band of birch bark, with thre
These, it is said, are to aid him in the
but are more probably to inhance the m
then places in the corner of the hearth
tobacco, and roots; and close to these,
back to back; one having the face of a l
woman. The ch'khnai are there to prov
he leaves the body of the sick man. Not
ch'khnai that the image of the weeping
evil spirit, summoned from the body o
cies, naturally enters into the image s
himself kind-hearted and weak as a wee
and takes refuge in the other image; wh
man, especially when the cham draws

The evil and good spirits finding then
there is never any doubt of the result,
spirit. Then commence negotiations be
or what offering he will accept to keep a

nedicine man] When the sun has set, the cham
nnecessary persons, and proceeds to place upon
ee little rustling rosettes of papery bark lining.
expulsion of the evil spirit from the sick one;
ystery [237] and authority of the exorcist. He
three little bowls, containing respectively fish,
two wooden images, ch'khnai, bound together
aughing man, and the other that of a weeping
ide something for the evil spirit to enter, when
e here how clever the cham is. He so places the
woman faces the cups containing the food; and the
the patient by exorcism and attracted by delica-
placed; and, having taken this form, will be
eping woman. The good spirit is then exorcised,
here he becomes jolly and strong as a laughing
nearer to him one of the bowls of food.
nselves in close proximity, begin to fight; but
for victory must be to the stronger—the good
tween the cham and the evil spirit as to how much
way from the sick man."

225 Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the
533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182

225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
) 778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

225 cut down a young birch, stick it on the elz·s
782 and suspend the head of the beluga in the tree.
778

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the children

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(?)) telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the original.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-kr÷) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

7: Kreinovich--7 E

225 mu-zivɜd on the b
789 time or another th
774 a living thing. Mu
751 means of guardin
misfortunes.
782 Aside from mu
778 means 'image', 'I
532 a branch of rowan
225 One of the figurin
789 other - at the ster
a representation o
bow of the boat. T
turned to the sea.
782 There is one ot
789 setting out on a hu
225 They light fires of
372 boat and they try t
boat. The pila· ta
starting from the
outside and the ins
with the branches
(evil)". Then the
sea and are off.
225 I watched Gilya
502 a hunt, put out to
554 hunters were at th
ous strokes of five
quickly to sea. Xi
bow of the boat nor
the distance. The
need fear nothing.
777 ienced pila·, teste
resentation of the
will vigilantly look
When the boat b
outlines blended w
hunters left the sh
225 After leaving th
823 first go to Ui·-kr÷
766
782 1. It seems
drowned m

the boat out of the
taining the usual r

boat supports the assumption that at one
he Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
u-ziyad on the boat serves, it seems, as a
g the boat against and protecting it from

u-ziyad, tŋaj is performed on the boat. Tŋaj
figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
n (qosk-ŋaks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
es is placed at the prow of the boat and the
rn. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
The figurine placed at the bow has its face
We shall come back to these tŋaj elsewhere.
ther ceremony performed on the boat. Before
nt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
f spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
kes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
bow and going towards the stern, hits the
side of the boat as well as the rowlocks
so as to elvlaf-pak-azd --"lose bad places
hunters push the boat past the fire into the

k Xitkun who, having already returned from
sea with the hunters a second time. Five
e oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
pair of oars the boat took lightly and
kun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
thward, towards the cape barely visible in
Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
d in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
sea bird ugŋ and the figunines tŋaj. They
out for and protect their course.
ecame a tiny spot in the distance and its
th the water, the women who saw off the
ore for home.
e village the hunters turn northward. They
"sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull

hat there are "tombstones" in memory of
n on the cape.

vater. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop con-
freshments called for by the occasion and

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
a- ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i. e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.
The heads with piskar stuck in them are taken home.
225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pilaŋ performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines tŋaj. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch.) The pilaŋ cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the pilaŋ. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. With-
out drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pilaŋ
asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances.
First - the pilaŋ appropriates the first sivuch killed during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.
784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the in-
terdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only
can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the
Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.
It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

"The Gilaks are a very superst
stone as of old, though many of then
wear small [102] metal crosses susp
or 'shamans,' who conduct all their
These shamans are supposed by the
held in great awe and reverence."

itious, pagan people, worshiping idols of wood
n have been baptized into the Greek Church, a
pended about their necks. They have their pri
ceremonies and are the advisers of the comm
em to be gifted with supernatural powers, and a

"I turned my attention to two or three
into the forms of a disc and a crescen
and the moon, and were used as charr
similar to the one I have described as
evil spirits; but these particular ones
would ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there,
visible to mortal eyes. Charms there
fluence and the contact with Russians
Gilyaks, and they laugh when question
lurking sense of fear at the bottom of

'works of art.' Two small flat pieces of wood cut
t hung from a beam. These represented the sun
ns. There were also two sticks, with shavings on,
protecting the canoe during its construction from
, I learnt, were for placing over a sick child, and

no graven images, for the great 'Kiskh' is in-
are, though with the decline of the cham's in-
these are losing their value in the eyes of the
ed about them by the foreigner, yet not without a
their hearts."

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately
sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man
brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the major-
ity are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated
with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the
island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or
kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only
hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when
it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about
somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet,
tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared
with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect.
Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have
different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the
vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be
taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans,
others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
idols represent children, others old people. Some have
hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body show-
ing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank
a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone
pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

778 These were dec
782 Avvakum. One
177 the other is a T
formula: "Om
Amen!" The te
time of G nghis
pillars and offe
with wood chips
Thereupon they
fish.

Near the vill
seen a thin, dr
jutting out of th
out in a circle.
Vaida-Gilyak.
above its roots
festival is held
belong to the sa
p. 237] [242]

775 Almost all G
121 athered from
Life in the her
life, except tha
aged person re
united anew.

1. A sin
natives o

fate of evil pe
fact that the s
that world, bu
usually in the
is the Gilyak p
most absurd i
low, but above

77. However, e
or rather unb
pause, told a
on religious n
enough sable
hungry." An
tively denied
pointing to a
if I put it to d

ciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite
inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace",
Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred
mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos!
emple was supposed to have existed in the
s Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these
r sacrifices, that is, they decorate them
s, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc.
promise themselves an abundant yield of

age of Vaida high above the water is to be
y tree trunk parallel to the water level and
e steep rock wall, with branches radiating
This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the
It is also often decorated with wood chips and
, on the edge of the river bank, the bear
. The above-mentioned church bells also
acred objects. [RCH: see category 116,

ilyak believe in a future life, which may be
he customs relating to the burial ceremony.
eafter is pictured exactly like the present
t it has neither age nor death. A deceased
ains his youth there, a married couple is
There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

ilar belief is said to exist among the
f Kamchatka.

sons differs from that of good ones only in the
uls of the former do not immediately reach
must roam about on the earth for a while,
form of an animal, particularly a dog. This
urgatory which certainly cannot be called the
ea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not be-
somewhere in heaven.
ven among these savages there are sceptics,
lievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a
visiting Russian priest who sounded him out
atters: "What business of ours is God! If we have
nd fish we shall live, if not, we must go
ther Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye posi-
mmortality in speaking to Russian peasants,
sh and saying: "just as this fish will disappear
ath, so also man disappears."

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.
755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.
789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.
177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of

"During this portion of our journ
twenty-five miles in length, we pass
held sacred by the Gilaks. To this p
tribe periodically resort for the pur
many respects resemble the ceremo

ey on the lake, [LSS: Lake Kidzi] which is about
ed a small rocky island called Boshniak, which is
lace the 'shamans' or 'medicine-men' of the
pose of carrying on their pagan rites, which in
nies of our American Indians."

/56 cont./

123 "What are you afraid of?" I said to him. "You will stay,
796 be alive, go back home, everything will be fine and do not
worry about me." "No, friend," replied Gibel' with animation. "that is a bad law: we have traveled together, worked together, written together, searched together for the stone ax, looked at people together, passed judgment together, and now I will go back home and are going to die here? Is such the law? And what will the most great chief say? Why, he will say, did you not see to it that the "tyan'gi" (gentleman) traveled well?" He will say that I killed you. That will be a great sin. No, you had better not touch the god of the earth; he is terribly big, strong, and he can get terribly angry."

123 Seeing that I was adamant, Gibel'ka, after some thought,
796 said: "You have nothing to give the Head of the earth, such
782 an important 'tyan'ga' and yet to have nothing to give. If we give him a present and say a good word, perhaps he will not become angry." Then I remembered that a few pieces of candy that I use for slaking my thirst when climbing a mountain were left in my pocket and, showing them to my elated companions, said that I /57/ would take them to the angry god and say a good word. My companions calmed down somewhat, and I set out on my way. In the evening when I came back loaded with a collection of herbs and minerals, my companions surrounded me with joy and began to inquire about what word I said to the Head of the earth. I was forced to recite for them impromptu prayers in their national style. "Lord of the Earth, you are very big and strong and can become terribly angry. All people know you. I came from a distant land, from a most distant land I came in order to look at you; please make it so that I and my companions are healthy and return home, and do not die of hunger on the way. Please feed me well!" When, exhausted and starving, we returned that very day to the settlement of Nyur very close by, and Gibel'ka, while the tea was being boiled, told the amazed listeners about my sacrifice and about the eloquent prayer, something extraordinary happened. All the people looked with tender emotion, while

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
796 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of table hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[155] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
796 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life
614 of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
795 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
796 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
191 here, for the time being, to what has been said. All the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
614 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
782 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed
796 in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak.
[570] In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
504 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[614] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
614 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
523 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[788] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/66 cont./

796 fed, and then, exchanging farewell glances with the dogs,
they silently leave. Upon passing over the threshold, it remains for them to conclude the last ceremony, which bears the characteristic name of "lymyzyn zychyvynd" -- "the stamping of the threshold." This ceremony consists in placing nikh't (a kettle and an ax) on both sides of the threshold, the nikh of the departer -- on the inner side, and the nikh of the host on the outer side; the departer must first step over the inner nikh with one foot and then over the outer one with the other.

On this same day the last act is concluded -- the sacrifice
796 of the dogs. The dogs presented by the narkh'i, as well as the
782 dogs sacrificed by the master for this occasion, are led out to the plot of ground where the bear was killed and tied up to those same trees /67/ to which the bear was tied. The head of the bear with all the presents given to it, is also brought here. Each pair of dogs consists of a male and a female so they will be happier on the journey. Pairs of inau of the same kind as those
[778] that were prepared for seeing off the bear and equal in number to the number of pairs of dogs are then stuck into the ground in the neighborhood of the trees. The heads of the dogs are ornamented with shavings, which are painted with the juice of berries and attached to them. Before they are killed, the dogs are fed with choice viands and are exhorted in the following way: "Go, go to your master, take yourself up to the highest mountain, change your skin, and next year come down here, come down here as a bear so that I may have a look at you, do this, come down, farewell, travel well!" After this, they kill the dogs by strangulation. This procedure is carried out somewhat peculiarly. Two men seize a dog by its hind legs and forcefully pull the unfortunate animal as far as possible away from the tree to which it is tied with a tightening noose. At that time, two other men seize the two front paws; a fifth presses on the dog's neck, accelerating the process of strangulation, and a

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[242] women, but only clansmen.

The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as
[166] well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred bear. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'yaga.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[166] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is by no means the ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/69 cont./

796 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
825 We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whoh the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during
796 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in-
782 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, be-
825 lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the
[114] sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself
796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment
825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general
861 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e., to the clan of the son-in-law /syat'/ of the master of the

/87 cont./

*614 370 796 ● 982 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sickness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey, etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacrifices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 370 796 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan" attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorites into his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[191]

2. It is curious that a similar view exists among the Buryat: a man who perishes from lightning becomes a powerful and beneficent spirit to whom sacrifices are made and prayers are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire, its ability to spread quickly, its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

/89 cont./

*614 795 [766] cremation, and the oars are placed upright, facing each other, in order to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

*614 795 ● 982 796 But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these tits are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force -- the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is but the free gift of the gods, his benefactors; without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustpers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifices and festivals, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally devoted to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, are ready from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

/90 cont./

*614 795 ● 982 796 In its evolution, this solidarity in the sacrifices to clansmen, fostered for ages, becomes the principle of the clan relation to the gods in general. When in wholly individual affairs, during illness, say, the Gilyak makes a sacrifice, he will without fail summon his absent clansmen, even from afar, so that they may enjoy the beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

574 795 795 *[614] The principle of common clan deities, the sustainers of the clan, is the foundation of the institution of hospitality and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institution of hospitality among primitive peoples, even if only from travelers' descriptions, that it must be based on something more than mere social etiquette or even humanity sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Arab, at his own hearth manifests the warmest hospitality to even his enemy concerning whom at any other place he has only one imperative -- kill, evidently is impelled by a more powerful motive, a motive which has behind it religious dictates. And this must be said about the basis of the institution among all other primitive peoples, including the Gilyak. The Gilyak considers it his obligation to extend hospitality, not only to the traveler, not only to the actually hungry man, but also in cases where from our point of view there is no necessity whatever for displaying this feeling. No matter how many times a day a neighbor may appear at his hearth, no matter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the wands in the possession of the host, not to mention the inevitable handful of tobacco for his pipe. /91/ If there is no extra tobacco, he just takes turn with the guest in drawing on a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly dishes and delicacies. If you bring the host a glass of vodka, he will never allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put his lips to it, and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the house, although there may be dozens of them, including the children, even suckings. To do otherwise would be "a very great sin, one might die."

/92 cont./

*614 428 795 [556] worn on ceremonial occasions and in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of fathers-in-law, only fur shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

*614 796 4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the fattening of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, ut-gu, nakh muvel"; "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear slain in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods. As

*614 796 ● 982 [1015] we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

/93 cont./

*614 796 ● [782] all forest wealth and the most powerful deity, before whom the slain bear, comforted by the feeding and honors, will be their daily intercessor. That is why this festival plays such an enormous role in the life of the clan and is couched in such complex ritual, and why, despite the fact that guests from other clans assemble for it, it bears in essence such a rigidly exclusive clan character. Only clansmen may participate in the celebration of the festival, and as guests only "sons-in-law" /syat'ya/ are invited, in relation to whom, as we shall see, there exists the direct obligation of sustenance, i.e., persons to whom the benevolence of the gods-sustainers also extends. The bear festival is as important a element of clan ties in the social sense as it is in the religious one. The obligation to participate in the preparation of food and in the numerous expenses and tasks involved in the arrangement of the festival and the reception of guests creates the habits of social solidarity, common co-ordinated action toward a common goal, and common sacrifices for a common project. The periodic assemblies of clansmen, sometimes dispersed in distant places, constantly supports the ties and consciousness of the clan union.

*614 796 182 [688] Finally, the very content of the festival -- the day prefestival preparations performed jointly, the solemn meeting of the "guests," the common, noisy meals, social conversation, dances, songs, races, fencing, religious ceremonies -- all this unites, stimulates, refines, and beautifies life, giving the highest value to the clan union as the unique source of spiritual and social enjoyment.

*614 795 5. One devil, i.e., a common enemy in the person of a deceased clansman, a slain member of another clan, and so forth.

Just as a clansman, as we have seen, can under certain circumstances pass after death into the clan of benevolent /94/ deities and become the sustainer and protector of the clan, so can the converse happen: a clansman who became embittered when alive and separated from the clan, a

/96 cont./ Not far from the

*614 825 795 [766] native village a framework in the likeness of a bear hunter is set up, with openings for the proper sacrifices. On the outside, at the corners, four sharpened saplings are set up, while it is decorated on the inside with the sacred inau. Here are also deposited the remains of the murdered man and his murderer, in the same position in which they were brought from the taiga, as we described above.

A unique funeral feast with the carcass of the slain bear is held beside this framework. On both sides of a long uninterrupted campfire sit the clansmen with large pieces of bear meat in their hands. Each one cuts the meat into thin pieces, and as each piece is cut off he throws it from his knife across the fire to the one sitting on the opposite side of the campfire. The slice, caught on a knife, is slowly roasted in the fire (the greatest insult for the bear, whose meat may only be boiled), and then with a look of revulsion they each bite off a piece and scornfully throw the meat away, although ordinarily it is /97/ considered a great sin to let even the smallest piece of bone fall to the ground.

● [782] [787] After this procedure of "refined" revenge, a feast with sacrifices to the master of the mountains and the murdered man begins. First they throw into the fire the carcass, which has begun to be burned, then various viands. At night they place a guard of two men with spears over the framework, lest the spirit of the bear wish to take revenge. The sentries firmly assert in such instances that they heard the cries of the murdered man, "Ai, Bear!" and threw themselves with spears upon the invisible avenger. In the morning they will tell you, traces of blood are clearly visible on the points of the spears...

*614 795 782 787 766 With the end of the funeral feast, peace between the mountain men and the clan of the murdered man has been restored. The latter is accepted and will live to a ripe old age in the clan of the mountain people, while his clansmen for three generations will twice a year (summer and winter) make sacrifices; part to the master of the mountain, part to the divine clansman.

/105 cont./

*614 628 536 A procession of the avenger with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh's pacify their clients

● [782] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen lead a dog-sacrifice among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain and meets the clan requirements.

608 537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh's, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

/562 cont./

224 as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are [262] fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on 224 184 a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

224 Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly asso- 78 ciated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their ob- 825 servance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in 224 case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by 114 Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans 756 to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce 533 825

781

781 RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE--emotional reactions experienced in religious behavior (e.g., oppressive fear of malevolent higher powers, overwhelming awe of divine might, luxurious sense of dependence upon a benevolent and all-knowing superior, reassuring feeling of security through conformity, prideful conviction of right, grateful release from the burdens of a guilty conscience, groveling humility of self-abnegation, ecstatic release of mysterious inner powers, mystic sense of identification with or absorption in the divine essence, esthetic thrill in religious art, music, or ceremonial); evidence as to the predominant type or types of religious experience in the particular society; emotional needs satisfied through religious behavior; etc. See also:

Personality 15
Fine arts 53
Esthetic ideals 517
Ethical ideals 577
Conceptions of emotions 928

/366 cont./

the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen. He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka, tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up, he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same. Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition," the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

782

2 PROPITIATION--practices reflecting a sense of dependence and a desire to ingratiate or influence the supernatural; repudiation and intimidation; obeisances (e.g., bowing, genuflection); laudation; prayer; sacrifice (e.g., libations, food sacrifices, animal and human sacrifice, symbolic and vicarious sacrifices); vows; burning of incense; decoration of religious edifices; endowing of shrines and temples; etc. See also:

Philanthropy 73, 74
Hymns 533
Etiquette 576
Mortuary sacrifices 764
Desecration and consecration of sacred objects and places 778
Stereotyped prayers 788

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. [778] I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/55 cont./

776 782 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers. Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacrifice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary. The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the meat of animals.

782 [484] If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out, he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacrifice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not demanding.

123 776 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself. It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost without provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I unexpectedly informed my companions that I had decided to betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" intention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offering as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had attempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape, perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat, Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially agitated.

/312 cont./

Only representatives of the clan, kahal o'khlir, gather at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buds, a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /fabar/ for bears' dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyil -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody goves to the Ily-n'lvush, the sacrifice goes along the wor, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tan the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, and they keep it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

Tlyrolh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt. Early in the morning they set-out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes. Then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the Aino language is used, in Tevlth only a red dog /gi-ldzi/ is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat the another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrolh: "n'longer-a kinyngoh: hamgugr, khalahl tyrgyzir", i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (chan'gar), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Shi, a stick, and a cone bow (nanchla) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between two coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tung-k'vh); the fork is thrown into the fire and chédzigr. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a yurt to protect against the mila-a (the evil spirit). In /315/ the

/313 cont./

morning it is necessary to take back the ski and to forth quietly and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'lvush descend the river, and by those objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'lvush and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "tink" /fan/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught some-thing while river, and we go on and pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

During a tahh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the Gilyak assembled, made a sacrifice -- bow, pheasant, fish, roots, and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyi'mya sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzigr. This old man sacrificed four big tahh.

Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn occasions such trees are selected. A sacrifice is also made to "one's clan Pal-yz" (the master of the mountain), but they are not made to Pila-yz (the great master). He is most frequently seen as a snake. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog. Tol -- sea master -- a white one. Each house has two fires, Pal-tigr and Tol-tigr. If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tigr, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that ishala who has two stoves.

Tol-tahhgr -- a tahhgr of larch; a hammer, chong-chirk', an hung on it. Near it is a battery (bench) /fabar/for which are placed bowls, spoons, tahhgrh, balagr, and tobacco. And here they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to kilbuch (tangyl, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the funerals only two dishes are placed on the halugyr -- mos' and muvi (tissue of jelly-like dish). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire ishala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the tahhgr they hang robaxca, ngo (chldyzir) -- a bunch, yukola -- yyz' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

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"Tyk-ly? -- Is it enough?" "Yiuf! -- It is enough." Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everyone gathers together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

The customary tahhg of a hunter is the individual sig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund hylhyde: assemblies, and they judge him; they demand a bear or a dog. -- a dog /gyr/. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the mouth is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

When they build a pila sigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a hik -- a dogs black dog "it is just like molh," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a poor falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila sigryf. And also a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several sigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an sigryf.

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Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chinfong) are placed on the 2. appropriate day, but if there is not enough, with the setting of the appropriate sun (not or pal'). /315/ /Sketch/ of the house-plan appears here./

Tyyrz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erih punk; if the family is large then also the hemkahh (3) and pocakkhah (1). The hearth is placed in the middle (26).

In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed; the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back of the house, and a thread stretched between them. Two hung images of the sun (hengr) and the moon (long chashh). They are not renewed later.

Sacrifices. In ancient times, sacrifices are made: They prepare mos' 1) alyn -- berries, 2) raki -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four-cornerr (chosch): four posts (mos'-cashh), and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, arnhhar', and the rear one, hemhhar', in which the master lives; they also feed the two-cornerr (ngo'-tol'-edz). Here the old man says: "Ha-ldi mu-ja' nolaga kyrmyzh: hamgugr, ta sihhydz khodal'ta hamgugr" -- be a good house (ut firmly). Make it felicitous for my children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." Then the bear is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv amyde.

Tyv ya' hash -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who guards against the entry of the milk'.

Tyin yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the ground, they place different foods (chyuhr) -- for the earth -- the master and the tol tyrgyr.

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Sanctification of the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, they feed the reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a "man," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chinfong (chinfong), a grass figure, and drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in autumn (chonjing) (1) and another time when one wishes. They

1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the mariga, the stone under the threshold near the door, the dog, where the master of the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

/318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chihhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it (a strong man holds it hard); in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman threatenes with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman commentator walls, bones, and variant things in the yurt from which kilo hehm must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

/319/ Driving out the evil spirit. And all answer: "Ly-gi, ly-gi, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings hid hidden in such and such a corner. Ahang (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him; and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out a dog." (speaking to the kehhr, i.e., to the spirit).

/319 cont./

Make a battue, drive him toward this great figure. Ah! He has turned into a mouse." The chorus: "He is going there. He turned into a human form... he turned into a bird. He got into the pipe."

Finally, there is no other place, and he has to get into the chihhnaj -- the grass figure, whether he wants to or not. When he has entered it, the hand of the person holding the shaman appears to shake. The shaman shouts: "Hir hinn!" And shot one hits. They light a candle, throw light on it, and inspect the grass figure: it again does not have its head toward the threshold. The shaman searches for him again. He finds him. Again the same thing. Finally, the chihhnaj has its head toward the threshold, which means that the evil spirit has gone out. The shaman leaves his mana to keep watch overnight. In the evening of the following day, the shaman calls the real "master," but that means that he was late. The real "master" is generally hidden under the earth. The shaman looks for him and addresses to him the request: "Ha-ldi mu-ja' nolaga hinn, hinn an ilm, he hinn ya' ya' ya'

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(764) a man's one purse (nhy) for tinder and flint.
(765) B. Hoatsh -- a tobacco pouch, also of drel', for both men and
(792) women; tobacco is placed in the nhy and the hontkh.

A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

(794) No news, or tales, or songs (are recited -- puring).

On the following day the men go to the forest for the cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and
(824) for children -- rose-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. One must select a good tree; otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length: (82" among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise.

During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds
(782) the deceased (mu n'ngyvyn achnind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned -- tay mund, the floor is swept; then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, yurt is prepared, and tugur amind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a clansman) -- mos' is thrown into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog sled. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "pyal" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the future fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

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(795) This bird (the soul of the urila man) enters the avenger of
(796) the urila man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagp,
(792) tashch,vagp) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and place.

(798) The roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the urila tavern. The chhinaj of fish bird must be made out of the root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin (such as a person who has danger, he will say, even before untied speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.

(795) When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him
(796) backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and
(797) he says quietly: "Well, that is enough, forget the best," and puts the hat on him in the proper way. Then the boy forgets everything, and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the "noses."

II.

Hunting and Fishing

(824) Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vymid (tynydge). 1. When winter
(792) sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

(651) 2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol n'ngn -- to the master of the sea, Tol yr'dokh.

(792) To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the older hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

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(824) In the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' balagan,
(792) they make chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-n'ngyvyn, the master
(798) of the mountains; the master says, "Ar'myr sikrf, urgur n'un'ujf, mushjf" -- "there are no more presents, make it so that I am not afraid, look after us well!" They make chukh-chugynd before a particular tree (uig-chhkar -- a tabooed and forbidden tree); then they only feed the fire, saying: "Urgur in'ja, hiulan tugur mujf, pal'akh pong argujd -- eat well, make the mountain people take pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien khhal. Only the master -- yr'ngn -- may clean the fire, tugurmynd. /383/ the cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the summer quarters in spring; the rubbish is put in one place. Mos' for the fire is prepared also only by the yr'ngn and his khhal, but the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first evening they make the sacrifice to the hearth: "Urgur in'ja pal'akh ponargjd mila n'ivukh mungja" -- eat well, make the mountain take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old tahhej (trees with bifurcations) are stacked together, and new ones are made. Near the balagan there is an uig-tahhej on which are hung sables, noses, and so forth. The word to it: "Pal ponargja n'ash hiulan -- a'ngyvyn mungjd!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and make me successful in hunting the beast."

Near the balagan is an uig-chhkar to which sacrifices are thrown merely with spoons -- no chhinaj are made. They also feed helming an'ish (a bitch looking into a behind) and Lymys'n mimi.

(651) Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the com-
(792) mon tahhej, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. Anyone from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled head
(852) of a sable is decorated with imu, placed on sticks on the front part of the hearth, nearer the ponang (the middle plank-bed), and
(792) rice, puchka, saranа, and mos' are stuffed through the opening in the back of its head and through its nostrils; then the head is eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have been put together in chumashki, sacrificial dishes are prepared, and the bones

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are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
(792) trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigund kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhind), a woman must not see anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not sweep the floor outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting someone else's property cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If
(626) any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or
(792) hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

/384/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the tree; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tor' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

(824) Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
(792) and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tihuind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tihuind.

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One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and traps
(792) are being set, i.e., during the narihind, and also during a bear festival and when a man has died.

III.

342 The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected with the House

(787) A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post. The
(792) sweetbrier guards against the mills, while the flint is there so that there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spirit) cannot come through. The door is toward the east.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They make an iinin chhinaj (chhinaj ofn (?) ehhinaj). Aqvyn (?)mij in the shape of a human face on each of four posts (nas'ki khur) of the hearth, and for the sturdiness of the house, inau are tied to the cross rafters (nas'ki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the nas'ki
(792) khur closest to the door, and rub the chhinaj with the blood of its heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and the chhhinajinau, the helgelnan'ih, or (in Arkyop) the hymymnam, and the nich are fed. Three small furs are then placed in the hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (shin); for some reason these bindings are called "little bear." After this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the ground. At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn the fire and say a prayer.

(792) In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyond the fire the old man tugur-vchhh. The tugur, the master of the fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the fire and say: "Urgur in'jf, urlantaf mu'if" (i.e., "eat well, be a good house"). Nor are they feed each /385/ corner, repeating: "Urian tugur mujf'ak urlaf parkjf, hiulan taf mujf ta chon'hejd" -- "be a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck in the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old woman

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(792) of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four
(798) corners of the hearth, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur o'ufd, nehhlang kun kkholaf khavyr hunivagoja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after there words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kefhung ashh -- "the birch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are tied to the nas'ki khur in the corners of the hearth, and tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe; one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the house is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

(792) The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house
(798) -- four chhinaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men.

Tayzin yzing. This yzing was a fisherman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched. If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

(792) Lymys'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, lunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

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832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom
(792) who had been betrothed to her in her childhood, but when sikhr was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

/386/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
843 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
844 in jest. Chhkh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the
(792) langraf (a bed for childbirth), and af soon as the child is born, has whomever is nearby to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female yurt, and when the little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is
(792) at the first sickness of the child.

842 /387/ If a woman does not have children, the wife
(792) husband's brother gives her her belt (chhk) and, secretly --
553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if the
(792) too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must
take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give
(792) the name from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ehhlang (tongch: means "twin
(792) the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch-mam -- the mother
846 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult birth, one
(792) must open up hangings, open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise the
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 troiding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls,
a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

(842) (1) Among the Orok a woman is in the
(792) balagan only during childbirth; then
for ten days they cook for her on a separate
fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing
to lose their strength.

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(854) 1. newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk. (
(847) and then with cold water from the mouth. The first
(792) whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face
854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung
(792) chhi-chugin(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in hitch bar
instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. In
they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the
child, whom they again serve; if another child is not bor
preserve them until their old age.

845 When twins are born, the chhkh-chugynd must be arrang
(792) along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would
846 fish. Chhhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and
(792) are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the
(792) arrow, and when the little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is h
at the first sickness of the child.

842 /387/ If a woman does not have children, the wife
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(792) balagan only during childbirth; then
for ten days they cook for her on a separate
fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing
to lose their strength.

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835 dog. Among dogs, according to the belief of the Gilyak,
825 brother and sister do not copulate. Exceptions are very rare, and they are attributed to the evil doing of a milk'a (evil spirit). Therefore, when a Gilyak notes such a case of incest, he is obliged to kill the dog; otherwise the sin falls on him.
[782] It is true that the slaying takes place as a religious ritual, by means of a ceremony of strangling, and blood is sprinkled to all four quarters of the compass in sacrifice, but for the dogs this is a punishment for incest. It is curious, however, that incest between ascending and descending lines (son and mother, and so forth) among dogs is tolerated by the Gilyak, and they do not kill the criminals (is it not due to utilitarian considerations, since begetters are valued very highly by them?).

835 Cognate male and female cousins. Here, of course, only cognate male and female cousins, i.e., the children of a brother and sister, can be in question, inasmuch as the children of brothers, on the one hand, and the children of sisters, on the other, are considered tuvn, and we have already discussed the complete prohibition within each of these groups. From the kinship nomenclature we know that the terms used in reference to each other by cousins depend on whether the male or female cousin whom they are addressing or of whom they are speaking is the son or daughter of the brother of the mother, or of the sister of the father, namely: If "I" am a man, then I call the daughter of the brother of my mother an'g:ej (wife), and, conversely, she calls me pu (husband), but my sister calls the son of the brother of my mother akhmalk, navkh (father-in-law, husband of the wife's sister), and, conversely, he calls her n'erm -- wife's sister, i.e., terms which have nothing in common with matrimonial terms; and these terms correspond perfectly /154/ to reality. Sexual relations and marriage between the daughter of a sister and the son of her brother (and correspondingly between their tuvn) are not permitted; on the other hand, marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is not only permissible, but is considered regular phenomenon. And in this case, as in all others, the terms brother and sister are

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585 her advice on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is unhappy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way possible. During the farewell feast the groom sits alongside the bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe, but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the groom is supposed to comport himself modestly the whole day, and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next morning the newly married woman brings something to eat to the newly married man and calls him "husband." On that very
585 morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last
782 regalement, and at that time the parents of the newlyweds exchange prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such
539 benedictions, taken down on the Amur:
585 "If god gives happiness, they will live out their time
782 happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time badly. O god, make the life of our children a happy one!"

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /283/ the following prayer: "O god, make, make happy the time of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life together give good fortune!"

585 Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the
788 direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually
[782] setting out they go through a ceremony which bears the designation "stamping the kettle." It consists of the following. At the inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large Manchurian kettle with five little ears (for the feeding of dogs) from the bride price of the groom, and at the outer side a small kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the bride and the groom, one after the other, place one foot in the large kettle and the other foot in the small kettle, not treading on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a symbolic union of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence of the two female penates -- the "old woman-mistress of the threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /zyat'/, k:khal
606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
627 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'rur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
[184] in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head
[196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone
[614]

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pún'chu) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys
[776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami
[774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

778
824
[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figures, yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first
778 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July.
782 Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount
824 of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

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Ethel's wife gave birth twice after the birth of the twins was a bear.

A representation of twins — *tonych* — is placed in a little [illegible]. If one of them dies, they place a wooden figure, which is both die, then two joined together on the idols. *Chabb*-changed gives to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the bereaved.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-o'gyuyn, who gives birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is nailed in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which he is driven to support him.

Twin is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings — *tuyu*. The mother of twins in likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with pipe placed around. According to N. Pilsudsk, the mother is done with the father of twins.

The twin's twaglin helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The twaglin. is tied in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (*khyvyn*).

Twaglin. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-o'gyuyn or by Tol-o'gyuyn. Not each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

Ябв A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone. But when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in Bremen and Ind), he must not be killed.

Khlmk'ind — to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the feeding or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small church of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

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Tol-o'gyuyn (to reconcile). When I was little I saw a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt so under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very [illegible] and sore. I lay ням ill dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately — he had to hurry — and immediately fried a piece and I begin to recover."

Everyone who has a bear in his house, the kinsmen of his wife must give him a gift, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who is drowning remains in a boat rescued from drowning, his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

Chum. Chum is dressed in one who was sent to the bear will be [illegible].

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the shore. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inan are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travels to Tro, upon seeing the inan they throw chabb-chopped (sacrifices) into the stream.

A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices a dog to Pal-o'yuuh and makes chabb-chopped.

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Thank you? If they do not exchange them, then one of them will drown, and the day they exchange hands. One man rescue an alien skul, and even good Russian (not the tramp), but a drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is surrounded with stones.

After the rescue and the shaman procedure, the shaman must *Ябв* carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit to Pal-o'gyuyn, which lies there on a small bed.

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The Tymovsk and the Chomsh Gilyak have one language.

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A legend about three brothers—cliffs in Ai-bandovsh on Sakhalin. Three Hong brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (*Ябв*), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jap — mother and daughter — look after them.

A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary. Stokhovn's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax. He was dried for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of Gilyak, the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a religious festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge bear at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the bear festival was also celebrated in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the Gilyak the meaning of an unquestionable and indisputable all the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear — "Pal-'ulvuh." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with sausages, etc. "Pal-'ulvuh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially hard. To the bear the bear festival is a clan festival, and, in this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, do not participate in the eating of the bear, although they do participate in the eating of it. The fire is the move in which the meat of the bear is cooked is rotated only by the clan [illegible]. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to Gilyak under the name of *Ябв*, even only strengthens the clan. Then, even though *Ябв* guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenses in connection with the festival expenses are covered by the clan: [illegible] the bear, which is given a skin of several hundred rubles. Classmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, who are also fed with great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character is not at all the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a religious festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge bear at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the bear festival was also celebrated in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the Gilyak the meaning of an unquestionable and indisputable all the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear — "Pal-'ulvuh." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with sausages, etc. "Pal-'ulvuh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially hard. To the bear the bear festival is a clan festival, and, in this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, do not participate in the eating of the bear, although they do participate in the eating of it. The fire is the move in which the meat of the bear is cooked is rotated only by the clan [illegible]. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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the god given meat to man, and the bears are returned as the [illegible] of the clan and sacrifices and feasts. For the same reason the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and [illegible] bear's head in the crown of a tree or on a post. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the usual sacrifices offered at the opening of the bear season, the Gilyak with special solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable hunting. He offers this sacrifice all by himself to the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he wanders in the taiga and stays in the taiga. Besides the usual gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, he cuts the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen, and, He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little at a time. Believing that a hundred little presents are better than a hundred rice or sarunka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that when we made a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the cret of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The Tymovsk Gilyak, who never traveled anywhere before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his pocket a little bag of tobacco, which was made of tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of ash in the snow, and then placed the bag of tobacco, the sweet roots, and so forth, he moved the taiffe number of steps to the left and did the same. Then, his face suffuse with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had been heard. There is a remarkable difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Muslim, even of a Buddhist or Brahman. The idea that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple

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[illegible]. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism, with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It also does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true that he believes in the souls of the dead, but he does not have supernatural fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (this they say that the Ryukyu shaman killed the Shikotyanu one by drawing a bird than was flying past; shamanism, however, is not typical of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point the fact that shamanism is not at all a typical phenomenon in the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatment, they blame the shaman for not performing the ceremony properly, only subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that they [illegible] the spirit of possession by the spirit of a deceased shaman, they cause serious [illegible] in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are very simple and clear. Here is one of them: "Father, Sun, [illegible]!" (Oh, God, please!)— the Gilyak [illegible] himself to the sun or to the moon.

The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but [illegible] this deity, which is not at all a Christian or Muslim or Lamaist formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material world, but also to the moral world. The Gilyak recognize the moral living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life and property of another every civilized society. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (natural, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man shows a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man shows a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, then he is a great sinner." Here, the Gilyak are somewhat rounded out the concept of sin, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, was did not hesitate to be incomprehensible to the Gilyak. The Gilyak, in the religious [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear in its fur-trimmed rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopea is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clansmen of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure is the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bears must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacrifices are made to Pal'-nivush, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is placed in a coffin, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire clan a rich sacrifice is made to Tull'-nivush on the shore. A new boat is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyaks. On the entire western shore I have met only two heathen Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

/434 cont./
from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, and generally speaking, such a reason can appear totally enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food. In this case, even superstitious ideas can give in to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of a few traveling Tschonsi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and cremated, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being added to the meal of the bear's flesh, and -- it blew enough! The bear's entrails were cremated in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bears must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacrifices are made to Pal'-nivush, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is placed in a coffin, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire clan a rich sacrifice is made to Tull'-nivush on the shore. A new boat is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

/464 cont./ "Ma'n ja'ngu Tlu Chi'wsk"
merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is the reason why the Gilyak, Sanagir, Orochi-Goldi, Samagir, etc., or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamlin Rindi describes the ceremony which the Smerschur on /465/ Sakhalin drink their "a'ksa" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which consists of first moistening the tips of the Pustsch and forefinger with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully observed, by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these people is added to the ceremony of the shop, and -- taking into consideration foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this ceremonial is borrowed from the Chinese, and, the procurement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I most emt to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I know best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the Amur, the Gilyak, Sanagir, Orochi, Samagir and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This fact seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as /ulach (ulachi) -- a concepts which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

/317 cont./
peoples that it is dangerous to stay on it, or is covered with water -- this where is the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, it is contrary to the usual ways of the Gilyak, Samagir, etc., to travel in the Amur at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amidst loud shouts and /318/ numerous salutations, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after the ice had finally yielded to the spring sun, I witnessed this ceremony in Tymi, a prominent village of the Gilyak, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this ceremonial is borrowed from the Chinese merchants on the Amur, and, in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I most emt to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I know best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the Amur, the Gilyak, Sanagir, Orochi, Samagir and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This fact seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as /ulach (ulachi) -- a concepts which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

/317 cont./
Presumably only loosely hung over the tacks upon departure, they soon become detached and are lost or carried off during the stormy remainder of the winter supplies. Moreover, it is contrary to the usual ways of the Gilyak, Samagir, etc., to travel in the Amur at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amidst loud shouts and /318/ numerous salutations, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after the ice had finally yielded to the spring sun, I witnessed this ceremony in Tymi, a prominent village of the Gilyak, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this ceremonial is borrowed from the Chinese merchants on the Amur, and, in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I most emt to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I know best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the Amur, the Gilyak, Sanagir, Orochi, Samagir and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This fact seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as /ulach (ulachi) -- a concepts which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

1. Pallas, Reise durch verschi. Prov. der Russ. Reiche (Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire), Vol. III, p. 307. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 187. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

/642 cont./
winter-houses (tschadryh), which are erected jointly by the villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot say, from my own experience, whether they are still during the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearly village of Kulk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the person interrogated may have been correct. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at even birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in childbirth. Moreover, the Gilyak, Samagir, etc., are very fond of other superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth. Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /Ver.p. 1234/) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women who are assisting her. Immediately after the umbilical cord is cut, a special halik (Gilyak hamek- or kynk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /Ver.p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may be made of iron, is placed in her hand. Evidently, the

/871 cont./
tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorm, whereas the ladwlantsch (southeast wind), the tungrusch and ngalaus (1)

1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French e.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrusch (south wind) cause them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous

2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: adj, tschlangi, kongrusch, and tungrusch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Dul to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

Magic arrow for exorcizing storms.

front of the sledd of the travelers. In the village itself several methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was the sign of a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing timder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the storm adj-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/871 cont./
others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pu-

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutations extend also, too. With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "adrawa" and "gorochuchli" (equal from the Russian "zdravstvuyte" and "gorochuchli") and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to show that they are not at all being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Stanitsa and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Schrenck, who have accumulated a great deal of material, also have failed to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, I feel, strongly in the assumption that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we turn them in all kinds of situations when they received services to help and hospitality offered almost to excess. It is possible that guests who have been shattered, despite notoriously many means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communities or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

/718 cont./

*796 252 784 [263] just as it would be extremely uñtsch if one wanted to fry, not only bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward

•[782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and were intended for the forthcoming feast.

+796 [887] In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young

[251] people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in additional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.

+796 231 541 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng. Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

+796 252 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the meantime, more life and commotion had entered into these preparations for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/739 cont./ But they

796 124 708 171 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was called Mäü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

124 982 •791 796 I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray, but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) beside and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god" and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction between their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for various idols and their shamanism that I found:

791 796 Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-

[782] stract, commpletely empty one and does not at all fit into the life, into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing concrete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word "pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about "God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except that he is "Kingulätsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,

791 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them, such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him, therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/744 cont./

708 755 532 [126] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p. 1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

•[782] All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

708 532 951 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalž and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

/753 cont./

756 was Sajan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous one, Tschežach, lives in the village of Kaki, above Nikolayevsk. In case of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to villages where there are no shamans (1). There are shaman implements, however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they never designate as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sickness. (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "to shamanize"; see pp. 1153, 1165; cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the brother Surgin and Sogin in Kulk, though neither of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wait was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part

[789] of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. I, pp. 34, 35.)

756 825 •782 789 28. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that snakes are especially feared from information given to me by an eyewitness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Petrovskoye. After singing and howling had been performed by the onlookers, the shaman turned to the god ruling heaven, sun, moon and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more th

2: Schrenck--1210 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RXL

787 /753 cont./
756 that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and
825 pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as
782 the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During
[534] these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-
skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake de-
picted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled
and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good
fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a
favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)
825 29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The
753
[952]

2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

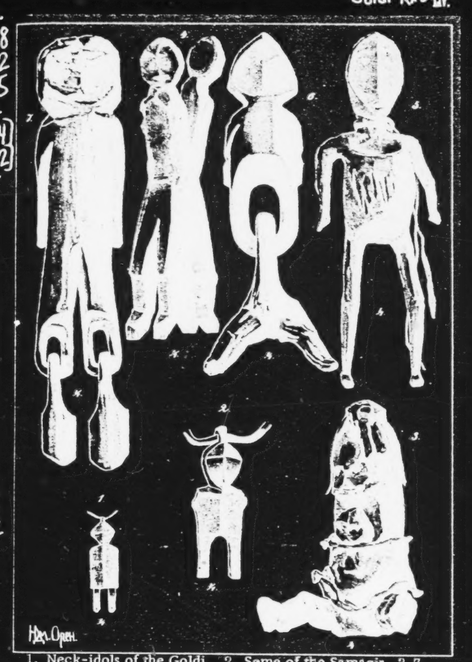
toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as toll-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magá, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuĭk.. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

2: Schrenck--1254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RXL
Goldi RX3 III.

G 778 532 755 G [844] [782] G' 778 532



1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

III.

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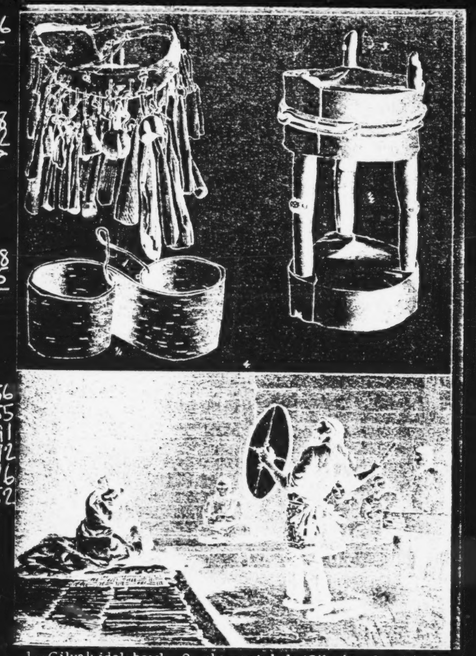

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

6: Kreinovich--4 E-5 (1931) 1935 Gilyak

225 Giliakov Derevni Kul',"[Sea fishing among the
533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182
225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

225 morning we returned to our village. We took everything out
and put it on the dock. Then we slept. Next day we got up
225 in the morning and called the people. We took off the head,
252 cut it up, fed the head to the people raw, (1) and cooked the
782

1. The Gilyaks call all raw food talq. The Gilyaks eat certain kinds of fish such as Siberian salmon and certain parts of seals and belugas raw.

parts designed for cooking as well as the jaws. After we cooked it, we took it out. Some ate the meat; others took off the meat from the jaws and ate it. Then we went to gather Hapzas. Then we brought it, cooked it, ground it and made muvi. Then we got some rowan shavings and shoved them (in the nose of the beluga). Then we took the head; we took it to throw it out. Here we cut off a young tree. We cut off a forked aldern tree. We spread muvi over the shavings stuck in the nose of the beluga; we spread muvi on the holy bones. We stuck the tree through the ear-ring holes of the beluga, lifted it and hung it up here. Then we lifted the holy bones (jugular vertebrae) and tied them to the tree. We put down the jaws and pressed them with a stick."

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (t'ᵊkr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋəŋ-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kitə (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called tor-tas (from tor 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

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ome time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
en ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
d "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping
the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

ied plant ays, called puchka by the local Russians.
es the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby

the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fend (major feeding of
' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged
r this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.
e "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
he Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not
and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will
ea offering and the latter will not reach its place of
on. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks
feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the
f the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like them-
nd have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind
fish-tail bones (mamye) which they then throw into
efore offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that
of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had
, will not touch the refreshments meant for their

all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
re not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore
ak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very
he water; one twig is a keyla-ŋeks twig and the other
ŋeks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from
sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the
hese peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
nto the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
ir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

Uiy-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the
sea. The first uiy-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the
Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ŋir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.
782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
262 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
225 uiy-ŋir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
561 young hunters must not taste this mos.
225 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.
After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.
225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
501 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
476 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
422 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
466

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
501 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
476
422 zayezdka.
466 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
614 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
466 Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
556 Tfanu, was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevin, Potaq from clan Neoŋafin, Ŋt from clan a ramla, Onkan from clan Lezran and Tesk from clan Tfanu.
A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.
The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, ŋl tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).
225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
556 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
476 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)
225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.
2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve·l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea ŋafq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pilaŋ.
225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi·d and t·aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
782 of the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
476 he has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
476 in this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
502 "If the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
501 to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋ̊tivd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-pid, the fourth - meyerq-pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth - lele meŋ-pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋ̊tivd, is oc-
476 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
554 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
561 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak pilaŋ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals. At the same time Gilak ŋ̊t tended the rudder which the pilaŋ had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 mu-ziŋ̊d on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziŋ̊d on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziŋ̊d, t̊aj is performed on the boat. T̊aj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ŋ̊ks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these t̊aj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-p̊k-ŋ̊zd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines t̊aj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Uiŋ-kr̊ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
823 similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together
766 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Uiŋ-kr̊, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (kr̊) there lives a ŋ̊tik- an old woman. These old women must also be given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed that tvax-ŋ̊tik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf
(Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to ksvr-mif (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

411 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
225 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
283

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the tola-k'e is called ŋ̊ski 'back.' The shore-end of the net is

225 3. Pila-laŋr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825 Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qrγər is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-γəγəl is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-γəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' γəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-γəsχəl last year's γəsχəl.
4. Qat next in age to tje-γəsχəl.
5. Siusui-γa next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta a a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Arəfk - next in age to taγarγa, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alχ.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (maχt) and two upper ribs.

225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋoχt."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzŋi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the kettle.

263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese. In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea, in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat. In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for dipping pieces of meat in it.

462 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings of qosk-γəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps. He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanγ. The old woman stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular vertebrae (maχt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls. The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun took the board with the heads and the mug containing the eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at [95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible. next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzŋi
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).
77[illegible] There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire

Of some help in answering this question may be the fol ing opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmu informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the mast of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no bett "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea conclu the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Supplement
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were s fering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put every thing in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) ma

2. L.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the children

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoi Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(?)) telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the original.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-kr-) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

9: Hawes--199 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by
i. e. the medicine man immediately preceding t
as given me by an observer on the island.

The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, amic
close to the bear and whispers in its ear—
'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'broke
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years,
(dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "summ

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's
business getting him out of his cage; and tho
frequently, it was then autumn, than once a

this functionary at this juncture, [LSS:
he sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête]

d the deep silence of the spectators, goes

en' many Gilyaks:

not stinting the delicious yukola

ner year,"

memory. It is such a difficult
ose I saw were not taken out more
fortnight for a constitutional.

"[LSS: During the bear fête] When the feasting, drinking, smoking, and talking were at an end, a start was made for the execution-ground. On [199] their way the company halted at the beginning of the avenue to allow a few of their number to shoot blunt, wooden-ended arrows towards the bear. There seemed no attempt on their part to hit the animal, or else they ignominiously failed, for the shots were lamentably short of or beyond the mark. This appears to be only another example of the weakening of traditional custom, for the shooting with blunted arrows at the poor bear was one of the greatest pieces of 'fun' in olden times. Arrived at the ground the crowd grouped itself in front of the animal in a semicircle."

9: Hawes--212-213 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 782

"When the hunting season is advanced, another method for the capture of the sable is adopted. The native sets out with his dogs, who quickly find the tracks of the little animal, and drive it up a tree. The hunter then lets fly a blunted arrow, and, if skilful, stuns his prey. With fair success he may thus catch seven or eight sables [213] in a day. He is careful so to kill them as not to injure the skin, and in skinning he strips it off like a sock. Half of the flesh he gives to the dogs, and the other half he offers to Pal ni vookh."

10: Coxwell--130 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 224, 539, 782

"THE MOUNTAIN-DEVIL IN THE FORM OF A TIGER
[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.126-127]

It is noticeable that the hunting party, on setting out, sacrificed not only to the fire, but to the mountain and the sea. Later, the sacrifice of dogs to the mountain shows a real relief in the power of the mountain spirit. In the Ostyak tale, 'Aspen-leaf,' the hero, in the middle of a perilous adventure, bends his neck in worship of spirits. The Yukaghirs sacrifice a reindeer at marriage; also deer to a river. The Tcheremisses sacrifice a foal, an ox or a cow to their gods, Keremet and Sheert.

The Eskimo have a tale of a mountain spirit that dug up the body of a man, who had pretended to be dead in order to see what the mountain spirit would do. The mountain spirit carried the man to its home and the man soon opened his eyes and killed his captor, also the latter's children. The dead mountain spirit's wife pursued the man, but he escaped by telling hills to rise up and a stream to flow between himself and his pursuer. (3)

3. Rasmussen and Worster, p. 84."

116, 527, 756, 782

"At the end of this adjuration the
pine-twig over the bear's head. At
forward, and at a couple of yards o
the bow. The animal, however, wo
he turned round, when the archer l
but simply tried to rub the arrow o
round as if nothing had happened. T
and the animal, still making no sig
this time merely hit the collar. Th
vent, the poor beast sank down and
with sticks and lifted up the paws,
ground three times.

When the cham is present, he fir
the pieces to the most honoured me
the sacrificed beast will be assured

The skin having been quickly str
cauldrons were soon steaming with
roots, roe, seal-oil, etc., were b
sat in groups, the women waited up

cham moves a little to one side, still holding the
this point the accounts agree. An archer now came
r so from the bear fitted his iron-tipped arrow to
uld not expose his heart, and had to be teased until
et fly. Strangely enough poor Bruin emitted no sound,
ut with his paw, and failing to do so, sat looking
The arrow had missed the heart, but pierced the lung,
n of pain, only coughed. Another arrow was shot, but
e first was then pulled out, and the blood now finding
died. When quite dead, the women came forward
and the carcase was dragged round the execution-

st cuts out the heart of the bear, and dividing it, gives
mbers present. To these partakers of the heart of
l successful hunts during the whole of the season.
ipped in this case, the carcase was cut up and the
bear stew. All the delicacies of dried fish, rice,
rought forth, and the feasting again began. The men
on them and then took part in the feast."

116, 527, 776, 782, 825

"The original signification of the whole ce
largely lost, but the religious motive in the
the sending of a messenger to the great lord
to their punctilious observances of the rites
senger may not miss his destination, it was
some villages to assist the spirit of the bear
aids were given him, one the planting of a st
east where the great lord lived, and the othe
were to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh.
he was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He w
and all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh
and water, but in nothing would he give thank
offerings after every meal, therefore it coul
to find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be
ways most punctilious in placing some fish o
offerings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasio
tion from a watery grave to this timely act o

Probably the fact of the bear being the mos
adds to the value of the offering, of which th

remony of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is
minds of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be
of the mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness
of offerings; and, in order that their mes-
usual, and is, I believe, still so among
in finding his way to Pal ni vookh. Two
ick on the execution-ground, pointing to the
r, the killing of two dogs, whose spirits
For it was explained that the bear, though
would eat of the provisions made for him
and Tol ni vookh, the lords of the forest
s; whereas a true Gilyak always made
d not be expected that he should know where
inclined to go to him. Even Vanka was al-
r tobacco on the ashes of our camp-fire as
on we owed, so he assured us, our preserva-
of his.
st difficult and dangerous animal to capture
e bear's spirit would be a witness. There

116, 527, 776, 782, 825

is another consideration which lurks, howev
Not only is the bear the most dangerous an
has deteriorated to the seizure of cubs and t
est rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as they d
the forest; and even robs the Gilyaks' snare
fore on every [202] count he must die."

er unconsciously, behind this ceremony.
imal to capture, although now the custom
he rearing of them; but he is also the strong-
o, on the fish of the river, the berries of
s of the small animals caught therein. There-

azing carelessly at the bank, I espied a head
my interpreter and the natives in a low voice
eing nothing, they smiled; but on my reiterat
and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! Gilyaksk
g). Now, occasionally we had seen a native d
lage, fishing or waiting for his master, and
d realized the mistake the animal had got up
shes and grass, giving us, however, one clea
white tip to his great brush. Even as he disap
ryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh budet s
d of the mountains will be angry), and much
uld have in store for us should we cross his
ss to expect to come up with the animal.
According to Vanka, if we had killed it, its b
en we set out for the winter's hunt they woul
nka was really sincere, I think it far more li
nt should suffer, because, by killing thus in
gurated with the usual ceremonies. To seize
e is lord of the forest and all therein) before
d bounty, was to risk bringing down his wrat

peeping out of the long grass, and called
, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!).
ting and pointing, Vanka caught sight of
iy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak
og sitting alone at a distance from a
we therefore hesitated; but before we
and trotted off, disappearing into the tall
ar view of a beautiful coal-black fox with
peared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet
erditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The
more as to the fate the lord of this region
will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hope-

rethren would have been informed, and
d have banded together to kill us. If
ikely that he feared lest his winter's
a haphazard fashion, it had not been in-
of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh
acknowledging in due form his sovereignty
h upon our heads."

"Only on one occasion did I hear of anything a
lol-worship.'
It was told me by the ex-overseer at Derbens
d taken him down the [194] river Tim. On one
ove him to seek refuge at a Gilyak village whe
wn in the headman's hut, and about to make a
the god (lord).' The overseer therefore place
nging in a corner before a wooden figure, suc
nds crossed on its breast and wore a belt. On
e basket was empty, the cakes had vanished.
g of more, and lay down pretending to sleep.
saw a Gilyak come forward and take the cake
e you doing? Let the god eat them!' Whereupo
ghly offended."

pproaching what is vaguely termed

k, whose duties in the previous years
of his journeyings a severe snowstorm
ere he was a stranger. As he was sitting
meal, the Gilyaks said, 'Give something
d some little cakes in the birch basket
h as I have described, which had its
the morrow the Russian observed that
In the evening, therefore, he made offer-
Keeping careful but unsuspected watch,
s and eat them; so he called out, 'What
on the Gilyak, as may be imagined, was

'As a rule, offerings were made in the open
l left for the consumption of the deity. Not o
nent of the rite brought good luck, and the o
ributed to the anger of the god. If the Gilyak
ve been some of his kindred who provoked th
wife, who had failed to guard the honour du
t upon it, or to leave the hut with his pipe li

air, always on deserting our camp-fires,
nly were they the god's due, but the ful-
mission ill-luck. All misfortunes are
is unconscious of guilt, then it must
e god to righteous anger; perhaps it was
e to the hearth by allowing somebody to
ghted from the sacred fire."

116, 521, 559, 750, 782

'And three "winter years" you have lived in a nice warm lodging;
'He, your host, will not kill you:
'Therefore you must not complain about him to the great lord of the mountains.' "

9: Hawes--238 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The eyes of the cham are like flames; he foams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evil spirit--

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man well.'

The first syllable in each line is articulated quickly, and the last vowels in the line slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to end in a--aa.

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has any spite against him or his relatives, he may ruin the whole family by his interpretation of the spirit's demands, forcing them to bring all their dogs and everything that they value most. It is even said that in olden times human offerings were demanded."

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the
bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any c
the hidden meaning of their rites. The followi
to find out the signification of the ceremony,
Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.
Russian. Why do you not recite about it durin
Gilyak. I don't know.
Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for h
Gilyak. No.
Russian. Why does the cham recite these cha
Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from anci
know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, kn

raison d'être of the custom, [LSS: Th
ase, they would not reveal to a strang
ng is how a Russian fared when he tri
and I met with no more success.

g the killing of the bear?

is crimes?

rges in the bear's ear?
ent times. Ask the old men, perhaps

ew no more. "

9: Hawes--211-212 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 224, 776, 782

'Chookh, Chookh,' i.e. 'God, Thou God.' They do
rush (daimones) should hear; for these evil spirit
of the forest, and might make off with the offerings
Pal ni vookh generally walks among the mountains,
making their offering on high ground."

o this in an undertone, lest the pal-
s dwell in the swamps and the depths
. For this reason, and because
the Gilyaks take the precaution of

9: Hawes--239 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 753, 776, 782

"The Gilyaks explain the visitation of dise
offended the good spirit kiskh, who thereupo
of the evil spirit. The offering made to the l
the evil spirit to quit him.

The Gilyak makes no offering to kiskh, th
moral world, for he does not know where he
that it can only be said to exist in his mind a
position of the cham, the evil spirit cannot b
and the want of respect paid to him; but we
is secure in his knowledge of many exorcism

ase in this way. The sick man must have
n deserts him and leaves him in the power
atter is a bribe, whereby the sufferer coaxes

e creator, the great spirit, the god of the
is; in fact, so vague is his notion of him
s a nebulous conception. With regard to the
ut be angry at the trick he has been played,
need not be anxious for the healer, since he
ns."

): Hawes--211-212 T-3 (1901) 190
16, 224, 776, 782

"It is a wintry scene. The snares are set on lo
streams and forest creeks. The first snows have
hin mantle of white. The cold north wind hurrie
silent in the sombre depths, hanging their hoary
he hush a shadow steals quietly across the scen
accustomed paths. He does not care to swim the
og whereon to pass. All unsuspectingly he creep
locked by a tiny barrier of sticks, arranged in
one way, is left, and that through a loop in the c
ushing through, he struggles, and in so doing r
nd a bent twig at one end of the cord flies back,
re out, but each brings his first catch to one pl
he great giver of them, the lord of the forest. I
vithout grace, to start off on the important hunt
re so valuable that anything, even in later time
hem--without due acknowledgment to the giver.
dispense with feasting? and pieces of roasted fle
ground as an offering to the god, just as in the s
cast into the sea. At this point it is necessary,
elsewhere, to call the attention of Pal ni vookh t

ogs and branches spanning the narrow
e fallen, covering all the forest with a
s across the land. The trees stand
, lichen-covered branches, and amidst
e. [212] It is a sable. He goes by
cold water, but seeks a fallen tree or
ps along a trunk, only to find his way
the shape of a fan; nevertheless a way,
entre. Rising on his hind-legs and
eleases a peg hitched with a ratchet,
tightening the noose. Many trackers
ace, where due honour is then paid to
t would savour of greediness, of meat
of the sables--creatures whose skins
s 'fire-drink,' may be purchased with
A feast is made; for what function can
esh, tobacco, etc., are dug into the
eal festival, we shall see, bones are
lest he be not observing or engaged
o their offering, so they whisper,

9: Hawes--236 T-3 (1901) 1903

116, 756, 776, 782

"Being anxious to know what claims the cham had
whether he could cure illnesses. To which he replied
cham, pray and make offerings of tobacco to the lord
out of the door to the spirits (of the forest and water)
added, 'and we offer to fire at one time and to water

o healing power, I asked him
, 'If a child or person is ill, I, the
of fire and cast some rice or tea
. There is one god—Nature,' he
and the forest at others.' "

9: Hawes--238-239 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 755, 776, 782

"On the following day, the head of the hut takes
possible to the village appointed where the bear i
There he kills the dogs near the cage of the bear,
them in the forest to the east, and sings, 'Make s
well.' The offering is made near the bear becaus
bear, and therefore is to be found near at hand.

The cham having been liberally rewarded for h

One old Gilyak in reply to my question as to wh
with stoical submissiveness, 'We make offerings
but if the spirit does not restore it, it is well als

the offerings, and goes as quickly as
s, even if it be a hundred miles away.
takes out the heart and liver and casts
so that the sick man may [239] be quite
e the evil spirit is a great friend of the

is pains, the matter is ended.
at happened if the patient died, said,
, and if the child recovers, it is well;
o.' "

awes--202-203 T-3 (1901) 1903
527, 764, 775, 782, 825

There is one incident in the ceremonial [LSS: The
ed, but which possesses some special significance
d, which is never on any account eaten. A skin offe
s which I bartered for were all minus the heads.
is noticeable that while the bear's head is not eate
ng success and courage to the hunters, but I gather
ing of the brain would render the consumer bear-li
skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak cemetery
ns, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habit common
ce theirs near their huts and make offerings of sake
gain their protection; whereas the Gilyaks' cemete
he woods, and are not frequented by them. What th
hese golgothas, is, I do not know; but it seems pro
he animals whose spirits have gone back to the gre
se of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of these animal
either guard the remains of the Gilyak or at least

bear fête] which I have not men-
. This is the saving of the bear's
red to me, and the fells of the

n, the heart is. The latter will
ed that the Gilyak believes the
ke, and an enemy to his fellows.
, and there, with skulls of dol-
among the Ainus, who, however,
e (spirit), etc., to pacificate them
eries are in the secret recesses
he idea that lies at the [203] root
bable that they think the remains
at Pal ni vookh should rest near
s will come back to these spots
refrain from haunting the living."

9: Hawes--253-254 T-3
116, 183, 225, 527, 782

"The first catch is collected an
devoured there would be a gracel
sanction to the domestic use of th
seal season, owing to the god's a
though at some inconvenience, in
On the bank, therefore, fires a
with it is hashed up anything left
the feasting commences, and last
banks, but in the huts; at the sam
newly caught seals shall not be b
even the blood spilled. If the god
them to be consumed only on his
attention on the part of the Gilyak
send them abundance of seals and

d left on the shore. To take it to their huts to be
ess, greedy thing to do, for there is as yet no divine
em. Such a proceeding might result in a failure of the
nger. No; the feasting must be done openly, and,
full view of the god's province.
re kindled; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, and
over from the winter's stores. When all is prepared
s all day. Eating and drinking go on, not only on the
e time it is strictly observed that the pieces of the
ought within the hut, nor left scattered about, nor
has allowed seals to be caught, he has [254] permitted
premises, i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and little
s, Tol ni vookh will be content, and in future will
all manner of inhabitants of the sea."

9: Hawes--254 T-3

116, 225, 731, 776, 782

"It often happens that by the ti
quite exhausted, and hunger reig
fête held in honor of the first cat
with all due ceremony. On the fo
groups begin to gather up the 'fr
and reverence, are cast into the
has plenty of raw, are offerings
permission to use the products o
offering in acknowledgment of th
Gilyaks to open the New Year's f
bones the great Tol ni vookh will
the bones to the four winds, thus
Tol ni vookh would in that case h
has only to reclothe them with fl

The offering is cast into the s
Uichkha rush, or water daimone
would spoil the whole affair, by

After the day of the offering, t
ful is he with his harpoon that a

me of the arrival of the seals, the winter stores are
ns in the village; nevertheless, the fête [**LSS**: The sea
ch; see category 116, pp. 252-254.] must be celebrate
llowing day the whole village turns out, and the family
agments,' including the bones, which, in deep silence
sea. The flesh and fat, boiled or roasted, for the god
to Tol ni vookh, with the request that he will give then
f his domain, the sea; and the bones are the thank-
e god's goodwill in sending the seals and allowing the
ête with the due and proper ceremonies. With these
make many more seals. It would be a sin to scatter
making it more difficult to create for want of materia
ave to recreate entirely, whereas, given the bones, h
esh, and lo, the seals are complete, alive!
a in complete silence, because there are many
s, who, if they should overhear the Gilyak praying,
seizing what was intended for the god.
he Gilyak is free to follow up the hunt, and so success
canoe of five will sometimes take as many as fifty

awes--254 T-3 (1901) 1903
225, 731, 776, 782

ng seals, which will be equally divided among them.
t wind drives away the ice-floes and their passenger

This continues until a south-
s."

awes--293-294 T-3 (1901) 1903
782

nka gave way to his joy of triumph, and declared th
ve [LSS: They had entered a dangerous inlet to avo
our success in the race was due to Tol ni vookh an
at our last halt he had sprinkled a little tobacco on
other crew had not. The Gilyak, like a child, trust
n his offering, and surely his prayer—his only pra
de sitting on his heels facing his offering)—is not u
eful, jolly and patient, and what more than this is r
ak to disbelieve in the [294] efficacy of his offering
ames of those who were lazy and omitted to perfor
e unsuccessful. To quote the words of one of them,
t happened because I forgot to give an offering to th
rt—and the skin of a bear is worth ten or fifteen ru
k and spear the beast as I had done many a time be
the god had sent him on purpose to remind me of r
as. No, the offering is very good. You are light-he

hat our salvation from a watery
id escaped convicts on the river]
d to the efficacy of his offering;
the ashes of our fire, whereas
s blindly in a beneficent result
yer, Kiskh ni much, God give
nanswered. He begins to be more
needed in hunting? Try to cause a
g, and he will recite to you scores
m the usual rites in hunting, and
'Once I ran away from a bear.
ne god. The god sent fear into my
bles. I was too frightened to turn
fore. I was afraid because I knew
my insult to him. Oh how frightful
earted and have no fear!' "

Coxwell --41-42 B-3 (no date) 192
, 774, 782, 825

'Among the Gilyaks, all natural objects have a lif
made to the 'owners', if violence has been done.
ngs, and the bear is superior to man in both min
the 'owners' of the forest, the mountains, the sea

6. Czaplicka, quoting Sternberg, p. 27

th him certain leaves and roots [42] intended for
nilar purpose, he makes the dog a victim. Perio
d to the spirits of clansmen who have been killed

1. Idem., p. 272."

fe of their own; and sacrifice must
Animals are, in reality, human
d and body. Sacrifices are offered
a, and fire. (6) The Gilyak carries

1.

a sacrifice, and, moved by a
dical offerings are made to the bear
by bears. (1)

20: Bush--124 T-2 (1865) 187
116, 778, 782

"Upon leaving the Gilak encampment, we
the woods above, when we found ourselves up
all sides, scattered through the woods, were
small trees from four to six feet above the g
of offering to the native gods, and, when new
were sprinkled with tobacco, berries, roots,
appeared to be of more recent date than two
crumble beneath the touch, and others were
hardly recognizable. After being once placed
disturb them again. Time and the elements,
tamper with them with impunity."

climbed the bank just in front of it, to
on a spot held sacred by the Gilaks. Upon
skulls of bears, poised upon the stumps of
round. These were intended as some kind
ly placed in position (we afterward learned),
and other articles. None of these offerings
years, while some were so old as to
buried in such a profusion of moss as to be
l, it is deemed very sacrilegious ever to
according to Gilak notions, can alone

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground; they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child, tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.

753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone, squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is considered to be a consequence of the mountain spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says "tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is tormenting".

784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions, they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow household articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the new one.

842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the transference of physical peculiarities from one man to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an explanation for the superstitious remedies they use for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who cannot bear children must ask another very fertile woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be transferred from one person to another like a contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel which had been used by the sick person.

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobse
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.

Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a practical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.

The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.

When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who
361 them gave them to his daughter when she m
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left the
nity, for now they do not belong to an indivi
are regarded as sacred. During the bear f
incessantly, and on other extraordinary oc
shamans make use of them in different ways
527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festiva
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both gam
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chin
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately
They do not play for money, and they play w
emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards

1. The Chinese playing cards are abo
centimeters long but only two centime
and are decorated with various figure
120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to t
Gilyak, the village in which the most bears
brated and consumed, has the greatest pros
The pelt and the skull of the dead animal ar
sent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig f
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get ho
accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is no
house through the door but through the windo
besides the pig, are placed all kinds of deli
millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as a
the people happen to have. [238] Then the i
to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festiva
cheung which falls around Easter. It consis
feast, at the beginning of which bits of food
directions, probably in order to ask the god
764 The burial ceremony is identical with that
the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses ar

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled
sent-day Russia in the years 921 and 9
cremations among the tribes living on
of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spie
Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem

finally obtained
arried a Gilyak
n to the commu-
dual, but they
estival they ring
asions the
s.
ls are also to be
nes the Gilyak
ese, but the
not imitated.
vithout great
are used. (1)

ut seven
ters wide,
s, About

he belief of the
have been cele-
pect of abundance.
e kept and repre-

estival, that is,
ld of one) is
brought into the
ow; on the floor,
cacies, such as
ll the idols that
idols are bowed

al known as
ts merely of a
are thrown in all
s for abundance.
existing among
e burned. The

through pre-
22 witnessed
the banks
ss,
Tode. 1877.

771 predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of
rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs
and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imag-
ination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of
other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversa-
tions, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the
Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits,
both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not
emerged from fetishism.

776 God (Kush or Kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
782 never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing
is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I
heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In
this we may already see something like priestly self-glorifi-
cation. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother
much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed
to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him
or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak
crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a
bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the
sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is
sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a
stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it
millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240]
are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme
being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

825 The bear usually appears as the executor of divine
783 ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their life-
time. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstti-
tious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be
regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as
a god or demigod.

825 The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
789 seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
278 gard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded
as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a
certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored
one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874.
(Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and
kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

783

783 PURIFICATION AND EXPIATION--practices reflecting a sense of contamination or guilt; concept of ritual uncleanness; things and persons considered unclean or impure; purification rites (e.g., ritual ablutions and bathing); concepts of sin, salvation, and redemption; riddance of sin (e.g., confession, remission, atonement, penance, scapegoat); etc. See also:

Elimination 514
Personal hygiene 515
Ideas about unclean castes 564
Definitions of acts regarded as sinful 673
Punishment of ritual offenses 688
Conception of pollution, contagion, and loathsome diseases 753
Ideas about corpses 764
Ideas about sexual intercourse 833
Ideas about menstrual blood 841
Ideas about the exuviae of childbirth 844

/107 cont./

*614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embrac
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
● 783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "commo
784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general.
The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue o
fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibition
are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fea
punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed o
of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is n
difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions;
all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religio
means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, ab
the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life,
etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservatio
Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan back-
ground of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the
whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this
principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
*614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsio
83 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example
with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in
matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and
women, follow their natural inclinations with complete
freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage.
Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy.
There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Never-
theless, despite the complete sexual license from our point
of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect
to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown
to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
*614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibi-
602 tions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the
most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately
sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man
brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the major-
ity are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated
with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the
island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or
kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only
hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when
it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about
somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet,
tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared
with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect.
Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have
different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the
vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be
taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans,
others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
idols represent children, others old people. Some have
hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body show-
ing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
These also usually have human forms, but some look very
89 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
44 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.
Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
78 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
82 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
77 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank
a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone
pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

778 These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite
782 Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace",
177 the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of G nghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 237] [242]

775 Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be
171 gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

771 However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
34 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

845 If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
551 rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their
769 neighbors and friends although there may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual progenity and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

845 The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in
766 childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the
782 mountains who, while living among ordinary human
775 beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they try hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

/108 cont./

impersonal form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin is communal" explain to us the most amazing aspect of the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It enfolds a man from birth to death, giving life all its content. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and conjugal rights outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan defends his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the trampled rights of a clansman and to answer for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

/109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

/367 cont./

577 783 673 688 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/ that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity t
[682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] [829] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 775 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another la where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poo After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thu there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakha Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

edominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of mination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs d their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imag-ation so boldly that their assertions contradict those of her shamans or of everyday experience. From conversa-ons, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the lyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, th good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not nerged from fetishism.

God (Kush or Kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and ver appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I ard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In is we may already see something like priestly self-glorifi-tion. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother uch about him, only now and then something is sacrificed him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak osses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a wl of spirits on the earth or in the waters; this is the crifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is crificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a ake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it illet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] e tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme ing. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

The bear usually appears as the executor of divine dinances, and he punishes the bad people during their life-me. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstiious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be garded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as od or demigod.

The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they ldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-rd him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a rtain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored e". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

ople. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and ls the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

784

784 AVOIDANCE AND TABOO--practices reflecting impulses to escape from fear or anxiety; techniques for avoiding malevolent spirits (e.g., flight, disguise, deception, disparagement); concept of taboo; imposition and removal of taboos; prevalent types of taboos (e.g., food taboos, property taboos, status taboos, word and name taboos, totemic taboos, sex taboos, reproductive taboos, therapeutic taboos, mortuary taboos); systematization of taboos; general discussion of taboos; list of taboos; specific taboos not classifiable elsewhere; supernatural punishments for violations of taboos and other offenses; etc. Since taboos commonly represent the negative aspects of cultural norms, information on taboos may be found under many categories, only a few of which are indicated in the cross-references below.

Totemic taboos 61, 82
Mortuary taboos 76
Sex taboos 83
Reproductive taboos 84
Cultural norms 183
Euphemisms 195
Food taboos 262
Rest days 527
Name taboos 551
Avoidance relationships 602
Taboos surrounding a chief or king . 63, 622, 643
Legal norms 671
Definition of acts regarded as sins 673
Social Sanctions for violations of taboos . . . 688

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habeas
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an overwhelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the attackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting, of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
●[784] participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt, etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry. Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily conquers.

175 Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the avengers had to depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus small causes often lead to important consequences.

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
771 relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that primitive man is not so sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing," that he would sacrifice with a light heart his own fears of punishment for a breach of his blood duty to the voice of feeling, or

/107 cont./

*614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "common sin"
●784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general. The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
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/108 cont./

614 602 182 impersonal form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

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614 182 771 /109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

Sakhalin

/328 cont./

764 766 To be burned is better than to be buried.

The one made the first mos' for a drowned man is not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagn'" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

764 349 A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is made in a month, or in two, three, or four months, when there is time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

● [784] [614] On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members. It is prohibited to fish, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a kikhak; a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyz' (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The kikhak; is wrapped in a piece of drel' of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the kikhak; remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

Sakhalin

/333 cont./

224 787 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigynd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

825 197 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 ● 784 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If [626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tos' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

221 [252] Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon, and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tkhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tkhusind.

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/336 cont./

854 [344] A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 783 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung -- ekhl-chugir(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 785 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride ● along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows, 854 855 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of 789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 [776] Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 782 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/352 cont./

342 352 364 191 [113]

8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

352 354 517 191 513 [199] Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, [123] when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth ● [984] yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused gen- [997] eral indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uñtsch, uñtsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

G /353 cont./

352 354 517 191 513 191 [136] G [984] [997] running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom in the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse ● to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang, if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

G 342 191 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of G [195] Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K 342 191 195 permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K [113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

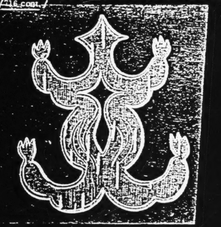
/534 cont./
consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and super-
stition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he
must always go around them, never underneath them. And,
finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used
again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among
the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used
in making it.

/535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the
lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with
a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in
part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in
part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from
the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new
methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that
none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are
or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak,
and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and
with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life,
hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying
the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more im-
portant role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is
more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream
and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently,
it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this
away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that
the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

/711 cont./
visibly amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer
who is to dispatch the fatal arrow toward the bear, however, is
made by the owner himself and is regarded as an honorary token
of his favor. For the two animals belonging to him Judin had
chosen two young people, one of them an Olcha from Tschlwi
whose father was a friend of his and from whom he had bought
one of the bears. Both animals, hit in the right lung at a dis-
tance of about five paces, fell dead after the first shot; the third
animal died slowly after it had been hit by two arrows. The blood
which they lost in dying was immediately covered with snow, for
otherwise someone might step in it, which would definitely be
ritsch.

As soon as the bears were dead, they were dragged into
the kadlya by their chain and an auxiliary strap tied around the
snout, and put down at the places where they had stood in life,
on a bed prepared for them out of peeled sticks. Here all three
carcasses lay in the same order and the same position: the snout
and the front legs to the front pointing toward the entrance into
the kachra, the hind legs to the rear, pointing toward the läsng.
The neck /712/ and body bands were taken off of them and the
snow beaten off their fur with sticks. Next the carcasses were
skinned and cut up. For this purpose a illustration appears here:
strap was next slung around the neck of the animal and attached
to the stake in front. Again it is difficult to step over this strap --
one may only walk around it, either in front or in back. The
bear was now rolled over on its back, and a cut was made down
the middle of the entire belly side, beginning at the throat, and
from this middle cut four others went out to the legs. Then the
fur was stripped off and cut around the paws in such a manner
that a ring of fur remained above the claws on each one. After
the belly side had been skinned, the animal was turned over and
the fur stripped off the back side up to the head. Then the man
standing at the tail end once more waved the fur up and down
over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his
companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

2: Schrenck--1157 E.G. (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2.
/716 cont./



Toad made out of birch bark.

graybeards, as a high port of honor; the women and girls, the boys
and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the
kettle was filled with snow for it is ritsch to use water for cooking
bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and
fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time.
Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly
under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and
figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and
on the other side a toad likewise executed.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not
until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs
and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of
the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only
then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were

/717 cont./
even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Stogin in Kulk, and
came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time
of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a
utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the asser-
tion that such a transaction would be too greatly ritsch. If one
examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they
attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions
in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate I. /p.1256 /,
Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on
Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention
is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band;
Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI
/p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows him, led on a chain, it defends itself
against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on
Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down
from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the
spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be
regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also be-
cause it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the
festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the
bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad
depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the
spiritual initiator of the whole bear festival. These bowls and
spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in
/718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears
busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded
more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of
which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear
meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/718 cont./
just as it would be extremely ritsch if one wanted to fry, not only
bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the
bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the
broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but
the meat was placed upon fir branches under the fireplace and
covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the
trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward
evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was
about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in
front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and
were intended for the forthcoming feast.

In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old
men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young
people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in addi-
tional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in
order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women
had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.
In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals
which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They
were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars
and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven
by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the
women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the
river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended
without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng.
Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while
the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat
into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and
fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads,
and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them
down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same
way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the mean-
time, more life and commotion had entered into these prepara-
tions for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/750 cont./
figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of
the ailment (Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy
many idols, all different and some of them very interesting,
for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate
LVII /p.1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a desig-
nation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another
had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p.1257 /,
Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the
human being (Plate LVI /p.1256 /, Fig. 4), several human figures
had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and
a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided
with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the
idols is put and which is called toil-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pömi-tscho)
with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p.1256 /, Fig. 9), as well
as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and
raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound
around them and several clothed in beatskin stood on a shelf in
the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human
figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p.1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore
an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human be-
ing, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could
not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many
idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of
various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a
toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toil-ngir.
Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two
cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side
in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p.1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel
was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount
of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned
them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that
it was ritsch and would cause her death.

/768 cont./
A rough little rod or a similar stick (wadžach) stuck in
the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is bur-
(Bm. I, p. 18.)

51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kulk dis-
covered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed
by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug
up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the
ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and various
colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited
there. Near Kulk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or
five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place,
while such structures are otherwise often found individually in
the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed
little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one
vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been
placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying
of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now,
since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of
the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or
a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak
as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore
would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never
be transferred to another place. This would be ritsch. There-
fore, though the Gilyak from Kulk bewailed and complained
about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they neverthe
less decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which
they themselves had moved from Kulk. (Bm. I, p. 16.)

53. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little
burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an
upright position: kakk, atlo tars. The middle of it is pierced,
and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it; a strip of linen is
wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too,
is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk-o
tars-rawä (Plate LXVIII /p.1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board
and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ng

T: Kreinovich--25 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋak and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
411 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-ŋak.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

9: Hawes--242 T-3
116, 593, 775, 764, 784

"In talking of their departed
uich, i.e. unlucky, ill-omene
and the elder before us was no
at his father's funeral pyre, h
necessary for his spirit to tra

, they never called them by their name. That would be
l. Filial piety as among the Chinese is a cardinal virtue,
exception to the rule. He had killed no less than ten dogs
is father being a well-to-do man, and therefore it was
vel with an honourable cortège in the next world."

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/74 cont./

755 only noisy terr
776 ukhdi kekhn ar
on the spirits i
755 kamlaniye. T
776 shaman create
deafening soun
787 to evoke in hi
he sees and he
that he actuall
hypnotizes tho
me of a partia
that in my pre
ous condition i
shrieked broug
hallucinations
755 saw in his tran
776 one, then anot
stances. Thus
organism and
ar-rymnd-kekh
way into the b
distant parts of
emits fire out
After being thu
his lips and let
devil. The m
principle of ter
I mentioned at
a shrewd peopl
master of the s
lies on a bed i
a white reindee
seen such a stra
at it. This m
little soul of th

or, during kamlaniye the above-mentioned
e called on to help. In point of fact, calling
s at the present time the essential part of
he entire power of the autohypnosis which the
s in himself with frenzied shouts, narcotics, the
ds /75/ of the tambourine, wild dancing is used
nself that high degree of sensitivity due to which
ars his spirits-protectors. We can fully believe
y hears and sees them. And with his faith he
se around him. I hope that no one will suspect
lity for the shamans, but I can calmly testify
sence the ecstacy of the shaman and the mysteri-
n which the frenzied chosen one thrashed and
ht the Gilyak to such a state that they had
and saw everything that the shaman himself
ce. The shaman skillfully has recourse to first
her of his kekhn, depending on the circum-
, if the devil has stubbornly settled inside the
loes not want to leave, the shaman calls on the
n, which turns into a fiery ball and makes its
elly of the shaman and from there to the most
his body, so that during the seance the shaman
of his mouth or nose or from any part of his body.
s filled with fire, he touches the sore spot with
s in fire, which conclusively drives out the
eaning of this device lies in the same primitive
ror -- in this case, frightening with fire, which
the beginning. Generally the kekhn are quite
e. Thus, when a kekhn makes his way to the
ea for the small soul of a drowned man, which
the yurt of the master himself, he takes along
er. Of course, the sea people, who have never
nge beast, run out of the yurt in order to look
oment is utilized by the kekhn to steal the
e drowned man.

/77 cont./

756 Now a few more words concerning the nature and psychics of these strange people called shamans.

According to the views of the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen beings. Do not be a shaman! The talent of a shaman is not a gift, but a burden. In order to become a shaman, it is necessary to be liked by a kekhn, or to recei such a kekhn from one's father or uncle. Turning into a shaman constitutes a turning point in the life of the chosen one, a crisis accompanied by very complex psychological phenomena.

One shaman with whom I was acquainted told me th before he became a shaman he was sick for more than two months, during which he lay motionless on his back in com plete unconsciousness. No sooner would he awaken from on paroxysm than he would fall into another. "I would have died," he told me, "if I had not become a shaman!" Dur- ing these months of trial he dried up like a stick. At nigh [787] he began to dream that he sang shaman songs. Once a whi eagle-owl appeared to him and stood near him, quite close while a little farther away stood a man who said to him: "Make yourself a tambourine and everything that a shaman should have, and sing songs. If you are a simple man, not ing will come of you, but if you are a shaman, you will be real shaman." He slept for a long time, how long -- he do not know, but when he woke up, he saw that he was held ov a fire by the feet and by the head; the people around him thought that he had been killed by the kekhn. Then he com manded that he be given a tambourine and began to sing so He felt not quite drunk, not quite dead. Then he first saw his kekhn and kenchkh, and the former said to him: "If you see a sick man, cure him; do not believe the kenchkh, he has a human face, but the body of a bird; believe only us."

I myself was once a witness to the first appearance o such a paroxym. A Gilyak boy by the name of Koynyt, twelve years old, the son of a shaman, my guest, fell aslee after dinner, and, accidentally awakened by my comrad, the boy began to thrash furiously and to shout, repeating all

844 The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

845 Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people
784 talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

844 In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

845 If a child is born with a caul which, however,
777 happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

844 The newly born child is not simply called a boy or
553 a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

845 dwelling to the
766 the last time,
782 Next to the sac
775 stick carved in
they call it nau
is safe [762] fr
tonhr ehlian, w
753 If the relativ
845 are designed to
776 the mountains
anger. Several
relatives of the
of their revenge
certain diseas
squint-eyes, s
convulsions. T
considered to b
spirit's dissati
"tonhr ehlian s
tormenting".

784 The Gilyak a
845 young women a
777 to reports abou
they believe, t
twins. Women
hold articles n
given birth to t
considered to b
objects, howev
not transfer th
new one.

842 It is altogeth
777 tribe that they
transference o
to another man
explanation for
for overcoming
cannot bear chi
woman to lend
she has to wea
success. A Gil
transferred fro
contagious dise
which had been

top of a near-by mountain; there, for
choice food is offered to the figure.
rificial objects a one to two meter long
curly design is dug into the ground;
.. From this moment on the whole tribe
om being haunted by the dead child,
vithout further prayers or sacrifices.
es neglect to follow these rules, which
appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
and to win their favor, they evoke their
diseases which attack the parents and
twins are considered to be symptoms
e (tohr ehlian). These usually are
es like deformation of the jaw-bone,
tiffening of the neck or any kind of
he appearance of such diseases is
e a consequence of the mountain
sfaction; in such cases one says
ingrund", that is "the twin child is

re so afraid of these dangers that
nd girls are strictly forbidden to listen
t such happenings; by these precautions,
hey will be able to prevent the birth of
are neither allowed to borrow house-
or to accept gifts from friends who had
wins. In this case old soft objects are
e the most dangerous ones. Hard
er, especially tools made of metal, do
e bad luck of the former owner to the

er a trait characteristic of this northern
believe in the possibility of the
f physical peculiarities from one man
by way of his tools. This gives us an
the superstitious remedies they use
a woman's sterility. The woman who
ildren must ask another very fertile
her the waistband of her trousers and
r it up to the moment of the desired
yak told me that fertility can be
om one person to another like a
ease, for example by way of a vessel
used by the sick person.

786

786 ORGIES--practices reflecting hysterical tendencies or release from normal inhibitions; frenzied singing and dancing; ceremonial license (e.g., phallic rites, temporary lifting of sex restraints, ceremonial intoxication); bacchanalian revels; religious prostitution; induced hysteria, hallucination, and swoon; religious revivalism; etc. See also:

Sex taboo . . . . . 83 Temple prostitutes 793
Drunkenness . . . . . 273 Conception of abnormal mental states . . . 828

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also seek to consolidate their authority by means of various magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly, disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle. After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these "Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine. From this we may see how much they really understand of their new religion. We have said before that they regard

787

787 REVELATION AND DIVINATION--practices reflecting anxiety about the future and often also a sense of inspiration; quest for visions and guardian spirits; hallucinatory revelations; communication with spirits (e.g., through spirit possession, through inspired oracles, through mediums); prophesy; clairvoyance; acquiring mystic insight through concentration and contemplation; interpretation of dreams; omens and their interpretation; divinatory practices and techniques (e.g., haruspicy, hepatoscopy, necromancy, scapulimancy, scrying, sortilege, astrology); etc. See also:

Personality disorders 158
Judicial oaths and ordeals 695
Revelation and divination in the treatment of diseases 755
Omens of death 763
Cult of the dead 769
Guardian spirits 776
Diviners, seers, and messiahs 791
Ideas about dreams 628

/770 com./
the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

Golsi RYS
Olcha

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case
of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does
t need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the
andering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I,
. 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin)
ld me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes
f murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo
n the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-
se usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in
e Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.).
raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as
ong the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-
it in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy
lyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-
amber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the
cham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of
khalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak
e said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch,
t to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as
ong the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the
nu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred
th of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of
gorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu
the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very
cefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults.

Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'

ǝkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'

etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiyid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. LA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even if if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kes

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of kes, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home?" he told me. "Surely kes must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kes exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivgv 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
57 following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals: Pila-la r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i. e. a sivuch born in the given year.

2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal', i. e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
a- ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i. e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.

The heads with piskir stuck in them are taken home.

225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pilaŋ performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines t'aj. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch.) The pilaŋ cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the pilaŋ. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. With-
out drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pilaŋ
asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances.
First - the pilaŋ appropriates the first sivuch killed during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.

784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.

183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the in-
terdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter *must not* eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only
can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the
Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183
626 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.

868 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Čarvax
183 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and Ə̂isk (Agiska) informed
626 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects
used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by
women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-kəlmr). Also, a child
must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit
to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,'
'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a
cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the
taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that
he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow,
or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local
Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step in-
advertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep
into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls
are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children
are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in
play - have anything to do with implements used by women in
their tasks and that, conversely, girls must not use implements
used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legit-
imize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of
birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until
recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak
rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs,
row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy,
the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the
rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disrepu-
table and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food,
make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous
tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dig-
nity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food.
They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

462 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i. e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
462 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn
the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the
men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely
indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos.
The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to
enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinat-
ing exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by
the example of the t'aj where the pilaŋ attempt to assert his
title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under
the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilaŋ distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilaŋ's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the t'aj, is included in

116, 755, 786

"During all these exorcisms and negotiat
illness] the hut has been the scene of an aw
lay on the nakh, or bench, the cham has be
cha, a fish-skin tambourine, uttering all m
wild gyrations in order to prevent the escap
time of the combat of the good and evil spir
and when negotiations commence, the cham
begun in almost a whisper, and to the slow
improvises his prayers, conforming [238]
working himself into an ecstasy, he babbles
From the great strain his voice sometimes
amazing dexterity whirls around in the sem
ground as his wild circlings in the air incr
ings to his wild springings. Black shadows
quicker and quicker grow the wild howls an
the spectators sink with fright, and even th
voluntarily bewitched."

ions [LSS: by the medicine man while curing
e-inspiring spectacle. While the sick man
en whirling round the hut, beating the kos-
anner of strange sounds, and quickening his
pe of the evil spirit from his reach. By the
its, the wild dance has reached its climax;
is in an ecstatic state. His exorcisms are
-measured strokes of the tambourine. He
them to the circumstances; and by degrees
s with hoarse voice, howls, and even shrieks.
cracks; but he draws off attention, and with
i-darkness, his feet appearing to leave the
ease and the flames leap in answering flicker-
fitfully race over the walls of the hut, and
d the thuds of the tambourine. The hearts of
e most sceptical of the Gilyaks is in-

/753 cont./
756 was Sajan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous one, Tschêžach, lives in the village of Kaki, above Nikolayevsk. In case of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to villages where there are no shamans (1). There are shaman implements, however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they never designate as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sickness. (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "to shamanize"; see pp. 1153. 1165; cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the brothers Surgin and Sogin in Kuĭk, though neither of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wait was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part
789 of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. I, pp. 34, 35.)

28. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that snakes
756 are especially feared from information given to me by an eye-
825 witness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of
782 Petrovskoye. After singing and howling had been performed by the
789 onlookers, the shaman turned to the god ruling heaven, sun, moon, and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

787 /753 cont./
756 that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and
825 pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as
782 the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During
[534] these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

825 753 29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

[752] 2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water, hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as toll-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magá, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuĭk. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, résembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

825 /754 cont./
753 sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however,
755 is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes
756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch
532 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of
[787] the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-
[322] mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp.
462 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found.
[824] This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

753 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mā(r)ngai) are
755 similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much
825 less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalź) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalź bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magá. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak
554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

756 /754 cont./ Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak
554 Räppun in Tebach, about whom the following miracle is reported.
782 His hands are tied to his back by straps, and his throat is likewise
789 strangled by a strap. Then he sits down on the floor of the yurt, in which the light and the hearth fire are extinguished. As soon
[533] as it is dark, he begins singing, which, in shaman fashion, is performed with long prolongations, monotonously frequent repetition and transposition of the same words, and with a trembling, wailing voice. After this the shaman falls down as if dead.
/755/ Now all those present in the yurt, men, women, and children, begin a song that serves to conjure up a kägn.

During this conjuration a kägn appears, invisible to everybody
[787] except the shaman, loosens the straps on his neck and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

The shaman Chorvin from Tschcharbach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a matscherlagu-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miraculous things. Thus the Gilyak say that he sits
[787] down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are extinguished, and all the onlookers begin a shamanistic song, in which the kägn is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a small kägn hardly larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy shaman stands there unfettered.

Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they
756 mean and whether they are also sung on definite occasions. It
533 seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a
787 kägn who is supposed to appear and to lend assistance, be it for curing a sickness or for divulging the future, etc. It also seems that, according to the conception of the Gilyak, the kägn always produces his effect while dancing, a conception that may be connected with the practice of dancing on the part of the shaman himself. In the aforementioned shamanistic songs the kägn is expressly invited to dance (lärta). But the appearance and the dancing of the kägn are never visible to anyone in the yurt other than only the shaman, and this is precisely the mark and proof of his higher power and supernatural strength. (Bm. II, pp. 47, 48.)

/755 cont./

756 [124] 31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Jutschin from Patchä gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

756 787 789 It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwyssj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kägn who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kägn, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kägn answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kägn, during constant noise, approach the shaman lying bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the [533] Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the conjuration song of the kägn; but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kägn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The [533] song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

This song moves the kägn to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him heave a deep sigh -- this time breathing in life anew -- and now he stands there freed

G /756 cont./

756 787 789 of all his bindings and alive again. With the words, käutschek via, käutschek via! (*) which he calls out to each kägn, the shaman now

G [192] *Perhaps kaunczra = out! virä = let us go! -- according to the Gilyak word-list by Dr. W. Grube.

banishes all kägn from there again, it is quiet in the yurt, the shaman performance is over, and the fires in the hearths may be rekindled. (Bm. II, pp. 55 and 57.)

G 756 184 32. Gilyak. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I was told that there are likewise shamans among the Gilyak on Sakhalin; moreover, they are said to have the same instruments of their art as those on the mainland, drum (kassj), shaman's belt (Olcha jangpä), etc. (Plate LXI /p. 1261/, Figs. 2, 4). (2 W. R. I, p. 10.)

The large village of Tschai-wo on the east coast consisting of at least ten yurts, was said to have a shaman who was famous among the Gilyak. (2 W. R. II, p. 7.)

Gi 755 756 33. Samagir. One evening I heard the sound of drums in the village of Ngägha. I was told that in the neighboring yurt the shaman's drum was being beaten, and I went there immediately. There was no light in the yurt, and even in the two hearths there were only glowing embers, in front of which women and children Gi were crouched. The dull tones of the drum, accompanied by a [533] melancholy and monotonous singing, resounded from a remote, dark corner of the large, dim room and occasionally became so powerful that the whole yurt rumbled. Accompanied by my guide, I sat down on one of the sleeping benches and listened for a while Gi to the eerie music. When I inquired as to why there was no fire [372] in the yurt, I was told that the shaman sounds were meant for a sick woman in the yurt and that no fire was permitted in connection with this. And, indeed, when after a time the flames were fanned in the hearths and the night-lamps were lighted in the yurt, the drumming and singing instantly ceased. I now approached the shaman, who was sitting on one of the sleeping benches. Next to him lay the sick woman, a pan of coals (jachalacco) with dying

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'

ɔkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'

etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kivid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

. 115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even if it were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kes

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plate or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunte will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existenc
825 of kes, "god"; a point on which I did not want to agree with hi
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home?" he told me. "Surely kes must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kes exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivevr 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
57. following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the gues must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present tim could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his slee and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals: Pila-la r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i.e. a sivuch born in th given year.

2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

/317 cont./

342 787 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 787 789 If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a [776] devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in 342 776 782 autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They

[392] 1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 789 /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes [534] with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman [756] enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 756 789 The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy, gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner. [776] Massi (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/331 cont./

775 787 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

794 [231] The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.

[735] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make [825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

775 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-n igyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-n'igyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shreik at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

775 825 The night bird takhch is of the size of a crow and just as black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say atk.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

Sakhalin

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] [778] [782] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] [787] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 224 164 782 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or 847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 776 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 758 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 776 789 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his [774] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 774 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand), or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/78 cont./

island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even though he was as poor as Job.

The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

But shamans, no matter how many souls they have, are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhindered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

Amur

/306 cont./

A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'akh, the head of a pike (ius), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul -- cheg:n, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- cheg:n, and its two shadows, assistants. When the cheg:n of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true, it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyv), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/309 cont./

766 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
766 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
754 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
•787 man to eat from the kinys n'ich: "Go eat human meat!" He rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys. Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through, a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or (to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in constant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies. Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make real tolin'ir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.
756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) pal'dokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at n'ivukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his pal'pang:a (a wooden figure which is bound with white drel', and with shavings on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie tobacco wrapped in white drel' to the stone. It advises the shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
[755] to which particular pal (i.e., pal of one's own or of a different clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
776 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling
•[087] flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy --
354 door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side
342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. Tol erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylyná mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor.
[354] 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of
[335] the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house. 24. Kylzhutá -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a person who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed
[778] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things.
[776] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do with the appropriate spirit, with tol' or pal'.

"The spirits of the deceased occasionally
relations; for, endowed with super-natural
pay visits to their kindred, give them useful
troubles. If they desire to show [165] themse
given to man to see them in a state approach
this subject to an old Gilyak, he said, 'Spiri
times. They come to warn us of some misfo

'But,' I asked, 'how are you to know that i

'Why, of course, you call, and if there is
spirit, and then you must throw out some foo

'Have you ever seen such?'

'No.'"

hold communication with their earthly
capacities, they can in moments of dulness
counsel and warn them against unknown
lves to any one they can; but it is only
ing death, i.e. in a dream. Talking on
ts of the departed knock at the door some-
rtune.'
t is the spirit of the deceased that knocks?
no answer you know that it is a departed
od.'

nong the Gilyak's, many persons are liable to
wed by a fainting period, during which the sic
iculars of devils, heavenly beings or sea crea
e has seen.(1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, Tale I, Note. 29. "

convulsive attacks, which are
ck person reveals to those around him
atures. The patient believes firmly in

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.

527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

/338 cont./

752 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them
784 will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescu
[572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but
[614] drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur
[628] rounded with sticks.
[766] After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shama
must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn
Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat resc
from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka a
make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear w
[775] be a god.
[776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen ge
into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first
boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cre
where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling
the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of
cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon
the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the strea

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear s
782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

/282 cont./

585 her advice on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is un-
happy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way
possible. During the farewell feast the groom sits alongside the
bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe,
but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the
groom is supposed to comport himself modestly the whole day,
and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is
over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the
bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next
morning the newly married woman brings something to eat to
the newly married man and calls him "husband." On that very
585 morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last
782 regalement, and at that time the parents of the newlyweds ex-
change prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such
benedictions, taken down on the Amur:

539 "If god gives happiness, they will live out their time
532 happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time
782 badly. O god, make the life of our children a happy one!"

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /283/
the following prayer: "O god, make, make happy the time
of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life
together give good fortune!"

585 Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the
• 788 direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually
782 setting out they go through a ceremony which bears the designa-
tion "stamping the kettle." It consists of the following. At the
inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large
Manchurian kettle with five little ears (for the feeding of dogs)
from the bride price of the yurt, and at the outer side a small
kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the
bride and the groom, one after the other, place one foot in the
large kettle and the other foot in the small kettle, not treading
on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a symbolic union
of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence
of the two female penates -- the "old woman-mistress of the
threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
• 788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
788 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
777 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

586 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
584 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the cere-
mony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of
kettles, they use cups.

The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
583 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
586 marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey
[584] the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to
the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their
decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
583 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the
husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and
otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[591] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his
own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me
to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
583 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Kekhal administrators with the favorable
777 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
749 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before
a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in
order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly
taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly
fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate,
which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding
her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led
to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

789

789 MAGIC--practices reflecting confidence in the ability to manipulate supernatural forces; magical techniques of weather control (e.g., rain making); magical rites for increasing the food supply; exorcistic practices (e.g., driving off evil spirits with noise); potent formulas, incantations, and spells; curses, miracles; prevalent types of magic (e.g., imitative, contagious); concept of magical force; functions and social significance of magic; nonsupernatural magic (e.g., wonder-working, jugglery, legerdemain, fire-walking), etc. See also:

Magical rites in the food quest 32
Magic rites in agriculture 34
Magic rites in the reproductive cycle 145
Magic in entertainment 158
Magic rites in warfare 758
Sorcery, witchcraft, and evil eye 768
Therapeutic magic 784, 788
Magic rites at funerals 788
Luck magic 777
Concept of mana 778
Prevalence of analogical reasoning 813
Relation of magic to science 813
Love magic 832

/105 cont./

* 614 what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);
628
631
[436]

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement...

[576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and
[117] separations. Sometimes Gilyak cash on the Amur resort at the
• [789] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

When an agreement has been reached, the religious
* 614 feature that is mentioned above enters in, the procedure
628 of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to
536 conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/116 cont./

555 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on
556 his advantages (1).
156

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibi' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance; that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some
• [789] kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

* 614 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the
156 fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard
[490] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be
[183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one
jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to
display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole per-
sonality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ ex-
cluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each
person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom
and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-
777 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all
his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods,
in particular the clan gods, who showed their beneficence not on

Amur

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile putting on the tendon. Then the thief begins
to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it
happens that the thief dies from it.

628 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed
to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyz') -- about an arshin in length with a human
chikhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then
they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the
balagan of the khlaj-u'vukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
830 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mer'ab); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the ungurmam
(the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
839 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyr-mam).
In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer --
three days.

844

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband
at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during
birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole
year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before child-
birth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in
stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.
• [789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches,
and uncrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold
water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
[055] when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[097]

1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz' nyngydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and nyngdz -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
pning, two kong a'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
strips (pying a'akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special
shape (m'erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus'. When
they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bitus' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'ma).

While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
855 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
784 and hang it on a tree. O'gang chikhna) is a figure that they make
846 when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chikhnaj
is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
824 for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/312 cont./

[312] ... ‘ŋ-ŋ̄ ‘ŋ-ŋ̄ ‘ŋ-ŋ̄

78

8

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchil
taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and
• 789 is good, the lost thing will be f
it is not known what milk cause
hung up over the plank bed and
685 For stealing bear meat or

158 Kleptomania. There are
ample, Sentukh from Ady-Tym
to kill him, he ran away to /34
[774] wife continued doing the same.
in his belly. The things that te
him. The Gilyak confined ther
things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's fath
774 his trousers had disappeared. H
rat in the belly of a woman, ki
the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necess
or pay tkhusind, or take someth
kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a ston
The parnkhasind replies thanks t
straight, one has hit the mark;
If one has hit the mark, he m
around his neck, and feed it.

97, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

dren, ate them, ran into the

has occurred, they make chnyr-
beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
ound on the following day. If
d the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is
fed.
a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

thieves-kleptomaniacs, for ex-
i. After his brothers threatened
4/ Lungvo. There he and his
He has one soul -- a rat sitting
mpt him shine in the dark for
nselves to depriving him of the

er, from Tro, once noticed that
e began to shamanize, found a
led it, and on the following day

ary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand)
ing by force. Frequently they

e parnkhasind, with a kettle.
o the chekhn. If the kettle swings
if to the side -- one has not hit it.
make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it

294 415 [412] 415 171

/401 cont./
latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[177] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

415 171 531

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

[114] tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite [189] crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

[402 cont./]

on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be neutralized and the use of the tool will be accompanied by no ill-em - a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

The thread with which garments are sewed varies according to the variety of material. Thus, for example, and for birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, line thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call *mylds* and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as *nimgar-myrds*, *nimk-myrd*, *kuk-myrd*, etc. (8). For coats and similar articles of clothing, with the thread

5. *Filmgat* is Cyprinus Carpio L. (*mirk*) Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name *kuch* refers to.

[411 *kuhe*] that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fishing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As it also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krasheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 302, and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and from a nettle fiber will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quilting and embroidery the Gilyak are other than the silk thread like wise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (*ksiam*) for them. Instead they only use a knife. For smoothing (*ulu kalak*) they use a smoothed piece of wood (*gaim*), which is

[424 cont./]

from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, as Shaman an urgent reason. Such a reason can be only totally enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless; or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food. In fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyh on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1898, in the company of two traveling Tuchonsi and Tymi chiefs. Thus, in one of the cabins the bed weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, since young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was to be expected on the 21st of the month of Gilyak. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a pot belong added to the pieces sung for the dogs, and - characteristically enough - I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite off a piece of the bloody entrails behindhand the kettle and hide another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Dif, I was witnesses to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent to a bear festival held there a short time before, at which there will be to see in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by the, were killed in front of the yurt, and the carcasses, with a piece of meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in its pelt. *Ikhk* inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two shelves, which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

[446/]

Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions concerning the wife, the husband, and the hearth. Thus, if the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, is to be treated as the first wife, Such a woman can reach be in the household. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorn no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman must never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of the day or night. I have described this custom in the case, but myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kufh on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the house, I saw a woman going out unsteadily but heavily (obviously) and sinking down nearly on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately joined with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard, while sitting in the cabin, that the village chief had been delivered of a child, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 3° at 8 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 20, of this work.

During the colder season, in the less fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

[461 cont./]

the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A second reason, however, is more important. If the bride price is not paid, the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, is to be treated as the first wife. Such a woman can reach be in household. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorn no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

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1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 20, of this work.

[643 cont./]

when young. Strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clacking sound. The main purpose is to put the child to be a second bundle of similar kukkhanchi which is hung in front of the cradle, and which can reach be in household. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorn no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

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1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 20, of this work.

[871 cont./]

Ainkhalg (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the Iadwilatsch (southeast wind), the tongrsch and nagelsot (1)

1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French *u*.

(west and southwest wind), and the longatsch (south wind) cause them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: *pdy*, *tschingk*, *longatsch*, and *tongrsch* (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Dul to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

Magic arrow for exercising storms.

Bone of the beak of the traveler. In the village itself several methods of performing the ceremony of exorcising the storm used. At the top of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a large piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary raised arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a few small feathers of finest down were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the stormy *ainkhalg*-wind. Finally, a third method consisted in sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyh their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

[871 cont./]

others were to follow (3). This method was at least more powerful

3. Concerning this, see p. 602 above.

powerful, for it increased the body of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hamsar, or any other acquaintance with the word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to him to use, this coming and going without any salutation happens but little, too, with me they likewise constantly came and went without a greeting, and I was, therefore, with a heavy heart (*ksuhrbachlik*) learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu and Chinese do they imitate the *Ritt*/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping down on their knees in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Dmitrievsk and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the "Gilyak" never seem to be missing anybody from their footsteps. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to a stranger, expressing the idea of being missed or regretted. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions, but I have heard the Gilyak use the same expression, that they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been darkened, despite notwithstanding masts, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with their dogs, as the Gilyak are among dog eaters, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national commonness or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

[761 cont./]

condition, reaching any pretensions of a religious one or complaining. Thanking our and replacing that empty concept of God among the Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not resemble the Tungusic Amur idols (and kin). From Sakhalin I obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LIII Fig. 1255/, Fig. 9). (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

2. Gilyak. The village of Pogibshi on the west coast of Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings with a knife. On these shavings he placed a piece of fish, and the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This much was intended as a sacrifice to the bear. The Gilyak, who take pride in her chest and set there grooming and complaining. The *nech* was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pretty much as a Russian girl tucks her baby. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after the bad received this medicine, the woman stopped crying and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The *nech* is therefore still used on Sakhalin as a remedy for nervous sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures used for the purpose in similar purposes along the Amur and Ussur.

(V. W. 8. 1, p. 6.)

4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate LIII (Fig. 1255/, Fig. 1) was given me by the Gilyak of Dul. Fig. 1 is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for winding off yarn. Unknown. I acquired it in the village of Kufh. In the same village among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood; on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is carefully depicted and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

[762 cont./]

it is not the gestural custom to wave back around the neck. Often it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, steps blessed by the shaman. In the village of Kufh I saw a little man's neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery.

Such an amulet is gotten from the shaman. From Sakhalin I obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LIII Fig. 1255/, Fig. 9. (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

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[753 cont./]

was Sojan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous shaman, lived, in fact, in the village of Kufh, near Nikolayevsk. In case of sorrowfulness, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called in to cure the village where there are no shamans (1). There are human implements, however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they never designate as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their ancestors, the priests, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sicknesses. Nevertheless, the shamans are not, as I thought, to be sure, but not "to shamanize"; see pp. 1153. 1169. cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the bodhrans Tagin and Kalmyk in Kuh, though quite other material was shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as it is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without is being regarded as similar or the practitioners being shamans. For example, in the village of Kufh I saw a little girl of about 10 to 12 years old, shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like. Sort for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. 1, pp. 34, 35.)

[1054 cont./]

2. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that many are especially feared from information given to me by an eyewitness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Pogibshi. After singing and bowling had been performed by the onlookers, the shaman turned to the god ruling heaven, sun, moon and stars (*ahsun whum*), incidentally, he could say nothing more

G 756 787 789 [522]

/754 cont.: such as epilepsy, for example, by the Gilyak Kappun in Tebach, about whom the following miracle is reported. His hands are tied to his back by rings, and he is then likewise strangled by a strap. Then he sits down on the floor of the yurt, in which the light and the hearth fire are extinguished. As soon as it is dark, he begins singing, which, in shaman fashion, is performed with long prolongation, mentioned by the upper respiration and transposition of the same words, and with a trembling, wailing voice. After this the shaman falls down as if dead.

/755/ Now all these present in the yurt, men, women, and children, begin a song that serves to conjure up a kkgn.

During this conjuration a kkgn appears, invisible to everybody except the shaman, loosens the straps on his neck and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

G 756 787 789 [524]

The shaman Chorvin from Tschcharbach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a mancherlaigo-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miracles with kkgr. This shaman, Chorvin, also has his sits down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are extinguished, and all the onlookers begin a shamanistic song, in which the kkgn is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a single kkgn appears larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy shaman stands there unfettered.

G 756 553 787 [525]

Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they mean and whether they are also sung in Gilyak dialects. It seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a kkgn who is supposed to appear and to lend assistance, be it for curing a sickness or for divulging the future, etc. It also seems that, according to the conception of the Gilyak, kkgn always produces his effect while dancing, a conception that may be connected with the practice of dancing on the part of the shaman himself. In the aforementioned shamanistic songs the kkgn is repeatly invited to dance (ifrrr). But the appearance and the dancing of the kkgn are never visible to anyone in the yurt other than only the shaman, and this is precisely the mark and proof of his higher power and supernatural strength. (Bm. II, pp. 47, 48.)

G 756 787 789 [526]

/755 cont.:

31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Junchin from Patchi gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwtsj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt — it emanates from one or several kkgr who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kkgr, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kkgr answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a more scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kkgn, during constant noise, approach the shaman being bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the continuation song of the kkgn, but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kkgn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

G 756 787 789 [527]

This song moves the kkgr to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him brave a deep sigh — this time breathing in life anew — and now he stands there freed

1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

G 756 787 789 [528]

bindings and alive again. With the words, kkunchek via, kkunchek via! (?) which he calls out to each kkgn, the shaman now banishes all kkgr from there again, it is quiet in the yurt, the shaman performs a prayer, and the fire in the hearths may be rekindled. (Bm. II, pp. 55 and 57.)

G 756 787 789 [529]

32. Gilyak. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I was told that there are likewise shamans among the Gilyak on Sakhalin; moreover, they are said to have the same conceptions of their art as those on the mainland, drum (kasfj), shaman's belt (Olcha [ongzd]), etc. (Plate LXI /p. 126/, Figs. 2, 4). (S W. R. I, p. 10.)

The large village of Tschoi-wo, on the east coast, consisting of at least 100 yurts, was said to have a shaman who was famous among the Gilyak. (2 W. R. II, p. 7.)

G 756 787 789 [530]

33. Samagir. One evening I heard the sound of drums in the village of Nyfgin. I was told that there was a sick woman, and a shaman's drum was being beaten, and I went there immediately. There was no light in the yurt, and even in the two hearths there were only glowing embers, in front of which women and children were sitting. The dull tones of the drum, the monotonous and melancholy and monotonous singing, resounded from a remote, dark corner of the large, dim room and occasionally became so powerful that the whole yurt rumbled. Accompanied by my guide, I drew closer to the place of the shaman, and I was soon in the middle of the eerie music. When I inquired as to why there was no fire in the yurt, I was told that the shaman sounds were meant for a sick woman in the yurt and that no fire was permitted in connection with this. And, indeed, when after a time the flames were fanned in the hearths and the night-lamps were lighted in the yurt, the drumming and singing instantly ceased. I now approached the shaman, who was sitting on one of the sleeping benches. Next to him lay the sick woman, a pan of coals (jachalacco) with dying

G 789 [531]

225 mu-ssind on the boat supports the assumption that at one time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as a living thing. Mu-ssind on the boat serves, it seems, as a test to prove shooting distance of the seals in a boat.

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there are five oarsmen, one pilot and one other man, then the pilot

226 of the five oarsmen, one pilot and one other man, then the pilot

476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without

551 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The

885 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if Kaun also takes the place of the pilot, because Kaun is the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl'akuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl'akuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pilot is younger than the extra man. In that case the pilot takes the place of the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. I was once asked to go hunting with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Noryp tended the rudder. When Noryp was at the helm shooting at the seals and, to whom Noryp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his weak eyesight, Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I spy my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare how of theheat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need for nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilot, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ... and the figuiines (?-ij). They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They

223 first go to Ul'-xaf "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they put

774 Mi-ri-d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short

791 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of sette fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform mi-ri-d on bands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and sette fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

G 789 [532]

411 called yaldnas and the sea-end is called ja-bax-puks

225 "master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the

198 sea, is tied a stone called 'ine' or 'master stone,'

225 which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of Gilyak seines, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tatr-pax . Large wooden floats

[vx.] are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a siwuch gets caught in the net, the siwuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the net, which is provided with pieces of glass over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into

[ml] the seine. The seals pro-t are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tolaxta at Ko-jalu, Ki-xalu, Vilk, Lo-ri, and -r.

According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul owned seal hunting places in the past.

223 Thus clan Qavjuj owned L. Luivxj-pur, 2. Ayuqej,

924 3. Ko-ri-pur, 4. Ko-ri-pur.

471 Luiv. -p-r and a'reqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of water onto these rocks.

225 1 is called Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from

502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five

225 hunters sat in the boat and paddled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the

225 bow of theheat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need for nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilot, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ... and the figuiines [vx]. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

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782 1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilot picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

G 789 [533]

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)

552

198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin--"Tabu

825 slov u narodov Vostochnof [Evropy I severnof Azii]

789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii v. VII; 1928. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of

225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hualaf.

[ml] (Lazo) "bear" is called 'ej', 'otherwise." If they are far from land, they say tevi ofte, if near - knemla-ottta.

mu' boat' they say ozg.

xf 'sun' they say ano.

in urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say sodfra.

Tolu 'fog' they say verj.

umgu 'woman' they say hiuivf.

xu 'dog' they say ej.

to 'fish' they tomz 'leaf.'

ta, 'flounder' they say pna-domr.

lo-r 'trout' they say mamn.

nemla 'linek' they say na-tomr.

'hake' they say ulnk, they say ulnk.

al'-o- 'kunsha' they say dontt. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words mamn and dontt from Tungus.

198 ti-r 'fire wood' they say opa; tuin opa-ket fuzr-argud

225 'having taken fire wood' they say ti-r-argud. (fire-

[ml] 1. 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad, 'two seals,' 'or

'three seals.'

la-r pud 'the seal came to the seiner' they say lari-

[ml] 'to kill' they say pand.

pu 'tomorrow' they say mandon.

-r vida 'let us return' they say pu'ukuda.

-aru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvata-mu.

kur-kuqej 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say iava-Ood 'to

hurts.

kra ad 'I. you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-lo-

tagad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tol-Ood 'the ban

hurts.

edominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of
mination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs
l their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imag-
tion so boldly that their assertions contradict those of
er shamans or of everyday experience. From conversa-
ns, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the
yak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits,
h good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not
erged from fetishism.

God (Kush or Kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
ver appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing
said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I
rd that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In
s we may already see something like priestly self-glorifi-
tion. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother
ch about him, only now and then something is sacrificed
him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him
for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak
osses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a
wl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the
crifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is
crificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a
ke is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it
llet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240]
tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme
ng. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

The bear usually appears as the executor of divine
dinances, and he punishes the bad people during their life-
me. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstiu
us ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be
garded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as
od or demigod.

The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
dom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
rd him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded
having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a
rtain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored
e". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874.
(Published in Russian).

ple. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and
is the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets cau
789 handled with resp
278 house of the idols
Besides the skin,
sold, for the form
brave, and the lat
776 . Of the numerous
782 know about, some
ity are more or le
with gifts. The ch
island of Sakhalin
778 ponds to the devil,
782 and "idol" are bot
532 symbols, but at ti
kobolds. Usually
hauled out on spec
means that its inh
it gets "lighter" th
somewhere. The
tobacco, etc.; ver
with cranberry jui
Wood chips are al
different appearan
lives in a wooden
vicinity of the yurt
taken down, the id
one is made. Som
others have the sh
still others have th
idols represent ch
hands and feet, oth
ing a navel. Small
These also usually
789 different. Thus th
844 figure carved of w
Besides the idol
778 looking objects not
782 have a mysterious
177 stands on the so-c

1. From the

Nikolayevsk-na-Ar
a Bhuddist temple
pillars remain, be

ght, he is killed. But even after that he is
ect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
and left there until it begins to decay.
the bones and the gall are immediately
er are held by the Gilyak to make a man
tér is used for all kinds of medicaments.
s spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
are good and protect man, but the major-
ss evil, and must therefore be propitiated
hief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the
Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
h called kegn, for the idols are not only
mes also the dwellings of the spirits or
they are kept in the storage huts and only
ial occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
abitant, the kobold, is at home, but when
an usual, the spirit is roaming about
offerings here also consist of millet,
y often the face of the idol is smeared
ce, which seems to have a powerful effect.
so hung around its neck. The idols have
ces. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
one that is placed somewhere in the
when it is built. If the yurt must be
ol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
e idols are crude imitations of humans,
ape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
e shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
ldren, others old people. Some have
ers only a head which sits on a body show-
idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
have human forms, but some look very
e talisman against a difficult birth is a
ood, representing a double acorn.
s, there are some more or less strange-
made by the Gilyak themselves, which
significance for them. Such an object
lled Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

Gilyak village Tyr.

nure. On a high, precipitous river bank
formerly stood; of this only a few stone
aring Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

116, 789

"Our attention was attracted by a curious noise from some settlement far up the river, sounding like the beating of a bass-drum. This, upon inquiry, we learned to a party of Gilaks invoking the spirits to attend them and crown their efforts in fishin with success."

796

796 ORGANIZED CEREMONIAL--systematization of religious ritual; ceremonial calendar (e.g., fixed and movable religious holidays, rest days, and festivals); detailed description of the ceremonies regularly associated with each (e.g., participants, ceremonial attire and paraphernalia, prescribed succession of rites, accompanying music and dancing, symbolism); church and temple services; religious dramas and spectacles; notions of propitious and unlucky days for ceremonies; etc. See also:

Agricultural ceremonies	24	Spectacles	541
Music, dancing, and drama	53	Weddings	585
War ceremonies	72	Installation of chiefs and kings	643
Specific cult practices	78	Shamanistic performances	755
Annual cycle of economic activities	221	Mortuary ceremonies	764
Housebuilding ceremonies	342	Calendar	805
Leisure-time activities	517	Rites of passage	88, 561, 852
Secular holidays, rest days, and festivals	527		

796

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/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dugout is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

174 171 342

342 796 178 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu [177] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a [192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

(kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee, the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

Among the numerous legends that I have collected about the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo. It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond, does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February, there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/52 cont./

825 distinguished by the same meekness with regard to man and for this very reason is worshiped by the local natives.

The bear that awakens early from its winter sleep and in a frenzy of hunger throws itself upon a man is a crazy bear or a vagrant who has been driven away by the "master." In those rare cases when a Gilyak, while hunting, is killed in a fight with a bear, this is ascribed to extraordinary circumstances: either that it was not a bear, but a devil in the shape of a bear or that it was a female bear who fell in love with the Gilyak and who wanted to transplant his soul inside herself.

If a bear falls prey to a Gilyak, it is only because the bear itself wants it. In its struggle with the man, the bear itself offered a good spot for the fatal blow. After all, it loses nothing from it. After breathing its last, it actually casts to the Gilyak only its apparent covering, its shaggy skin, while it remains alive and unharmed as before. A few days later, at the end of the
796 bear festival, when /53/ its meat has been eaten and the bones placed in a storehouse of honor, the Gilyak kill several dogs, in whose company the bear gaily runs, with all its ornaments and presents, to the "master" of the highest mountain.

The whale-like, large-toothed sea animal -- the kosatka -- is worshiped no less than the bear on land. One would think, what could be stronger and more terrible in the eyes of the Gilyak than the whale, this tremendous and mighty monster, spouting fountains, for whom a storm is a diversion, and each of whose vertebrae is heavier than the largest Gilyak? Yet there is a beast before whose sharp, cone-like teeth the whale flees without a backward glance and throws itself with a roar of despair on the banks and the shallows of the Sakhalin coast where the Ainu and the Gilyak make opulent feasts of him. This is the kosatka. It creates an imposing impression, even on a European, when a kosatka unexpectedly appears near his boat, and the general flight of all the inhabitants of the sea begins. At the sight of this terrible beast fish, seals, dolphins, and eared seals scatter as if seized, and forgetting all caution,

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
766 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The
[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/60/

796 231 This festival has already been described many times, and therefore I shall consider for the most part those features that have not been noted before. First of all, it is remarkable [969] that ordinarily the festival is generally celebrated in memory of a dead clansman, being a kind of funeral feast for the deceased. A very close kinsman of the deceased buys for money or catches for himself in the taiga a bear cub, which is brought solemnly and amidst cries of joy and music into the native village. Here a separate framework is built for it out of thick poles and spars and decorated in the corners [614] with sacred trees. The feeding of the cub is done, not by its specific master, but by the entire clan: One or another family in turn, feeds the honored guest for the duration of the appointed time, cleans the framework, and in general takes care of it in every way. On appointed days the bear is taken from its cage for a walk. This is a great event in the life of the settlement, taking many hours and giving extraordinary pleasure to young and old. The procedure of getting the bear out of the cage is quite complicated. First of all, while the bear is still in the case, they hobble its legs, sticking through the spaces between the poles thongs which end in quickly tightened nooses and are put on sticks. After this they take away a few links of the top part of the cage, providing the bear with the opportunity to stick its head out; then they put a stick into its mouth, which it violently clenches with its teeth, and at this time they very tightly bind its mouth. After this, it is calmly pulled out of the cage, and an iron ring is put on it, clasping it at the belly. Long thongs are attached to this ring on both sides, and several men hold fast to them, pulling them hard in opposite directions; they do not give the bear any opportunity to attack the surrounding people. Only then do they free it of its hobble and take it for a walk.

/60 cont./

796 231 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is [614] [182] displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

796 621 476 There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival 796 come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of [778] ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/61 cont./

796 778 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku, the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the 796 arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the 574 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together 614 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry. [606] Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

796 231 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/62 cont./

796 231 semifreedom. Around noon it is untied and, held by thongs on both sides, is taken for a walk. This walk, however, gives the bear little pleasure, for from every side they tease it in every way and try to drive it beyond patience. The bear at first lets out some grumbling, but gradually becomes enraged, attempts to attack the people, and gets up on its hind legs, but it is held by dozens of hands, and all its rage is lost in fruitless thrashing. But now, seizing the moment, the master of the bear cautiously steals up, seizes it by the head, kisses it good-by, and, without waiting for a return kiss, speedily jumps away. Most often, however, the bear freely returns the good-by kiss to its protector, who considers himself quite lucky if the clumsy one limits itself to tearing off a good chunk of meat and does not get its teeth into, say, an eye or the throat arteries. A wound inflicted by a bear on such occasions, however, is considered an expression of good will on the part of the good-natured beast. The walk ends in leading the bear three times around the yurt of its master. Beforehand everything living, even suckling babies and animals, is removed from the yurt; only the clan elder stands in the passageway, and every time the bear comes around even with the entrance he teases it with a long pole with an uncut crown of coniferous needles at the end and speaks gentle words. /63/ At the end of this procedure the bear is led to the plot of ground and tied between the two trees which have been ritually decorated. The pole with which the bear was teased is fixed to the hearth, so that its spreading crown of coniferous needles rises high above the smoke opening. After that there is an intermission. The 796 574 bear is again left to itself, while the people assemble in a dense throng in the yurt of the master of the bear, where lavish entertainment begins. They literally sit on one another's heads; nonetheless the gaiety is extraordinary; the loud talk, the laughter, and the jokes never cease. Only the narkh'i are serious: they bend their bows, sharpen their arrows, and prepare themselves for the crucial moment. Meanwhile all kinds of cold viands are carried in huge troughs on dog sleds to the sacred plot of ground; there are frozen fish of all kinds, rice,

/63 cont./

796 574 buda, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish, "the mos'," whose method of preparation I have already described in the second chapter.

796 231 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to your master, and may your master greatly love you." Other clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even 796 [562] small children participate in this kindly affair. After the short break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and arrange themselves in fighting formation. The master of the bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festival follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign 796 526 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary competitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the character of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced almost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

/64 cont./

796 [526] rapt attention, and each shot is accompanied by loud appro or by noisy outbursts of laughter. After this preliminary sho ing the crowd moves closer to the bear and stops a few steps away from it. Amidst the deep silence that prevails, the selected narkh steps forward, takes his bow in his hands, an begins to watch the bear, waiting for the time when it "wil offer the good spot," i.e., will turn so that it will be easy to get right to the heart. The bear often calmly remains in his place, however, digging in the snow with its paws and caring very little about offering a good spot. In order to dr it out of its calm state and compel it to offer a good spot, and also to drive it into a rage and thereby lighten for it, i their opinion, the pain from the wound inflicted, they begi tease it. The bear thrashes in all directions, throws itself a its tormentors in helpless anger, and stands up on its hind le Meanwhile the archer follows it with the most rapt attentio and, seizing the right moment, finally releases his sharpen arrow. The bear at first stops perplexed, then clutches its breast with his paw, tears appear in its eyes, and blood app from the throat out of its mouth. Sometimes it begins to th furiously, but most frequently it falls calmly with perplexe hurt in its eyes. Although, as a rule, death comes immedi nevertheless, just in case, several people throw themselves the slain animal and begin to strangle it to hasten its death and prevent it from suffering. After this they take the chai off the bear, carefully straighten out its fur, and put it in a pose of majestic calm, with outstretched front and hind pa the head, turned to the west, rests on the front paws. In th pose it resembles a man stretched out on the ground, lost in thought, leaning on his elbows. The people seat themselve ceremoniously in two rows, some on dog sleds, some direct on the snow, others on ski, and there begins the annihilatio those cold dishes which were brought for the feeding of the Having eaten, the guests gradually disperse; only the closes clansmen, who begin to skin the bear, remain. This proce is surrounded by strict ritual: the method of cutting the me

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife. The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman." Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands. [774] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head." [372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begins. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/65 cont./

796 574 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of [576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish [262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear [614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 264 576 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 533 273 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts [554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed [782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/66 cont./

6 fed, and then, exchanging farewell glances with the dogs, they silently leave. Upon passing over the threshold, it rema for them to conclude the last ceremony, which bears the char teristic name of "lymyzyn zychyvynd" -- "the stamping of the threshold." This ceremony consists in placing nich'i (a kettle and an ax) on both sides of the threshold, the nich of t departer -- on the inner side, and the nich of the host on the outer side; the departer must first step over the inner nich wi one foot and then over the outer one with the other.

6 On this same day the last act is concluded -- the sacr 2 of the dogs. The dogs presented by the narkh'i, as well as th dogs sacrificed by the master for this occasion, are led out to plot of ground where the bear was killed and tied up to those same trees /67/ to which the bear was tied. The head of the bear with all the presents given to it, is also brought here. E pair of dogs consists of a male and a female so they will be 8 happier on the journey. Pairs of inau of the same kind as tho that were prepared for seeing off the bear and equal in numbe to the number of pairs of dogs are then stuck into the ground the neighborhood of the trees. The heads of the dogs are orn mented with shavings, which are painted with the juice of berries and attached to them. Before they are killed, the do are fed with choice viands and are exhorted in the following way: "Go, go to your master, take yourself up to the highest mountain, change your skin, and next year come down here, come down here as a bear so that I may have a look at you, this, come down, farewell, travel well!" After this, they kil the dogs by strangulation. This procedure is carried out some peculiarly. Two men seize a dog by its hind legs and forcefu pull the unfortunate animal as far as possible away from the t to which it is tied with a tightening noose. At that time, tw other men seize the two front paws; a fifth presses on the dog's neck, accelerating the process of strangulation, and a

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'yzr.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

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000 respectful attitude
796 Furthermore, with
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and young eagles f
vantageous for the
to feed it in order
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must kill and drive

toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.
regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of
rst sight may not at all appear to an ele-
nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some
ch young animals, and, whenever he finds
eds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur,
or their feathers. Similarly, it is disad-
Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers
to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and
Furthermore, there is nothing more
em than to use the killing of the bear for
like the celebration of the funeral feast
By the way, the feeding and the killing
ellent means of education for the youth,
d become accustomed to the most terrible
ga, learn not to fear it, and study its dis-
th, and its weaknesses. The procedure for
t of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting

is not these crude, utilitarian motives that
e in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome,
in feeding a bear. He is governed here by
haps also utilitarian, but of a quite differ-
have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak,
ure sui generis. No matter what creature is
e hairy covering of the bear, a divine
aster of the mountains, a mountain man, or
as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in
eature of a higher order, more powerful,
strong. The presence of such a being for a
e in his native settlement, according to
lyak, who is convinced of the constant
wds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threaten-
alth, must be extremely beneficial. The
ighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant,
away any insidious spirit. It is not by

/69 cont./

[796] [825] accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear [787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen [755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman [756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to [171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has [614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the [974] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/69 cont./

796 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
825 We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends, It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during
782 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in-
825 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, be-
[114] lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself
796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment
825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general
261 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e., to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
[562] for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which
imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and
therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the
bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below);
2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the
slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and
through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this
is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of
all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with
a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the
bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master,"
a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives
its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains"
himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides
in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent
through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master,"
but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteris-
tic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the
first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the
festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of
women who are wives of the members of that clan are not
allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/71 cont./

or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the "*ryat'ya*" /kom-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place, the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "*narikh'i*" and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday? In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "*narikh'i*" this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat it head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the rest of the meat may seem a strange and irreplovable contradiction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors, while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat. In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally prohibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

/72 cont./

As indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "*mil'k'i*" and "*sang'y*." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirit of lost -- get-rich'i), others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/89 cont./

cremation, and the oars are placed upright, facing each other, in order to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these ties are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force -- the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is due to the free gift of the gods, his benefactors, without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustainers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifices and festivals, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally devoted to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, not from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

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In its evolution, this solidarity in the sacrifices to clansmen, fostered for ages, becomes the principle of the clan relation to the gods in general. When in wholly individual affairs, during illness, say, the Gilyak makes a sacrifice, he will without fail summon his absent clansmen even from afar, so that they may enjoy the beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

The principle of common clan deities, the sustainers of the clan, is the foundation of the institution of hospitality and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institution of hospitality among primitive peoples, even if only from travelers' descriptions, that it must be based on something more than mere social etiquette or even ordinary sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Arab, at his own hearth manifests the warmest hospitality to even his enemy, concerning whom he knows full well that only one imperative -- kill, evidently is impelled by a more powerful motive, a motive which has behind it religious dictates.

And this must be said about the hospitality of the institution among all other primitive peoples, including the Gilyak. The Gilyak considers it his obligation to extend hospitality, not only to the traveler, not only to the actually hungry man, but also in cases when the guest is not hungry there is no necessity whatever for displaying this feeling. No matter how many times a day a neighbor may appear at his hearth, no matter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the viands in the possession of the host, not to mention the inevitable handful of tobacco for his pipe.

/91/ If there is no extra tobacco, the host takes turns with the guest in drawing on a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly dishes and delicacies. If you bring the host a glass of vodka, he will never allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put his lips to it, and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the house, although there may be dozens of them, including the children, even suckings. To do otherwise would be a very great sin; one might die.

/92 cont./

worn on ceremonial occasions and in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of father-in-law, only the silver shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the burning of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, ut-gu, narikh mu-ev'i". "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear slain in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods. As we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own, or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

/116 cont./

Or: one or another family is temporarily impoverished. There is no /117/ clansman that must take care of them; it is unnecessary, because the family will find hospitality and assistance in any house they choose, even of the most distant clansman, until the hard times change. And this is not offensive to anyone, for it is a rare thing for someone neither to enjoy hospitality nor to offer it to someone else from time to time.

Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and expensive clan festival. There are neither collections nor contributions, no organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each person prepares as much as he can according to his conscience, each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is a little richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrangements. Everyone takes to his house the prepared viands and purchases; they meet at his house to share in the prefestival work.

During the bear festival, dozens of additional persons assemble from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not only the people, but also their many dogs. How much trouble, how much expense! Nevertheless, everything is arranged simply and to the general satisfaction of all. Each guest prefers, of course, to stay with the one who is closest to him in kinship or sympathy, where they take him in, not as a duty, but because they want him; but in any home at all every arriving guest finds a sincere, cordial reception, because during the days of festive enthusiasm everyone wants to display his sympathy and to have broad intercourse with new people.

Hunger has appeared, the specter of terrible misfortune, which can carry off the whole population of a village! All the hungry ones who have not succeeded in dispersing to more fortunate areas gather at the home of the man who still has some supplies, and the laws of hospitality are just as strong on this black day as in days of plenty.

/120 cont./

blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festivals, when, before sacrificing the bear, the master of the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance. The akhmal'k's each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /ryat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, the same misfortune, or bad luck, has overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /ryat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k's and ymgi are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

/125 cont./

614 violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction; the
615 whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title
194 of akhmal'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for mar-
583 riage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price,
whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the gen-
eral rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandf'y in the bear festival.

614 615 194 583 In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays another and a greater role than the Olympic games for the actual unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in populous settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small anonyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: in the first place, the very size of the festival -- the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablest and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the competition /126/ in wrestling, races, and dances, the feasts, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of enjoyments. Against the somber background of his gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and monotonous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only ymgi are invited, and they have, and in invite their own ymgi, akhmal'k.

/126 cont./

* 614 615 796 583 This rule is so strictly observed that the very host who has been most diligent in receiving and making presents to his ymgi is not even invited by the latter to the festival, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own akhmal'k. Thus there is formed an uninterrupted chain, uniting the long series of clans in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said something in the section on religion about the important part played by the ymgi in the bear festival. One goes out many versts to meet them and gives them the most honored function at the festival, namely, the killing of the bear, and all this time they are the center of attention for the whole clan. They are everywhere fed to the bursting point, dragged around from yurt to yurt, and, finally, before departure gives a large part of the bear carcass. All these acts of hospitality and respectful attention are crowned with serious religious rites, sanctifying the fraternal union of the clans. At the beginning of the festival, the ymgi exchange nich'i (symbol of united co-operation in hunting, etc.) with the host; before departure, the ymgi presents to his akhmal'k in parting dogs, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the mountains, the common sustainer of the clan; finally, at the last moment the ymgi perform the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man, they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to ceremonial "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

* 614 615 621 They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live forever with his pandf'y. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their ymgi or akhmal'k'i. But these ties prove of

/291 cont./

II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements; two on Sakhalin, one Khes'-Pilavo, and Yky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still hem their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

539 On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

/296 cont./

614 194 The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the
173 648 Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement near Kaski).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychih-khoti). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagir, in his youth was holding a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a folder /hormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

614 796 Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ekn; yytch. They
come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present.
They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivuh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says; "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

/297 cont./

614 194 but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that
everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate
a common bear festival." Each k:khal should buy one, or better,
two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare
mos'. The bear is fattened as far as possible; they feed it about
two years; they prepare mos' and buy racing dogs. The time for
the festival finally arrives; they play games, wrestle, then kill
the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected --
he does not have wives, children, or a boy; his master; he is the pipif-
ni'vuih; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi
pilf pal' urgur p'ach ads; kukuj4 pihylava:r chajpidugujf!" --
thou, big mountain (mountain man), shake off well our Gilyak
dust. Turn around, not share unequally. Give the tibial bone
to the elder sons-in-law, give the pelvic bone to the sons-in-law.
"Pilynga urgur kymlyj4, umgunlagu pilf, nanakagh pilf,
okongh-tokh urfj chm' ngokh ta nagqj4, ylia n'lvukhokh
malg-ghet'ijf khuskagudokh khukkiogujal Kikhalgu pila,
hejmartokh, rafut ijf k:orkh khet'ijf. Tereng pilv okhomdokh
khtirf4, pyjkh n'yn'yv pöradokh khet'ijf, murak ngokh vard
rusjf ta rongujf..."

After preliminary consultation, a certain person finally brings in the bear and hands it over to the important person, who then, in the presence of several udla n'ivukh (good people), inquires: "Why?" The person who brought in the bear answers: "I want to enter into ceremonial brotherhood." "All right,"

Next k:khal are consulted without him. During the festival the new clansmen buy dogs and prepare food. During the eating the son-in-law says analogous things, while the father-in-law call him father-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. At the end of the festival they give the adopted one their own flints -- tugur, but they do not give him the real uig tuur (the tabooed fire). There are no more than two or three uig tuur in a village. They light the fire at a bear festival; on a hunt only the udla n'ivukh taken it when he goes for bear.

/298 cont./

* 614 615 796 583 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /297/; for
making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent
but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by the
offender for reconciliation (ulir lymyk).

796 415 A bowl, hyr, for the head is necessary for each new bear
festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl
while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can
prepare a bowl for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is
bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear
is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side
opposite the door, is called pukzor-n'ir.

When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
796 431 [231] is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
The bear is greeted with zade-chadr music. When the master
feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'ur humyldi
Winigan ilgan ilgan humyjf--live well! When you live well
The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon
as the festival is over; without even tasting (a morsel), while
he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylgr-tvyuk and
pare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of be-
Lisk; -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[792] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are
[793] in a wooden frame near the lating where the bones of the bear
[663] placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is
called k:orh ngangof.

/298 cont./

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[793] in a wooden frame near the lating where the bones of the bear
[663] placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is
called k:orh ngangof.

V.

Slaves

569 [176] The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his h
[176] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to
[176] the knee, the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pans."
[663] [249] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if an

/308 cont./

765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
796 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bea
626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:." "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[731] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

824 /312 cont./
778 Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather
782 at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda,
[614] a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

● 796 Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt.
782 Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are
[184] carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja', kholafti lygyguja'," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a crossbow (narródz:) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and
[789] taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a
[776] hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/313 cont./

● 796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzig This old man remembers four big takh.

776 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solem
782 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always mad to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they a not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a
[372] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tu
[354] If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must b bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

778 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-cht
782 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are
224 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And h
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khor n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyr only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presen of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhyd a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should co out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are se

/313 cont./

778 782 224 225 to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

778 688 The customary takhej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or 782 a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

796 346 782 When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

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756 774 776 [578] When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 539 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 84 754 562 578 833 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman. She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local ataxia.

756 796 158 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter. She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/323 cont./

756 796 began to walk around. She sat down. She became blind, saw nothing. The milk drank ten cups of horrible liquid. Clink, clink /as in touching glasses/! She drank it down in a gulp... then demanded a pipe and began to smoke and to exhale the smoke through her nose. She then (said): "Kyrndra" -- I am hungry! And she began to eat saranka. Then they gave her takr -- marsh tea. "Heavy (to lift the tambourine)!" The milk did this. She demanded my cigarette. "Give tobacco to the spirit," and ordered some distributed to everybody to smoke. She beat her breast, while a maiden beat the tambourine. Then she said: "Make a fire!" She sat down, /324/ then rose suddenly, began to dance, and ran through the door, but she was caught. The words of the female shaman: "People assembled to listen. There is no danger whatsoever. I cannot speak of various things. Naked people (i.e., not animals), a misfortune, cannot say anything. I hear the talk of the sea, I hear the talk of the mountain, I hear the talk of the sky, and I heard the talk of the sea fish. I hear the talk of the fish on all sides. Everybody listen only to me: everything was born from Pal, born from the middle of the existing mountains. They call (me) Protyst. The name of my husband is Zabrayn. The surname given by my husband -- They call me Vee'lyk. I am an old woman. Smoke tobacco, all you (who are sitting) in the yurt! Small and large, all smoke with my risk! I am not afraid of any devil (1)! I am a mother-in-law to all of you.

1. Here there is evidently an omission in the notes. S. Sh.

I am the only big old man (?). Yellow-copper squirrel, come my way! (When you ascend from the sea) to his grass house (sit down to rest. When he ascended from there, cannibals were located before eight bear cages at the edge of an opening through which they push a trough, rest.

182 /354 cont./
614
796
[504]

5. The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
372 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/664 cont./

Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the number of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than the dog. Imagining the elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similiarity but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination; "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("shal") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mountain, taiga). All the sacrifices /565/ at the bear festival belong to him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Toll'-nivukh, and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses: the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen," a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils "gohldaranda". This is a whole shal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply

●796

/For specific information and details of the Gilyak bear festival, see category 116, pp. 1132-1167, and 1174-1184./

/428 cont./

226 *262 113

2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

114 226 *262 439

On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish supplies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tsche which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular, since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival. Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

226 *262 [439] [252] ●[796]

[231] [439]

/433 cont./

*262 171 113

3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche /The Chinese, Their Usages and Customs/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

*262 Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal cases of trichinosis? Among all the land mammals there are only two that are of special significance as food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

*262 231 ●796

Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the purpose of eating it, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of a number of ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, they gave me considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared in a way to suit the palates of the Gilyak. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievments was observed by me on such occasions.

/439 cont./

252 *262

are a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, among others, one of the most important of these, the so-called mossj. This is a mixture of ground fish-skins, or, lacking them, of chopped jukola, with fish oil and berries. For the preparation of mossj, the fish skins, from lyghi-tscho or tengi-tscho, are cut up in small pieces, well cooked, ground, and stirred with fish oil to a mush of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance like thick cream (sour

[171]

2. A quite similar dish, made out of cooked and ground fish-skins with an admixture of pounded cedar-nuts, was used by the Kuriles on the southern tip of Kamchatka, according to Steller (op. cit., p. 325).

●[796]

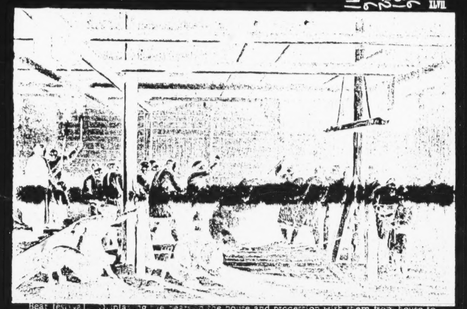
cream). I saw mossj prepared for the bear festival in Tebach, for it is an essential part of it and is both eaten by the participants and given to the bear. At other times, however, I saw it made out of finely cut jukola that was cooked and mixed with fish oil and bilberries. If the substance is cooled sufficiently or freezes a little, it can be cut into slices with a knife. Depending on the kind of fish used, the Gilyak distinguish between lyghi-mossj and tengi-mossj, giving preference to the former. They like to take a small supply of it along on winter journeys. For the midday meal around the blazing fire I have seen them perfectly satisfied with a few strips of jukola warmed or slightly roasted at the flames, several slices of mossj, and a drink of snow-water. Next to the bilberry, Empetrum nigrum L. (Gilyak yghych) is the most commonly used and favorite berry among the Gilyak. Just like the former, indeed often in place of it, it is used both as an accompaniment and as an ingredient for mossj and other dishes, /440/ and is likewise collected and stored in great quantities. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin it is even more common and more frequently used than the bilberry. Elsewhere, for instance, near Tymi on the Liman, the cranberry, Vaccinium oxycoccus L.

*262 [137] [137]

/442 con

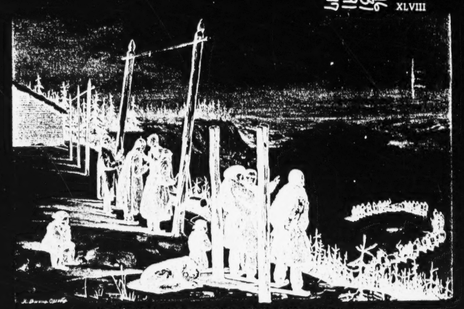
*262 439 177 ● 796

[ESH] [192] [114]



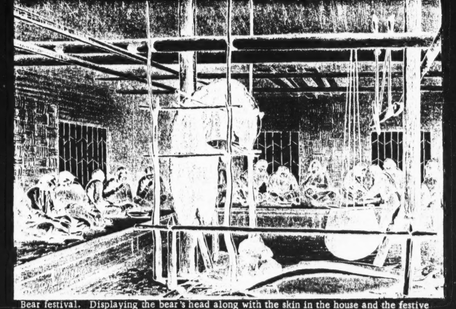
Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

●796 231 342 416 291 XLVII



Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

●796 231 291 417 XLVIII



Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

●796 [ESH] 252 [192] 342 XLIX

/

re quite different with respect to those vegetable foods
egion itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can
y by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the
Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals
nes, are, to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole
significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent
be called luxury items because they are directly avail-
to those who are better off and not always to them.
are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life
eal only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During
festivals, however, great quantities of them are con-
and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently
eeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are
by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored
individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are
ared with a greater or lesser number of other and less
Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail
s foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak
erin in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not
them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese.
common and the most popular among the Gilyak is
or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria
(Gilyak budŷ), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudŷ).
and lens popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak mjuxj) (2).

2. The first two have the same designation
among the Olcha; the latter is called
sujunu by them and by the Goldi.

rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak,
is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very
hed Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended
ter of 1856 in the village of Tebach, still had the
of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the
(Siam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set
e numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

2: Schrenck--680 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar
with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas
people nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods
have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable
food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations
from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

(113) 1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und
patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological
and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp.
109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to
make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
763 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
114 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. It is therefore not surprising that at that time the
Gilyak for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the
contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is
regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet,
this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclu-
sion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the
bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which
does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the
Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten
at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man
who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise,
and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal
food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear
festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall
see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak,
among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn
resistance.

2: Schrenck--681 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
263 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
796 what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation tafxsch for
192 salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabsun
(Mongolian: dabasu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

(113) 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298;
Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the
time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture,
livestock-breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from
the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Usuri, from
where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the
seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among
the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need
for it.

Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
general, sugar (Gilyak sakta), on the other hand, finds great ap-
proval among them, and to be sure, in the form in which they
became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

(192) 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designa-
tion given for it was borrowed from the
Russian ("sachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only
faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since,
moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way
of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who
usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

2: Schrenck--684 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/446 cont./

241 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.
415

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than
eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat,
blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak ex-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The i is soft in this word and is to be
pronounced like the French e.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are
wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs.
2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear
the name xam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on
account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-
[192] ring (xam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

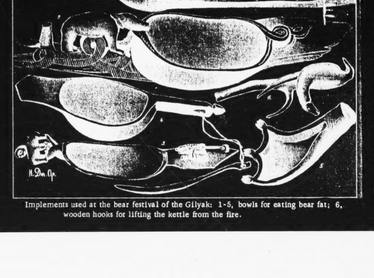
[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
796 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by
any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with
these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and
the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw
the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast
to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi,
all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the
Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decora-
tions put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic
carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively
322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings
on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

2: Schrenck--719 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
See Mason's Gilyak Kit
Gold RY3

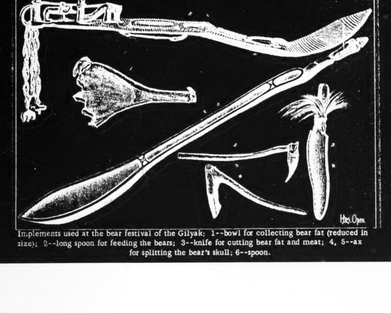
/464 cont./ This is how the Chinese
273 merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers
197 and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is
433 how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Olcha,
or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious
beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is
precisely how Mamia Rinō describes the manner in which the
Smerenkur on /465/ Sakhalin drank their "aka" brought from the
Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which
consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger
with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the
left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less
carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the
Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi
in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these peo-
ples is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage, from peculiar
foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of cer-
tain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this
circumstance, besides the others mentioned above, the procure-
ment of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the
retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have
had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the
Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them
to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I must testify to
such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak,
whom I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur
region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians
along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and
very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for
them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them
during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a
single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not
even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This
273 last seem especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact
796 that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits
during the bear festival is regarded by them as uitsch (unlucky) --
a conception which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

2: Schrenck--1250 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



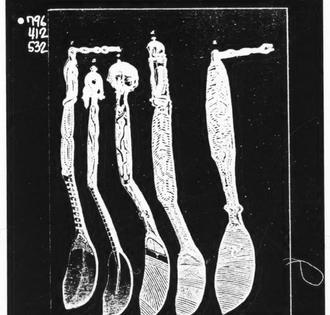
Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

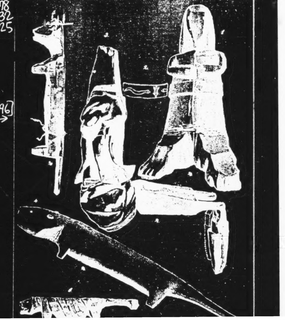


Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

2: Schrenck--1252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



2: Schrenck--1258 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



/517 cont./

222 sponge that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with
water -- this usher in the most meager and difficult period for
the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only
the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all com-
munication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this
time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening
of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and
traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur
River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the
lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
796 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
222 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
792 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of lukola,
berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On
May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return
trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between
the villages of Walr and Magbo, such a boat on its sacrificial
voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p1069/). It was a long boat with
[50] twelve oarsmen and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars,
sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three
light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at
the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time
and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at
each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar.
Thus, amid the wild shriek of its occupants, the boat shot past
us like an arrow. It is therefore not improbable that some of its
equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging
down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of
carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak
nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
192 automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
194 to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-
shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the
events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas,
the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

2: Schrenck--804 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

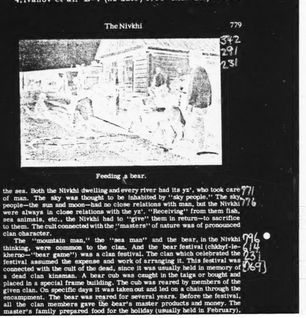
/517 cont./

796 Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure,
222 they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid
792 and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by
the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the precise
intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is
supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river-
spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure
good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in
the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the
zach in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur
was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new
covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration
with sacrifices and zach takes place. The Gilyak then go out
on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the
covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is
erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the
river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for
the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice
covering.

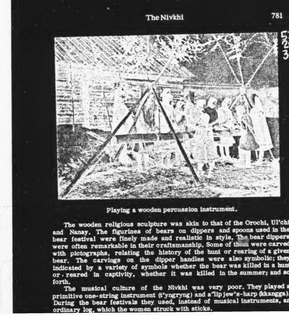
226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up
796 from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit:
222 the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak tukki-tscho)
792 and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak patch-
tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the
Usuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the kaluga
the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occ
in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka /Shilka/ and
in the Argun) /Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

226 1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des
192 Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various
113 Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol.
III, p. 207. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-
asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who
gave the first description of this fish,
which was also used by Pallas, called it

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2



4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2



/560 cont./

5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(6),

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crossband in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

/563 cont/
it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

hrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

9: Hawes--195-196 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 527, 796

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd of yelping dogs, we were attracted by the bear-cage. In front hung a birch-bark basket, as seen in the illustration (opposite p. 196), [LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh water for Bruin. His owner fetched a piece of dried fish, and holding it before a hole in the cage, the bear, who was of full size, thrust his great paw out to grasp the fish, the while I snapped him with my camera. This animal, having already attained his majority, was due to play the chief rôle at a festival in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably originated as a purely religious festival, has become a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar, the great break in the monotony of the long winter. The proceedings are unique and interesting. [196] The animal having been captured young, and fed up until he attains the age of four, a fête is decided upon for the following January. Invitations are then sent round to neighbouring villages, whose inhabitants, however, need no such announcement, for they are already well aware of the coming event. On the morning before the fête the village presents a busy scene as the guests arrive in great numbers, their sledges, drawn by teams of dogs, dashing up from all parts of the snow-mantled forest. [LSS: See category 527, pp. 196ff. for a full description of the bear fête.]"

Sacrificial trip of the Gilyak in conne

2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

501
.P96
13
342

ection with the opening of the river.

/697 cont./ From now on

it belongs, so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor, ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course, within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host, he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or crowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.125/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose

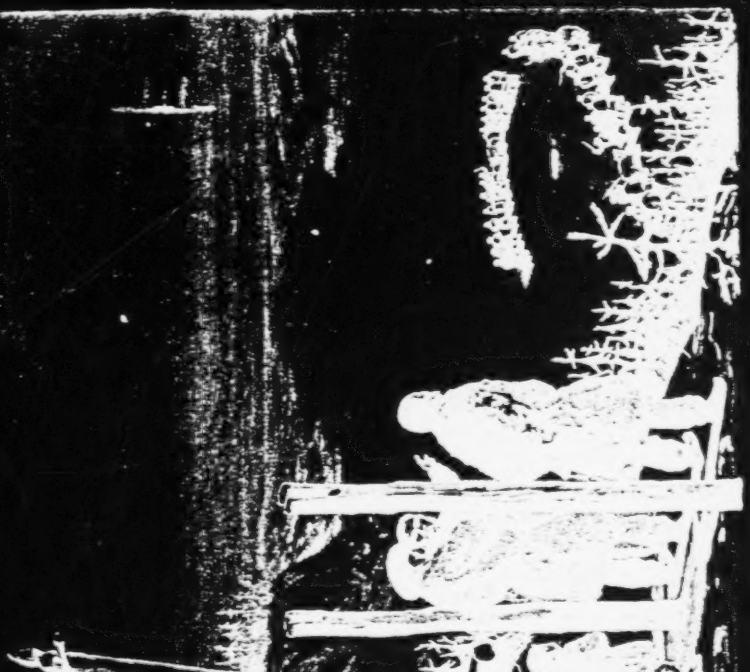
2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible] .895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

ILVII

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

Bear festival. Last

2: Schrenck--1248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



XLVIII

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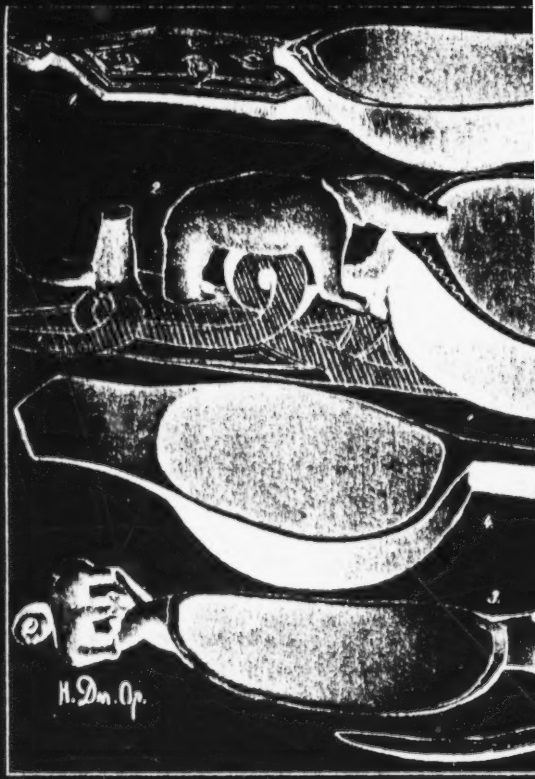
procession with the bears (Gilyak).



Implements used at the bear festival of th
wooden hooks for lifting the ke

2: Schrenck--1250 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
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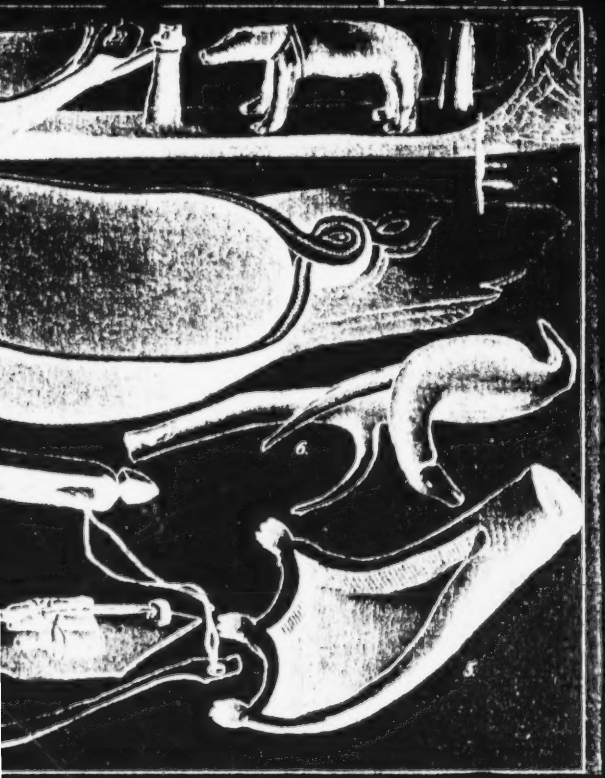

e Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6,
ttle from the fire.

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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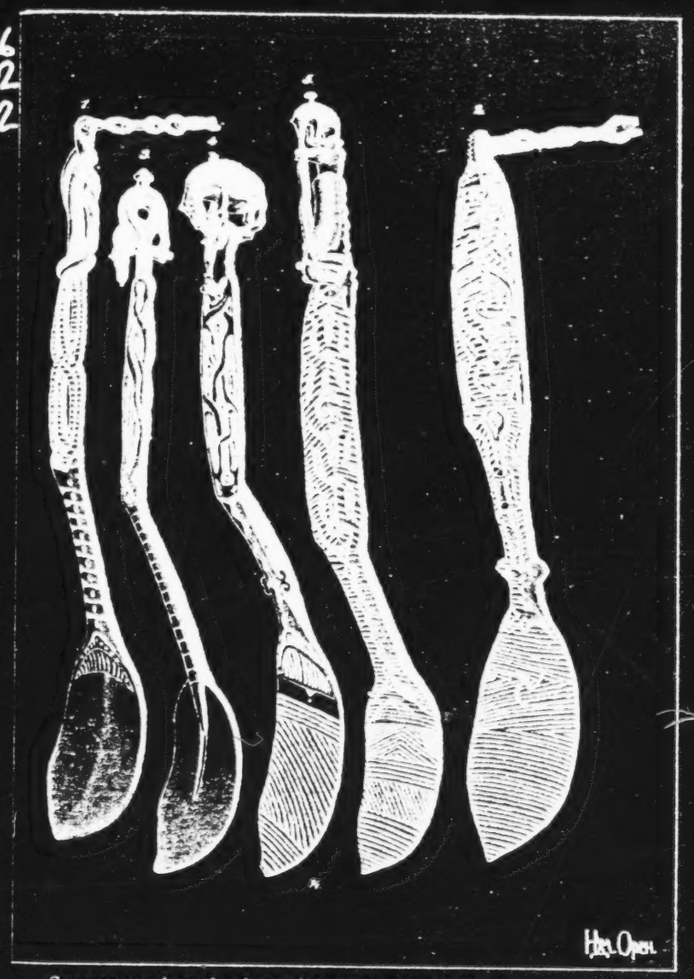
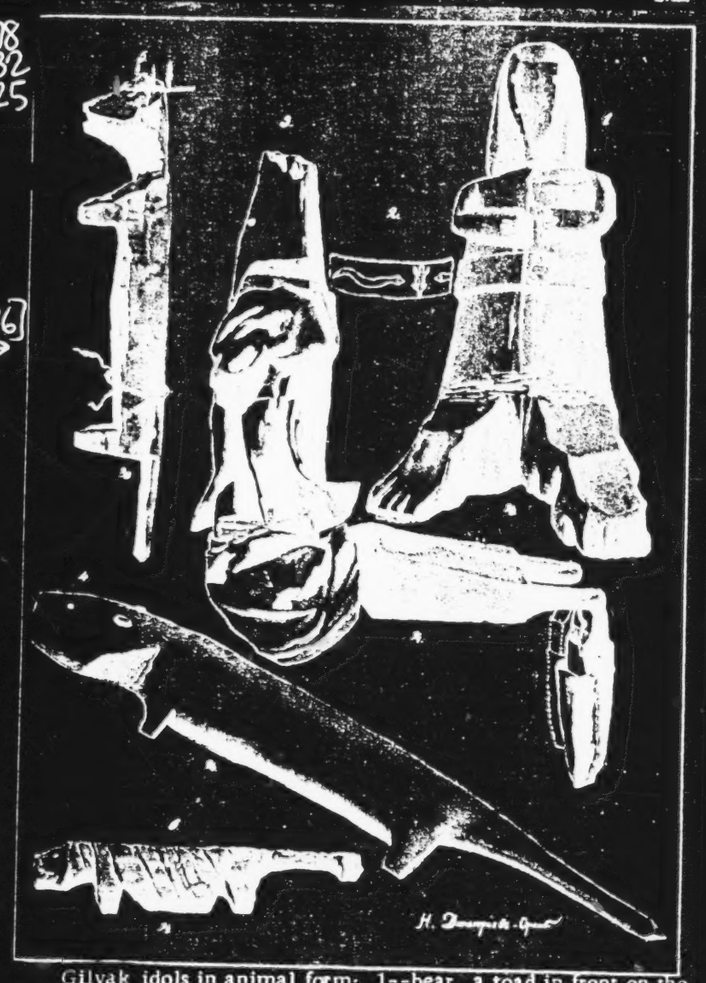


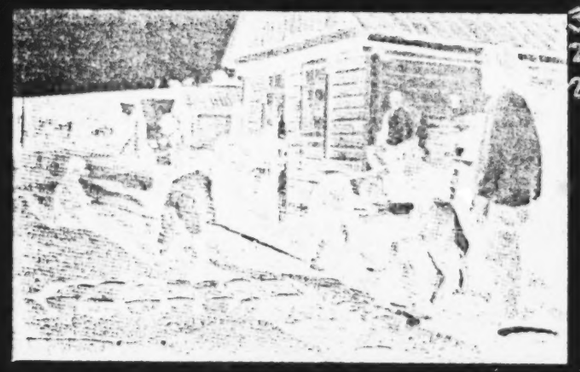
Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1258 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Gilyak idols in animal form: 1--bear, a toad in front on the belt; 2--in the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3--bear, jointed, dressed in fish skin; 4-6--tiger.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

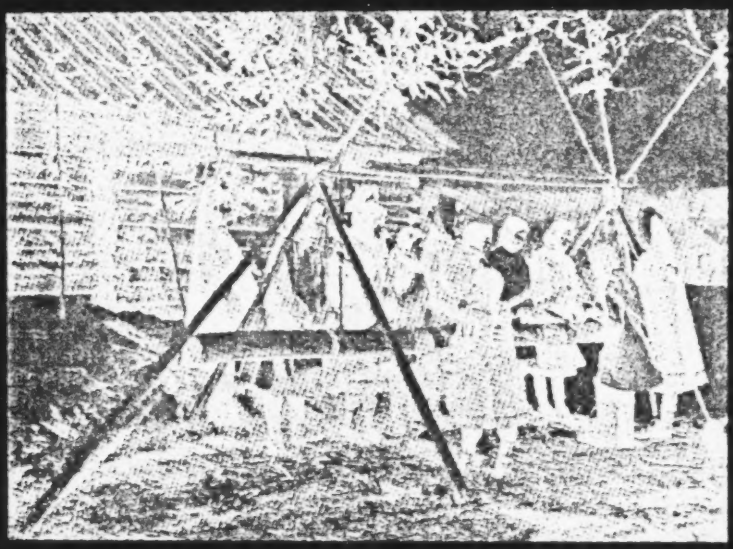


Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le-kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically



Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of th
semi-religious festival, in which the slaught
more probable, that in the older times a full-
the fête, and that to-day the letter rather tha
seizing cubs and rearing them for three or fo
difficulty, as will be seen when we come to th
[LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner
out a very profitable investment, for visitors
while necessaries are provided by the owner,
handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, ac
Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph
to bring one out, or at least unroof him. The
home, and the adult bears were very fierce,
ments and remarks within; so two of the five
poor little orphans snarled, and shrank fright
other, and trying in their terror to hide each
January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before,
carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

e bear is the holding of a great yearly
er of the beast plays the chief part. It is
-grown bear was captured just previous to
n the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by
ur years. The feeding is a matter of no
e preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores.
or capturer of the bear, the feast turns
from neighbouring villages flock in, and
luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a

dorned with a pine-branch at each corner.
one of the occupants, I desired the villagers
re were, however, too few men-folk at
as indeed we gathered from their move-
little cubs were partially unroofed. The
tened into a corner, tumbling over one an-
beneath the other. Ere the month of
their spirits will have been released to

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 elder who als
622 to be killed by
574 village as suc
the captured a
796 on this point t
777 house to house
spend a night
796 by their stay.
food, but at th
voluntary fast
to house and f
fish, berries
796 While makin
563 irritated by be
hunt staged on
been captured
the Chinese on
796 Gilyak territo
take the preca
they cannot ea
front legs they
attached rings
chains, in turn
considerable l
others backwa
and in this way
pletely still by
whether the be
wants to attack
796 Outside the
417 willow sticks,
fenced in on bo
this enclosure
796 the village, is
541 to itself for a
231 themselves wit
437 celebrations.
a track especia
ever, was not
track by their
were let loose
arrived at the
way, no idea o
not even exist.
since the race
in the right lig

determines how many and which bears are
the consent of their owners, for it is not the
but individuals in it who are the owners of
nimals. Once an agreement has been reached
e animals intended for slaughter are led from
several weeks before the fixed date and must
n each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
During this time the animals get only a little
end of it they are indemnified for their in-
by being taken throughout the night from house
d the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
nd a thick gruel prepared from millet.
g the rounds through the village, the bears are
ing pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
them with lances. The bears are ones that have
young in the woods or bought full-grown from
Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
y. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
ution of tying the animals in such a way that
sily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
tie a strap around their body to which are
through which are run iron chains. To these
, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
ength, in such a way that some go forward and
rd. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
they are able to force the bear to stand com-
alternately tightening the belts depending on
ar is turned frontwards or backwards when it
its leaders.
village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
which has an opening for an avenue that is also
oth sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
the bear, after it has finished its tour through
tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
th the dog race almost always held at these.
In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
ally constructed for this purpose, which, how-
very long. After the dogs had been led to the
owners and placed next to each other, they
at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
finish about the same time. There is, by the
f winning prizes at this race, since such do
Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
ht and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders,
are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the
522 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand,
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and
sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of
their luckier companions.

796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the vil-
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts
described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his
companions, and those that came after him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam about
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

6 with which they hit the beam rhythmically, two slow hits
3 followed by one fast one; this activity was not accompanied
by any songs. They led the bear slowly past these women and
6 then placed it so that its head was turned towards the house,
as though he should take another good look at the place where
he had received its last nourishment from the inhabitants of
the village. After a very brief halt they then dragged it further
along to the river bank and then forced it to go on the ice to
about the middle of the river. Thereupon the whole crowd
returned to the village and moved to the house inhabited by the
former owner of the bear. Here the bear was awaited by a
very similar reception as that described above, except that in
this place they forced the bear to stick its head inside the house
and thus, in a way, to take leave from its master and nourisher.
Then he was again led to the enclosure, and there they tied
him up as before.

Only now had the moment come in which the bear was to lose its life. Amid general silence which was also commanded with solemn mien to our traveller, an old Gilyak--whether he was the owner of the animal or not is not indicated in Jakobsen's account--stepped forth from the crowd and grasped bow and arrows which were lying there ready for him. Then he slowly took off his under-jacket, wrapped some leather belts around his left hand in order not to injure it with the bow string, and picked out an arrow with much solemnity and circumstance which made a rather comical impression, and finally he placed the arrow on the bow. At first it seemed as though he was going to shoot in the air because he raised his bow while he stretched it. Then he lowered it again very slowly till the arrow was directed exactly at the bear's heart, and then he shot it off. The bear fell down on the spot, as far its bonds permitted it to do so, it rolled to and fro a few times, and then died after a few convulsive movements, thus proving what a steady hand the archer had preserved in spite of his old age. During this whole procedure, which lasted rather long, there reigned a breathless silence among the Gilyak standing around the fence, and this created an even more solemn impression since it was in such sharp contrast to the foregoing deafening tumult.

After the bear's death its former owner came and embraced the animal tenderly like a dear friend of whom he wanted to take leave. Then they pulled a number of the sticks of the fence out of the ground and laid them down to serve the dead bear as a resting place. Later they drag the animal into its owner's house, as the traveller was told, since he did not have the time to await the end of the festival. In the house they lay the bear

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobsen
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

796 in this the proof of seriousness or mourning; rather, it is entirely enough to assume that in this way they want to avoid making the archer unsteady by noisy behavior, and thus to bring him into the danger of missing his mark. Or is the torture that they impose on the poor animal before its death meant to be a symbol of the serious nature of this festival? Even this conception seems untenable to me, for why should one torment an expiatory sacrifice that already has to suffer enough by its innocent death, as happens in this case; and, besides, does not the cruel treatment of the bear before its death give the impression of proceeding entirely from the overbubbling festive joy of the celebrators? Unfortunately, the traveller was unable to give any hints as to the significance of the ceremonies described, since the Gilyak were themselves unable to explain them. They celebrated [382] the festival the way their fathers and forefathers had celebrated it, without worrying any further about the meaning of the various actions. Jakobsen's friends in Nikolayevsk were equally unable to give him adequate explanations on this subject. Probably, therefore, we need more frequent and more detailed observation than is available today before we can see into the matter clearly.

115 173 539 Finally, a saga current among the Gilyak which Jakobsen heard from a Russian station master who had lived in their territory for a long time. It goes as follows: A long, long time ago there appeared on the Amur coming from the east a small vessel full of enormously strong people of a dark complexion. These went ashore, attacked the villages, burned them down, and, without distinguishing age or sex, killed and ate all the inhabitants that they could lay hands on. Sailing up the river, they acted in the same fashion in the land of the Goldi till finally the invaded tribes recovered from their terror, banded together and moved in large hordes against the barbaric enemy, whom they then defeated in a bitter battle. All the cannibals were killed and their ship was destroyed. From this time on, the Gilyak always add, no more foreign people came to the Amur River from the east up to the time when the Russians appeared at the mouth of the river and took possession of the land.

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On fete-
796 days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the
825 high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy.
839 Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

756 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia,
759 are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the double function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

 A 796

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the [123] pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

A [778] A G 171 796

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to " stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and dec ..ed with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an

797

797 MISSIONS--religious proselyting and evangelism; religious conversions; organized missionary activities (e.g., by sects within the society, by missions from other societies, by foreign missions abroad); mission organizations; mission stations; missionaries or evangelists (e.g., qualifications, selection, prerogatives and disabilities, religious activities); secular activities of missions and missionaries (e.g., education, medicine, technological assistance); etc. See also:

Welfare missions . . . . . 747 Religious revivalism 786

1: Shternberg--411 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
797 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
594 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy, Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
839 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[697] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
839 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

1: Shternberg--412 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

593 /284 cont./
586 From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the
839 settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda,
171 stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin.
797 The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abduct for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, [762] ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ende
[682] with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return
586 the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

/285/
117 Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

[534] A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and t
Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descer

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people;
[162] one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three
[103] men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

766 /368 cont./
ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim
to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief.
Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they
set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they
find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and
solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement.
They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which
they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all
[782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small
[761] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and
then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully
completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clans-
men of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at
182 the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure
766 is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with
the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The
posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the
triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider
and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to
crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It
may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacri-
[782] fices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him
so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This
example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from
regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who
has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is
buried, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in
617 which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire
[782] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new
yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his
brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster con-
tempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the
capricious god of the sea.

● 797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of
Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I
have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

● 797 /369 cont./
baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of
legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates
which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental
assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I
have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the
mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been
convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the
ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless,
the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His
attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great
many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the
natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place
for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented mission-
ary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have
to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods
which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized
[797] Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their
[797] attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make
[798] sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the
Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order
of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak,
from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic
form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either
monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.
581 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of
684 a given individual, and her children are the children of that
individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring
684 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his
wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

197 /388 cont.
29 Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
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1. During my stay in the Amur region,
175 among such decorations several little brass
301 crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de
● 797 mission" and a bronze medallion bearing
29 the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?)
648 inscription were found on a woman's robe
from the village of Wair or one of the nearby
villages. In all probability these pieces came
from the French missionary, de la Brunière,
who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in
Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak.
His colleague Venault, who by order of the
Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey
in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the
Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime,
saw many of their children wearing such
crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des
Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol.
II], p. 218). To supplement the reports col-
175 lected by Venault concerning the killing of
648 de la Brunière, it should be noted here in
797 passing that it took place, according to what
114 I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank
of the Amur, between the villages of Wair
and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in
a strange gate-like formation come close to
the river. I visited it during my winter journey
on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already
aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village
of Wair was named for me as one of the
murderers. He evaded or declined to answer
my questions concerning the details of the matter.
Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad
luck (ufuch) to destroy a piece of paper with

/388 cont./
175 1. (cont.)
648 characters on it -- no matter whether
● 797 written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps
114 through him I would succeed in obtaining
possible diaries or other written notes of
de la Brunière. But despite the high
monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak
for them, only a few scraps of one of
D'Anville's maps of China were brought
to me by them after the lapse of some time,
when I had already again returned to the
Nikolayev post.

281 To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
29 the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur
[136] region, Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, on Sakhalin
laghi-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them have
the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skins
in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleaned of the
adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and the
individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality
is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are per-
formed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protection
against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually
without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attached
to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII).
The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though they
were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts
281 especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the body
29 of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves
531 at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned
color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on
in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished
by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently
colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 and
[301] 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never
lacking onthem.
(See Category 116, p. 998--Analysis)

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
● 797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, be-
cause they know that, according to the Greek religion,
marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently,
in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection.
However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them
much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later
have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon
forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where
they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is
more than troublesome.
If the abducted woman had had children by her first
marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]
171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the
same everywhere. From some Gilyak
I learned that eight days sufficed; on the
island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were
given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning.
This custom which is known to exist among other primitive
peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the pres-
ent, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter dur-
ing the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born
child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which sur-
vives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by
this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. Dur-
ing her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to
come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one
could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most proba-
bly it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the
woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we
shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some
hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity"
underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their publi
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human bei
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chi
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and tha
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.
755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also wh
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans al
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. F
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.
789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we mus
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink som
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the sa
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler ligh
his cigar at it and then leave the house.
177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about
● 797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of the
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
Form this we may see how much they really understand o
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.'

XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation, Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

The majority know nothing about their past. But from several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

20: Bush--101-102 T-2
116, 554, 778, 797

"The Gilaks are a very
stone as of old, though many
wear small [102] metal cross
or 'shamans,' who conduct a
These shamans are supposed
held in great awe and revere

2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak

superstitious, pagan people, worshiping idols of wood and
of them have been baptized into the Greek Church, and
es suspended about their necks. They have their priests,
ll their ceremonies and are the advisers of the communities.
d by them to be gifted with supernatural powers, and are
nce."

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

The shamans possess great power over their superstitious subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill. The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself. The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely told that the spirit had taken it.

In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous. The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe. This chief was so generally loved and respected that the people refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and was stabbed by his own son.

In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that should they abuse their power they will be long and severely punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good shaman who has performed wonderful cures receives after death a magnificent tomb to his memory.

The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life. Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony, and there was every indication of good feeling between natives and settlers.

798

798 RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE--rivalry between sects; religious persecution and intolerance; concept of heretics; suppression of dissenters by established religions (e.g., massacres, inquisitions, discriminatory legislation); martyrdom and martyrs; antireligious proselyting; etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism	186	Civil liberties	641
Stratification	563	Religious skepticism	771
Ingroup antagonisms	678		

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia

Goldi RX3
Gilyak RX2

Go

177 166 The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[38] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Gi

131 161 101 Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, [167] and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established [228] a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

186 798 The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[39]

634 161 In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

802

802 NUMERATION--words for numerals (e.g., cardinal, ordinal); numerical signs and gestures; written numerals (e.g., Roman, Arabic); numerical system (e.g., quinary, decimal, vigesimal); methods of counting (e.g., on digits); aids to numeration (e.g., tallies, counters, abacus); upper limit of numerical reckoning; fractions and decimals; tabulations; etc. See also:

Demographic conformation	16	Writing	212
Vocabulary	192	Accounting	451
Gestures and signs	201	Census taking	659

/592 cont./

437 trade or even otherwise in their life and household has been de-
435 veloped among them. This necessarily presupposes, however, the existence of an accepted absolute unit of value among them, through the multiplication of which the appraisal of the objects is made or their price standardized. What is this unit of value or of what does it consist? /593/ It was not easy for me to determine this, as one will see from the following reasons. Since the Gilyak are only familiar with barter, they answer any question about the price of an article, as a rule, by mentioning the quantity of goods desired in return (for instance, three bundles of tobacco, two fathoms of cloth, etc.). A question as to the absolute value of the foremost goods and objects, their price in themselves, the basis of even barter-trade, is rarely understood and only by the more intelligent, and even then the answer consists of only a number preceding the verb "to cost, to be worth" (Gilyak tschalhatsch), without the stating of any unit of value. In this connection, however, that form of the numbers which serves for the counting of animate objects is always used. I cannot say for what reason. To the question as to how much an article costs, properly understood in the above sense, the Gilyak will therefore give as an answer: "njunj, mor, tschor (1), etc.

[802] 1. Not njakr, mjakr, tschakr, etc., as the ordinary form of the numbers used for counting inanimate things runs.

tschalhatsch, or -- with the addition of the suffix ra meaning "is" -- tschalhara" (2), that is, it costs one, two, three, etc.,

2. Similarly, just as kauk means "not," kaukra means "is not"; or ngalskotsch, "bad," ngalskora, "is bad."

[435] and nothing more. The unit of value under consideration is never
[437] expressed, as if it were self-evident, as if it needed no special designation. I was therefore able to make a numerical list of the

101 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of
[361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct
[194] place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal
[193] and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives
802 have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects, instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants.
174 There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Sternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to
[361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
[247] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[231] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[232]
[429]

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

804

804 WEIGHTS AND MEASURES - methods of measurement (e.g., comparison with parts of the body, use of mensurating tools, use of weighing and measuring machines); customary and standardized units (e.g., of length, area, volume, weight, heat, angles, electrical energy); complex techniques of measurement (e.g., surveying); governmental supervision of weights and measures; etc.

See also:

Architectural draftsmanship	341	Money	436
Weighing and measuring machines	455	Coast, geodetic, and geological surveys	654
Mensurating tools	413	Conception of space	822

/595 cont./

435 A pelt from the black fox (hädf), depending
439 on its quality, ... equals 10 ja an
A lynx pelt with head, the leg pieces, and the tail . . . . . " 8-10 "
A lynx pelt without head, leg pieces, and tail . . . . . " 5 "

/596/

A river otter pelt is estimated according to its size; each finger-span of it is equal to . . . 1 ja
A sealskin, either Phoca nummularis (pyghi) or Ph. barbata (kighitsch), provided it is very good, equals . . . . . 1 "
Four fathoms (1) of ordinary cotton cloth (possj) cost . . 1 "

[804] 1. That is, arm spans, since the Gilyak do not have any measure other than arm and finger spans.

Two fathoms of terry velvet (poibröz-possj) (tsch) cost . . . 1 ja
One and a half fathoms of cloth (dshangta) . . . . . " 1 "
Four fathoms of Manchurian (2) (very colorful) silk fabric (tscharp) are equal to . . . . . 5 "

2. More correctly stated, Chinese. Four fathoms of it constitute one piece.

The value that the Gilyak give to their various pieces of clothing is judged according to the quality and price of the materials; thus, it costs for:

A long, wide-sleeved robe of Manchurian silk (ucht) . . . . . 5 ja (3)

3. Perhaps reckoned somewhat too low.

/673 cont./

114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kulij before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there 484 have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial 804 distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in 805 that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

/674 cont./

484 804 805 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the [192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspat'), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

805 821 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

805 184 (191) The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months.

805

805 ORDERING OF TIME--sense of time; conception of a minimal unit of time (e.g., a moment); divisions of the day and night (e.g., hours); divisions of the year (e.g., weeks, months, seasons); longer time spans; solar, lunar, and stellar reckoning of time; methods of dating; calendar and calendrical knowledge; use of aids to measure the passage of time (e.g., sundials, clocks); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities	221	Holidays, birthdays, and anniversaries	527
Clocks and watches	455	Age levels and age terms	561
Routine activities of a typical day	512	Ceremonial calendar	796
		Conception of time	822

/525 cont./

226 [114] The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and /526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 192 805 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish especially important for the economy of the Gilyak are, of course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

/526 cont./

226 192 805 1. (cont.) it seems to me that in these as well as in the following designations for the months the first expression refers to the first and still sparse appearance of the fish concerned, and the latter to the main or mass appearance of it.

during which the lyghi-tscho (S. lagocephalus) goes up the Amur River in colossal numbers and the activity of the entire population is required for the preparation of winter supplies, is called among the Gilyak lyghi-wota-long or pilja-tschrar- (2), or simply

2. The word "tschrar" is undoubtedly related to "tscho," fish.

pilja-long, i.e., the "great fish-month," or also simply "great month." This latter designation gives especially convincing evidence of the great importance which S. lagocephalus has for the entire economy of the Gilyak. In comparison with June and especially with August, July is only poor for fish. Among the species of fish peculiar to it S. lycaodon (Gilyak well, the nerka of the Russians) is the most prominent. This species of salmon, however, only plays a certain role farther upstream, among the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed at the appropriate place, but for the Gilyak it is of no special importance, inasmuch as it does not appear by far in such quantities as S. proteus or even S. lagocephalus and does not provide as good and as long-lasting a jukola as these do; indeed, in view of the certain quantities of lyghi-tscho to be expected soon, the Gilyak regard it as useless and not worth the trouble /527/ to prepare jukola supplies from the well. In contrast to August, the "great fish-month," July is therefore called by the Gilyak matschn-

/527 cont./

tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nyi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

/527 cont./

throughout the second half of August and did not decrease until the 30th (3). For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na o. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. I. R. Geogr. Obshch., p. 97).

For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and especially along its upper course in great density, September is therefore chiefly the month that brings them the greatest quantities of laghi-tscho, so essential to their economy, and in which, traveling to meet the ascending fish, they devote themselves entirely to fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter. This explains the fact, repeatedly told to me by the Tymy Gilyak, that among them not August, but September bears the name pilja-long, "great month," whereas August, less rich in fish in comparison with it, is designated only as matschki-long, "little month." Thus, as a result of somewhat different natural conditions, a shift in the names for the months customary among the Amur Gilyak takes place there (4). Whether this also extends to the Tro Gilyak, for

4. The shifts or other differences in the names of the rest of the months that occur among the Tymy Gilyak in contrast to their countrymen on the Amur will be discussed later where appropriate.

whom the names customary along the Amur would actually be more appropriate, I am unable to say because I had too little contact with them. But it is not impossible, since the Tymy Gilyak speak the same dialect as they do and generally have a /528/close and, to a certain extent, decisive relationship with them, similar to the one that the Amur Gilyak have with those of the Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/673 cont./

snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kulij before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

/674 cont./

them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spa distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rest usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. Th Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by th time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned t Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suita Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the de rived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable c ditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, e the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain a fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ tru the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very lit because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move the spot.

It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date some further in the future on which something is to happen, if they pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the n ber of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and ways more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also serve the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a ve careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is d the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the h moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch a muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate me and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no m rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months,

/675 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the time from one new moon to another is called taktuk, like the moon itself. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /An Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

these have several different designations, not merely in one and the same place, but also in various parts of the Gilyak area. In particular there are those used by the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Amur-Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and, on the other hand, the others used in the interior and along the east coast of the island, by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak. I shall give them next as I noted them myself after repeated inquiries and shall later add a few remarks.

List of the Gilyak Names of the Months:

	on the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin	in the interior and on the east coast of Sakhalin
January . . .	Tscham-long	Klu-long.
February . .	Karr-long	Tscham-long.
March	Tschrad-long	Karr-long.
April	Arkail-long	Tschrad-long.
May	Walten tengi-long, also Kopengwa-l. and Kittägtsch-l. (2) . . .	Pittun-long.

2. In the Gilyak word-list compiled by Dr. Grube the last two terms have erroneously been applied to April instead of to May: see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, pp. 44, 58, 59, and 120 /the appendix

/675 cont./

805 184 [114]

2. (cont.)
referred to is not included in the book translated here/. Tschrad-long (March) is likewise erroneously identified with July (op. cit., p. 108).

/676/

June	Tengi-wota-long, . . . also Pota-long	Arkail-long.
July	Matschn-tschrar-long . .	Tscho-taghr-long.
August . . .	Lygi-wota-l., also Pilja-tschrar-l., and simply Pilja-l.	Matschki-long.
September . .	Ngarwi-long, also Tschitsch-ngar-long	Pilja-long.
October . . .	Oni-lami-long, also Pottschawo-long . . .	Ngadgho-long.
November . .	Tlo-long	Kawekö-long.
December . .	Anj-long	Tlo-long.

114 805 Unfortunately, Glehn does not indicate in which of the two above-named parts of the Gilyak area he learned their names for the months. According to him, they run as follows:

January, February, March } just as according to me.

April . . . Pitul-long.

May . . Arschkai-long.

/676 cont./

805 114

June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July, August, September } are not given.

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

114 184 805 From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

805 184 [122] My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/677 cont./

805 184 805 825

Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëto albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

[439]

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long

805 825 191 113

3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/677 cont./

805 825 171 113

3. (cont.)
des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 184 114 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long -- a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the
805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

2. Schrenck--1100 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/678 cont./

805 when the river becomes free of ice, September -- when the kalchalch geese (Anser grandis) migrate, and November -- when an ice cover again forms on the Amur and much snow falls. The uncertainty in which the Gilyak live in general with regard to the current month naturally makes fixing a date further in the future especially difficult among them.

The twelve months of the year are distributed very unequally into the individual seasons of the year by the Gilyak. Actually, they distinguish only two seasons: winter (tulf or tulv-anj) and summer (tolf or tolv-anj), for which the decisive factor is probably whether they live in their winter or summer dwellings. Accordingly, there are seven months (October to April) in the former, five (May to September) in the latter. Autumn (tvlf or tvlv-anj) and spring (chonf or chonv-anj) hardly count at all, and one very seldom hears them mentioned. But if the distinction is made, each of these seasons has only one month -- they are the months of the customary transfer from the summer dwellings to the winter ones and vice versa, in October and April, respectively. In this case, then, there are among the Gilyak:

5 months of winter -- November to March.
1 month of spring -- April.
5 months of summer -- May to September.
1 month of autumn -- October.

821 In connection with the reckoning of time, a few words might be said about the cosmic conceptions of the Gilyak. As a result of the visible rising and setting of the sun, the Gilyak naturally assume that the earth (mif) stands fast and the sun (keng) moves about it. On the basis of the circular horizon, they believe further that the earth has the shape of a circular disk. As a rule they do not give any account of where the sun stays after it has set and night has fallen, and to my question concerning this they answered, amid smiles, with a counterquestion as to whether I had seen it then. From the constant succession of day and night,

9. Hawes--211 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 527, 805

"Among the Gilyaks the hunt is preceded by an interesting ceremony. The sable (Mustela zibellina) and seal hunts commence each a new year in the Gilyak kalendar, and thus he has two years to our one. If only the Gilyak child kept 'birthdays,' he wou be the envy of his western compeers. These two years which begin in October and Ap respectively, are called the winter year (tulf-an) and summer year (tolf-an), and are opened by holiday festivals. The sable holiday goes by the name of Pal ni vookh chi-sonch, or 'the prayer to the lord of the forest.' "

"It is a curious fact that in places the up
40° to 50° below zero, do not freeze, and
albicillus) to fish. In fact the Gilyaks ca
Erratum; it should read Kham-long] or
or crow month."

upper waters of the Tim, with a temperature of
d here comes the whiteheaded eagle (Haliëtus
call the month of February Cham-long, [LSS:
or eagle month, as they name March Karr-long,

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
● 805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

812

812 PHILOSOPHY--degree of development and acceptance of elaborated metaphysical and epistemological systems (e.g., theories of being, of supersensible reality, of experience, of understanding, of knowledge); theoretical foundations of ethics (e.g., divine will, moral order of the universe, free will and moral accountability of the individual); ethical systems (e.g., hedonism, utilitarianism, perfectionism); teleological evaluations (e.g., theories of the highest good, idea of progress, pragmatism); theologians and philosophers (e.g., number, characteristics, status, sources of support, activities); etc. See also:

Ethics	181	Cosmology	772
Ethical ideals	677	Theological systems	779
Legal liability	672	Social philosophy	829

/740 cont./

771 powers always only directed against him and superior to him in strength, and which he more or less personifies in concrete, but
771 crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to
● 812 avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life -- these causes, together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view that in the action of these powers, as in his own actions, there is a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead him to a series of conclusions through which his own acts and the action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus
771 And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives
812 rise to customs and special performances that are intended to
532 pacify the evil forces or to keep them away, as well as to the personified representation of the evil powers in this or that crude, approximate fashion, through carving animal and human figures in wood, and to shamanism The many wooden figures of bears, lizards, toads, snakes, and even of human beings which are found among the Gilyak may have this origin and meaning. The Gilyak does not regard them as gods and does not worship them. They are only representations or intimations of hostile powers in Nature from which he seeks to escape. The fact that human figures are also found among them should not be interpreted as though they were personified representations of divine beings, such as anthropomorphism has created in more spiritual fashion in other places.
771 In the view of a primitive people, and the Gilyak, too, man stands
812 wholly and exclusively within Nature; according to their superstition he stands /741/ in a close and immediate causal relationship with the events of Nature (or evil powers), and this in itself may make the representation of a human being necessary for the per-
[006] formance of many a shamanistic act. The conception of God, the Good One, however, is much too vague and lacking in content among the Gilyak to make it possible to speak of any connection with it and thus also of anthropomorphic ideas and representations. But though the Gilyak do not regard this superstition and shamanism, etc. as divine service or prayer, but only as a practical act in their lives in order to escape all harm, nevertheless we are obliged to call this their religious consciousness. And thus we find a strange

2: Schrenck--1192 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/741 cont./

771 and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the
● 812 Gilyak: on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray" (mjägratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be ex-
174 plained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions
771 here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with
812 connection with each other and also historically distinct. -- The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the
[171] attribute of "God," Kingulätsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

2; Schrenck--1193 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

771 /741 cont./
174 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely
driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
812 Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[126] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt
/742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. 1, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kāgn and tschngai (1).

[192] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped sāwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises
532 him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

82

82 IDEAS ABOUT NATURE AND MAN--general statements covering several types of speculative and popular notions concerning phenomena of the external world and of the human organism.

/50 cont./
823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'"
774 (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the
776 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[177] [178] 1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by
825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/50 cont./
825 for example, on a whale, the latter hold the flanks, while the leaders follow behind.

82 /51/ Once visible nature is only a mask and is not what
771 appears to be, there is a natural tendency on the part of the Gilyak to seize upon the smallest sign having resemblance t the human body or a part of it, in order to discover the hum shape that is concealed under it. Hence fetishism -- the psychology which discovers a supernatural human-like being every object which has an unusual form, be it a high mount a petrified object, or simply a piece of stone.

825 If inanimate nature is capable of arousing in the mind o the Gilyak the imagining of live creatures which conceal th selves under the dead form, then the cult of animals should the more not amaze us at all. It is generally believed that lies at the base of the cult of animals. Primus in orbe deos timor. In fact this is far from the case. First of all, we m remember that primitive man not only does not recognize a sort of gulf between himself and the animal world, but on contrary, in many respects admits the superiority of the latt over himself. A hunter by profession, he has invested in his art of hunting all his intelligence, all his inventiveness, all his human genius. See how brilliant his snares and traps are and nonetheless how often and maliciously the insignificant little beast -- a fox, a sable, and others -- will laugh at all machinations! Dozens of valuable sables run past his trap, leaving their footprints quite close to it; they guessed the cleverness of man and departed unharmed! How sensitive is the elk to the smell of a human being whole versts away! Never, never would a single beast be caught by the Gilyak, but for the will of the gods, the "masters" of these animals, which care for the well-being of the Gilyak. If a god does not will this, dozens of man's crossbows remain without a catch. Therefore the Gilyak sees in animals beings in no wa inferior to himself, even though a god may sometimes give

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself; he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
773 myg:nga igagö syktymu yz'mudzigu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.
842 The lark causes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder.
The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in the humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- kzaktr, agn'i, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- am' is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

/320/

Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kum, the master of the uni-
(772) verse, created everything: in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kum lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
(772) with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

773 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.
776 The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'gyvyn,
614 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'gyvyn.

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'ivukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/320 cont./

821 The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd):n
(772) po chukh-chugad (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

773 The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel
825 were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire,
776 the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajmandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air,
(821) along the Milky Way (Taimandz: -- tlf); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each kikhal has its own Pal-n'ivukh, its own Tol-n'ivukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Taimandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-n'ivukh: a fir, an ashberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chkhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose. They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-n'ivukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He opens a window (kugutf), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avguja" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-n'ivukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself. For Ge-n'ivukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/364 cont./

776 Gilyaks. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the num-
(372) ber of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the
(771) elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similarity, but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination: "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("nhal") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mou-
(782) tain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to
(746) him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Tol'-nivukh; and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it
(821) is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses: the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen," a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils "sakhamnh". This is a whole nhal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they
766 loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply
(764) on his face as the deceased. But it is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/367 cont./

577 in any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
773 clear conception of sin ("umgyrh"). It goes without saying /368/
773 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
(682) atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
(842) misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
(821) have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
795 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life.

There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
821 on his face as the deceased. But it is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/670 cont./

574 took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after
another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village
574 to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather has him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked,
484 especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where
821 strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler
(114) in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tŷk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the con-
(157) sultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions,
(114) however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge
(123) of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 3-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had
821 to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

/671 cont./

821 tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of
Okhotk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas
the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluwa (1)

(104) 1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(484) (west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

(823) 2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from DuÏ to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

(782) (789) Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

821 front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several
784 methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At
782 the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the storm ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of wheltps to the storm. In the village of Tŷk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/671 cont./
882 others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-
883
884 3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.
885

poneful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

576 I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a
574 house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with
[127] a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too.
576 With me they likewise constantly came and went without a
574 salutation, or at most, later, with a "dèdèrtu" and "proschschâi"
[128] learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu
[123] and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Saghalin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

576 But what surprised me even more is the fact that the
574 word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we see them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. It is possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national commaisim of on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/674 cont./
884 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial
[192] distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is
805 usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the
[192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(h)otsch or k(h)onssch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, ssapsapi (from the Russian ssapaj), with the derived verbal form ssipara, ssaparar, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

885 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat
882 further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharrnsch--is full, and l. munsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and mulw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. purytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. purytsch and mulw-l. purytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and mulw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

886 The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But
884
[191] 1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months.

/678 cont./
805 when the river becomes free of ice. September -- when the
kaichakh geese (Anser grandis) migrate ; and November -- when
an ice cover again forms on the Amur and much snow falls. The uncertainty in which the Gilyak live in general with regard to the current month naturally makes fixing a date further in the future especially difficult among them.

The twelve months of the year are distributed very unequally into the individual seasons of the year by the Gilyak. Actually, they distinguish only two seasons: winter (tulf or tulx-anj) and summer (tulf or tolx-anj), for which the decisive factor is probably whether they live in their winter or summer dwellings. Accordingly, there are seven months (October to April) in the former, five (May to September) in the latter.

Autumn (tulf or tylx-anj) and spring (chonf or chonx-anj) hardly count at all; I find one very seldom hears them mentioned. But if the distinction is made, each of these seasons has only one month -- they are the months of the customary transfer from the summer dwellings to the winter ones and vice versa, in October and April, respectively. In this case, then, there are among the Gilyak:

882 5 months of winter -- November to March.
1 month of spring -- April.
5 months of summer -- May to September.
1 month of autumn -- October.

882 In connection with the reckoning of time, a few words
might be mentioned about the astronomic conceptions of the Gilyak. As a result of the visible rising and setting of the sun, the Gilyak naturally assume that the earth (mif) stands fast and the sun (keng) moves about it. On the basis of the circular horizon, they believe further that the earth has the shape of a circular disk. As a rule, they do not give any accoiunt of where the sun stays after it has set and night has fallen, and to my question concerning this they answered, amid smiles, with a counterquestion as to whether I had seen it then. From the constant succession of day and night,

/678 cont./
882 the thought of a continuous movement of the sun around the earth
and thus an alternation of day and night on the side of the earth turned toward or away from it did come to the deeper thinkers among them, such as lutschin and Balgun --a thought which immediately gave rise to the question as to whether there were also animals and men on the other side of the earth. Moreover, the idea that the earth did not have a disk-shape, but a globular-shaped form was accepted by them more easily than I had imagined. According to their view, the stars moved around the earth just like the sun. They have, however, a cosmic conception of them advanced to the point that they regard them as celestial bodies similar to the earth, which appear so small to them only because of the great distance. This /679/ undoubtedly arose from their indiscriminate use of the designations unghyr, "star," and unghyr-mif, "earth-star." Some of the constellations bear special names among them. For example, the three stars in the tail of the Great Bear are called tscharw(r)ghrtsch, the four in its body ningnap (1), that is, rats' storehouse, a constellation with

[192] 1. In the Tymy dialect, nio = nio on the mainland.

numerous stars near the Great Bear, perhaps the Pleiades (?), bears the name lumr (table) on the Amur and, on Sakhalin, taghr-nio, that is, storehouse of Tamias striatus, or also tammi-unghyr (many stars), the sword of Orion is called tschichwâk, the Milky Way
533 taighomantif, which means roughly "unknown way," etc. One of
512 their first and most frequent questions was whether there were
[195] human beings on the stars. To my answer that these objects were too small to be seen even with a telescope because of the great distance of the stars they replied with great assurance that nevertheless their shamans had seen them, and from their stories they firmly believed that on the stars there are tall trees and extensive forests, various animals, such as sable, otter, foxes, bears, dogs, etc., and, finally, even human beings. These human beings, whom they called, again indiscriminately,

/679 cont./
882 sometimes unghyr-nibâch (star men) and sometimes unghyr-mif-
[196] nibâch (star-earth men), wege of especially gigantic stature, the eyebrows bushy, the nose long and strong, etc. Occasionally an aunt-in-law again forms on the Amur and the shamans have now one would have to behave toward him. The story of such a meeting followed, but unfortunately I was unable to follow it in its fantastic and confused details.

128 If for the moment, however, we glance away from the
shamans, their arts, conjuring the spirits, dances, and songs, to which a later section of this work will be devoted, and still dwell on the phenomena of the everyday social life of the Gilyak, a few remarks concerning their amusements, songs, music, dances, and games remain.

533 The minds of the Gilyak are turned too much toward more
sober, serious, and practical purposes, such as acquisition, trade, and profit, for them to devote themselves much or often to singing. In particular I have never heard them sing at the bear festivals or at other occasional gatherings for the purpose of amusing or pleasing themselves and others. Only when the Gilyak knows that he is alone and unobserved and in the stillness of Nature surrounding him, does a melancholy mood come over him as he is sitting, for instance, beside the dying fire in the silent forest or drifting down the river in a light boat with the wind still and without the stroke of an oar -- only in such and similar cases have I heard him sing in the daytime, and then the prolonged guttural notes of his song come over to one sounding so monotonous and melancholy. On the other hand, he very often sings at night in order to shorten the slowly creeping, sleepless hours. Stretched out on the sleeping bench under his dog-fur coats, he begins to sing in a loud voice, unconcerned about the repose of his neighbors and the other sleepers. When he has finished a stanza, a guttural aa usually comes from here /680/ or there as a sign that he has found a fellow-sufferer and his song should by all means go on. With this encouragement, a second stanza follows, then a third, etc. Sometimes it is a man, sometimes a woman, who renders the nocturnal song or the encouraging aa. Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I

"Mention has been made of four gods—the lords of the forest, sea, and fire, and the creator, or judge of right and wrong; but these do not exhaust the whole polytheistic conception of the Gilyak. They have also a pantheon of minor deities, the most intimate among a crowd who are too numerous to maintain communications with. The sun, moon, and stars each has its ni vookh, but the Gilyak has no intercourse with them."

/762 cont./
[197] on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to
[195] heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

[197] 44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (**),
[195]
[125]
[170] ** See Appendix 45, below.

The soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of utisch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 851.

[197] It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (tlö),
[195] where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to
882 my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earth, I was told that they also went beyond these, nilr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

[197] 45. Olcha. From Chostiambo I learned the following about the
[195] views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the
[115] metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

9: Hawes--269-270 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 266, 821, 823

"There were legends which seemed to indicate that Cape Maria (or Cape Elizabeth), in the extreme north of the island, was regarded as the 'end of the world.' We heard of 'black men who were cannibals,' (1) but beyond them and their country, Vanka assured

1. What the origin of this report about black men was I do not know, but in the old legends the Gilyak hero is often represented as slaying his opponent and eating him.

us lay our goal. The Gilyak canoe seemed a poor sea-going craft, and the ignorance of the stars shown by the natives stamped them as a land race. On the other hand, they were noted for their [270] excellent orientation in the dark. From Vanka we could get no information about the moon, and so I asked if he knew anything about the man in it. No, his father had told him something about him once, but he had forgotten, and, though he knew he was there, he really couldn't tell if he were a bad man, condemned to live there, or a good man."

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say th the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exact the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, bu that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

147 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

838 In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significanc among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

821

822

822

HNOPHYSICS--popular conceptions of matter, energy, and their properties; ions about space, time, and gravitation; ideas about form, color, and nd (e.g., color symbolism, patterned use of color); beliefs about shadows, lections, and echoes; notions about electricity, magnetism, chemical proper- (e.g., alchemy); etc. See also:

elephone, telegraph, radio, and television . . 20
deas about heat, light, and fire 37
rt and music. 53
ata on sensation and perception 151
hotography 215
etallurgy 325
ivil engineering 331
Chemical engineering 381
Mechanics 401
Optical instruments 416
Ideas about the soul 774
Mensuration 804
Development of scientific physics and chemistry 815

151 XIV Amusements and Festivitie
Among such peoples physical pl
a most important place, and forer
joys of eating and smoking. They
odors, for fish, smoke, and seal
indifferent, or even an agreeable
odor of decay, and conversely, th
Whenever I experimentally held a
up to their noses, they always ma
822 Among colors, the Gilyak prefe
definitely do not belong to those p
colors. For instance, many of th
shirt or caftan instead of the dirt
never occur to them to do this. T
curlicues on the caps and petticoa
otherwise clothes, houses, weapo
colored. A black dog pelt as a co
garded as particularly beautiful.
534 The Gilyak love music. If neig
strum their balalaikas or play the
who are present like to listen. T
primitive. It consists of a sort o
somewhat like a longish horsesho
instrument is grasped with one ha
placed on the lips, the tongue of t
somewhat, while one finger of the
pulls and releases the little hook
of the instrument. The tongue vi
tone results, which can be modifi
player. Not everybody knows hov
"harmonica".
Other quite embryonic music,
is produced as follows: a thin dry
parallel to the ground by ropes, a
rhythmically with a stick. Durin
audience is edified with this sort
who has a talent for this, calls to
and, as though under the baton of
533 the limb with sticks. In winter ti
often sings a monotonous song wh
of all kinds of unrelated sentence
to occur to him [235] or that he s
handed down from father to son th
and in general they are stingy wit
heard them sing in the village, th

s. Burial Ceremonies.
easures, naturally, take
nost among the e are the
are not very sensitive to
blubber to them have an
odor. But they abhor the
ey like a nice fragrance.
bottle of eau-de-cologne
de a pretty face.
r red and blue, but they
eoples who go in for bright
em could acquire a red
y-blue ones, but it would
he colored borders and
ts of the women suffice;
ns, and tools are dark-
at is, as I have said, re-

hboring Russian peasants
accordian, the natives
heir own music is very
f jew's harp which looks
e. The broad end of the
nd, the narrow end is
he player is placed forward
other hand alternately
connected with the tongue
orates and a low buzzing
ed by the tongue of the
to play on this

or rather, clinking noise,
tree trunk is suspended
nd on this they beat
the bear festival the
of "music": some woman
gether a troupe of children
a conductor, lets them hit
me on a journey, the Gilyak
ich actually consists only
s about anything that happens
ees. Actual songs that are
e Gilyak do not possess,
h their singing. I never
eir houses, or on their

823

823 ETHNOGEOGRAPHY--notions about water; ideas about hydrographic phenomena (e.g., oceans and seas, waves and tides, currents and whirlpools, rivers and streams, lakes and springs, floods); ideas about topographic phenomena (e.g., hills and mountains, canyons and valleys, caves and grottoes, striking natural formations, volcanoes and earthquakes); notions about minerals, metals, and precious stones; geographical and geological lore; directions (e.g., upstream and downstream, cardinal points); ideas about the beauty of nature; associated behavior patterns (e.g., attempts to quell earthquakes); etc. See also:

Geographical environment 13
Settlements 36
Place names 403
Land use 311
Water supply 312
Routes and maps 407
Disaster relief 731
Flood myths and mythical cataclysms . . . 773
Nature spirits and monsters 776
Surveying 804
Development of scientific geology and geography 816

/49 cont./

977 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

992 992 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

● 823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[780] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin." have been how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [998] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacrilegious offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'pal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

● 823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of intemecine wars.

82 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" 774 (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the 776 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau"-(1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[797] [998] 1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

1: Shternberg--440 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil- 754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the 695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyt') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

88 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached 31 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in 178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be- 88 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her 583 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash 341 [302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the rügurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac- 834 commodates a guest under one blanket.

343 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be- ● 823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

1: Shternberg--459 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/ 319/

XI.

Miscellanea

● 823 The cliff Uj-pame, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the 782 master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year) 776 they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyt ururungid'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire- 758 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements 753 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their 766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is 562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease [143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

● 823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.

773 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.

761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri- 825 fices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may [782] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

724 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and 825 they treat him like a killed one. When they set off some- [261] where (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

703 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

/606 cont./ They are not permitted

430 by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just 434 as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are 484 not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, 484 the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance the 648 Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-dshu at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchik-choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, [103] above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The 430 fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak 434 access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, 484 indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/612 cont./

439 prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm,
[435 at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin
484 for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often ex-
487 tends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they
[231 still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

648 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go
439 beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of
484 Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the
●[823 southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

/612 cont./

439 their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of
484 the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin
648 (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk).
●[823 /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the
105 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried
648 to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo,
439 their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

[113 2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Ssiranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

/671 cont./

821 tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluws (1)

[104 1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause
[484 them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

●[823 2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Dul' to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

[982
[989

Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several
821 methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At
989 the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a
982 square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the stormy ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

Gi /776 cont./

766 fir branches were lacking, which is not permissible for a person who has been torn to pieces by a bear.

Gi The inhabitants of individual villages and localities differ
764 with respect to the position in which they put the corpse in the coffin in relation to the points of the compass. The decisive
823 factor seems to be, not the sun, but, among the coastal dwellers,
184 the sea, and, among the Amur dwellers, the river. But different customs prevail, depending on the locality. The Orochi of the coast from Nangmar to Idi are said to place the corpses in the igda-chôldochsa with the head toward the sea, that is, to the east. At the Orochi tomb in Pjedanj, however, the head was turned toward the Pje River, that is, to the west. The Olcha of Pjedanj, like those on the Amur River in the villages of Kidsi,
Gi Dshai, etc., give their dead this same position in the chôldocha,
[162 In de Castries the chôldocha, which are not far from the village and are said to belong to the Olcha who died there, although the entire population now consists of Orochi, have their doors toward the west, that is, toward the distant Amur River, and not toward the sea to the east. The door on the chôldochsa, however, is always at the head end of the burial house. Thus, these Olcha, if they actually were such, had it oriented according to the customs of their homeland. But the same custom is not found in all the villages on the Amur. In Darachta, for instance, on the left bank of the Amur, where its direction is to the north, the corpses are said to be placed on one side in the coffin, so that they are turned with the face and the chest toward the east, with the head in an upstream direction toward the south, the feet in a
G downstream direction toward the north. Among the Gilyak, the
764 river seems to be absolutely decisive for the position of the raff,
●823 because I always saw the door of the raff turned toward the river, no matter what its direction was, for example, in Kulk, Kalgho, Tacht, Kalm, and Chjare, at the first two places, therefore, toward the south; at the latter, toward the west. (2 S.R.I. pp. 25-27)

ooo /Page 777 contains a list of errata which have been corrected in the text./

225 mu-ziyad on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziyad on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziyad, tnaj is performed on the boat. Tnaj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ŋks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these tnaj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-psk-zzq --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figurines tnaj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
● 823 first go to Ulŋ-krŋ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782 1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Uiŋ-krə̂, then they throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krə̂) there lives a ə̂tik- an old woman. These old women must also be given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed that tvax-ə̂tik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

[83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf (Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kəvr-mif (Shantar Islands). (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net, tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the

9: Hawes--100-102 1-3
116, 132, 773, 823

"It is interesting to note, in rega
land in historical times, that the Gi
of the isthmus which is said to have
so curiously prevalent.

The story tells how, 'In the good
Amur land (mainland at the mouth o
but once there came water from the
tops of the mountains. During that
himself, by chance, on the top of a
him no harm, and even allowed him
other mountains, where more refug
waters receded and [101] life went o
they had come, to sell the furs they
the isthmus was gone, swept away
which remains to this day. At the ti
overflowed, and large numbers of c

I asked them where this mountain
south of Alexandrovsk, called Ktaü
Pérouse, 'Pic la Martinière,' after
in French from LaPérouse's accoun

rd to the reported connexion of the island and main-
lyak natives have a legend telling of the destruction
: united them. It is one of the deluge stories that are

old times no boat was needed to go to and from the
of Amur), for then dry land united it with Sakhalin,
: sea—much, much water—then only were seen the
flood many Gilyak hunters perished, but one found
mountain, sharing it with a bear. The beast did
to sit upon its back while he swam to the tops of
gees from the flood were congregated. When the
n as usual, the Gilyaks wanted to return whence
had saved; but on arrival at the familiar spot, lo!
by the flood, and in its place was the narrow strait,
ime of this catastrophe,' they added, 'the river Amur
our brethren on its banks perished.'
was, and they indicated a peak about forty miles
si pal (pal-peak or mountain), and named by La
the botanist of his expedition. . . [LSS: A footnote
t has not been reproduced.] When the natives see

116, 132, 773, 823

this peak, my Gilyak informant said, the
mountain.

I have wondered whether the following
only a coincidence. I happened to be pass
Russian cargo steamer, and talking to th
when he said, 'There are frequent fogs h
but there is always one guide. In the thic
the summit, of a mountain in Sakhalin.'
floods, the clouds and fog, on which the

Another legend bearing on the point is
or grandfathers [102] remembered the ti
and it was very hot. The Russians came,
Before this, grapes ripened on the islan
they are very sour, and not really ripe.
bears no fruit.' "

y always make an offering to the god of the

had anything to do with the Gilyak story, or was
sing down the Straits of Tartary on a small
e captain about the weather encountered there,
ere, and you know how difficult navigation is,
kest of fogs can always be seen the top, just
Is this the mountain, towering above the heaven
Gilyak and bear found themselves?
told by their old men, who say that 'their father
me when on the island there were no Russians,
, and brought with them the cold and snowstorm
d, and now only in the south, and even there
In the north there is only the plant, and it

10, 372, 110, 323

"The honoured place at the end o
door (the east end it happened to b
preter. Honourable as it was, we
secticide, a proceeding in no way
came to shake a cloth over the fire
derogatory to Tur ni vookh, the lo

of the hut, [LSS: of the headman at Nivo] o
e in this case), was reserved for me and n
took the precaution of sprinkling it freely v
resented, and probably not understood; bu
e, I was politely requested to refrain from
rd of that element."

Hawes--269-270 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 266, 821, 823

'There were legends which seemed to indicat
the extreme north of the island, was regarde
'black men who were cannibals,' (1) but beyon

1. What the origin of this report about black
old legends the Gilyak hero is often represe
eating him.

lay our goal. The Gilyak canoe seemed a poo
stars shown by the natives stamped them as
re noted for their [270] excellent orientation i
information about the moon, and so I asked i
, his father had told him something about him
knew he was there, he really couldn't tell if h
re, or a good man."

e that Cape Maria (or Cape Elizabeth),
d as the 'end of the world.' We heard
d them and their country, Vanka assured

men was I do not know, but in the
nted as slaying his opponent and

r sea-going craft, and the ignorance of
a land race. On the other hand, they
n the dark. From Vanka we could get
he knew anything about the man in it.
once, but he had forgotten, and, though
he were a bad man, condemned to live

: Bush--86 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
, 778, 823

"During this portion of our journey on the lake, [LSS: Lake Kidzi] which is about
enty-five miles in length, we passed a small rocky island called Boshniak, which is
ld sacred by the Gilaks. To this place the 'shamans' or 'medicine-men' of the
be periodically resort for the purpose of carrying on their pagan rites, which in
any respects resemble the ceremonies of our American Indians."

824

824 ETHNOBOTANY--notions about plants in general; ideas about particular plants (e.g., mistletoe); cultural uses of plants; native terms for plants; knowledge of poisonous plants; associated behavior patterns; etc.

See also:

Agriculture 24
Textile uses of plant fibers 28
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Development of scientific botany. 815

/80 cont./
and wound him should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the little soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last bed on earth awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face toward the west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the elder brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and then, making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay their last tribute to him by throwing firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, regulate the firewood and poke the body to the fire. It will burn faster and better. At the same time they break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which free the souls of these objects to follow the deceased.. The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remains only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

/81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was burned.

After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which is eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back they drop in for only a short time at the yurt of the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then dispense.

/305 cont./
mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days the sin apart and eat from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks are called ŋyŋaŋdr (from ŋyr -- risk, luck, and ŋuŋydr -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

/306/ If two children were born, they make two pain of ŋmuŋ, two ŋoŋ ŋ'ŋkh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ), two small bows (gudu) and arrows of a special shape (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ), and attachments for the cradle -- ŋinaŋ'. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bituŋ' -- must be fed (settlement of Ka'wu).

While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- ŋ'ŋ'ŋ'ŋ is at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest and hang it on a tree. O'ŋ'ŋ (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ) is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhaŋ is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female). After being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to throw it into the yurt or yard). One must watchfully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse, for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing there is broken. This tree is called pila ŋuŋ', and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/306 cont./
A child's amulet -- ola bituŋ consists of two slender fir trees -- ŋruŋ, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; these trees are set apart from each other. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened bones of a young fish, the head of a pike (ŋuŋ), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Ka'wu).

VII.

Religion

The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The shaman -- chdaŋ, chkhdaŋ, ŋ'ŋ'ŋ, ŋ'ŋ'ŋ (the pain as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- chdaŋ, and its two shadows, assistants. When the chdaŋ of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true, it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistants. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with dŋuŋ; then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chonge nyŋrr), which is picked up from the ashes, is placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n ŋ'ŋ'ŋ k'ŋk. Some place the bone in the upper part, other -- ŋ'ŋ'ŋ

/311 cont./
before becoming a shaman -- pobkhrydr-chaŋ -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pobkhrydr: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until our of his mouth come gulk (Goldi nilin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tore (Goldi ŋ'ŋ'ŋ) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then bones -- muk', and, finally, a lalbich -- a knife of palm /ŋ'ŋ'ŋ/. The lalbich of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami among the Goldi, lives in the ŋ' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the path of a tree.

VIII.

Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

chkdrŋr-tut, toigo, Chkdaŋ -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chkdrŋr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chkdrŋr nar'ŋof (1). In the

1. In another place it is said that the chkdrŋr is repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Ka'wu on the chkdrŋr, on its crossbar -- two figures, ŋ'ŋ'ŋ -- peasant man and woman. A chkdrŋr is fed on the first day of the month ainong (December) and a second time in July. Everyone who has a chkdrŋr, and all man-eaters, have two forked pieces of wood (tuŋr ŋ'ŋ'ŋ), the fork is thrown into the fire and chkdrŋr takes back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a bear to protect against the mish-a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/322/
Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kum, the master of the universe, created everything: in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the sewers, and the trees." "Working" the earth, Kum lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-r'kech.

The sky -- ŋ'ŋ -- is like an iron earth, but it moves, turns first with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The sun: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

People descended from a tree: the crook from a birch, the Gilyaks from a larch, the Atna from a fir.

The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'ŋgvŋŋ, looks like an Atna. Each clan has its own Pal' n'ŋgvŋŋ.

Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-ŋ'ŋ'ŋ'ŋ pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-ŋ'ŋ'ŋ has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (I

1. Illegible. 5. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger inches during a thunderstorm, immediately turns into a snake, otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-ŋ'ŋ'ŋ'ŋ who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ŋa, heard by him in Nyvde).

/326 cont./
a man) and one purne (mily) for tinder and flint.

8. Hoŋŋk -- a tobacco pouch, also of dog's skin, for both men and women; tobacco is placed in the pouch, and the hoŋŋk.

A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated, except -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

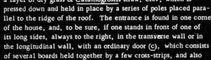
Sews, ties, or sings (are recited -- purine).

On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and birch, and poplars -- rose-willow; to cut birch or fir is a sin. One must select a good tree; otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length /327/ among some, up to a span in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows lengthwise and crosswise.

During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds the deceased (ne r'ŋgvŋŋ achkinŋ), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt of the deceased is burned, the floor is swept, then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, mot' is prepared, and tugur amind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a clansman, or a stranger) into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog sled. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "grave" (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ) is dug at the place where the deceased died. They walk around the funeral fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the idol, and the deceased,

/327 cont./
and with the ridge. The remaining finer latticework of the roof is made up of thin poles and sticks set crosswise and then covered with tree bark, in particular fir bark, and finally with a layer of dry grass or Calamogrostis straw, etc., which is pressed down and held in place by poles placed parallel to the ridge of the roof. The entrance is found in one corner of the house, and, to be sure, if one stands in front of one of its long sides, always to the right, in the transverse wall or in the longitudinal wall, with an ordinary door (ŋ), which contains of several boards held together by a few cross-strips, and also always with a high threshold by means of which the influx of cold air over the floor, as well as the penetration of drifting snow and coming rainwater into the house, is supposed to be blocked (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ'ŋ).



Plan of a Chinese Winter-Yurt of the Gilyak (ŋchadryf).

a -- Large supporting posts of the roof framework, b -- smaller supporting posts for it. c -- Door. d -- Window. e -- Hearth. f -- Opening for feeding the fire. g -- Hole for the large kettle. h -- Sitting and sleeping benches. i -- Pipes used for heating same. k -- Chimney. l -- Dogs' table. m -- Posts on which the table top rests. n -- Places for storing household equipment. o -- Water container.

/387 cont./

29 and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the
thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal,
with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and,
after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under
[142] it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy
320 growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecess-
sary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against
rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical
[531] hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chihr-tu, i.e., in literal
translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with
different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate
out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark,
sewed on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII and Pl.
XX, Figs. 1 and 2)(2).

[386] 2. The colors (black and red) are not
washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that
they are produced by a mixtuge of Chinese
ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

29 The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer
shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ pro-
vided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made
either of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually
have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which
is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows
of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging
down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper
coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl.
XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step
that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking
together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This
custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of
1/2 [See Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
2/2 [See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

/394 cont./

29 the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which
[177] they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the
yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the
area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with
fur, the so-called koch-passj, is worn there under the shirt, on
the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the
bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of
[177] the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 5 which I saw in the possession
of the Gilyak Judin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It
was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with
fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on
the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on
black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here
there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that I
noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among
adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied
around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak
sitting astride their sleds it is especially important to protect
the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak
pain) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above
the knee serves for this purpose.

/395/ The footgear has already been mentioned above. In
29 winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots,
171 as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-
105
324

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the
Eskimo of northwestern America and Green-
land, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das Innere
von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/,"
in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871,
p. 384).

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a
description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary
among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine,
longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

29 /395 cont./
324 ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with
the
2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/
("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés.
à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX,
1859, p. 509), probably a Cyperaceae. Ac-
cording to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern
America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina
and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113] 3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef
/Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on
Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.,
Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds
in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed
with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

29 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or
824 any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this
much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in
this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the
winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on
Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request
with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

128 Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt,
415 in particular as a holder for some of the implements always
[297] accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is
a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dihakko, which is used
both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive
[531] weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always
of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade
and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl.
XXXI, Figs. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

[104] 4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dihakko,"
should be corrected to ngawla-dihakko.
3/2 [See Category 116, P. 101[illegible] -- Analyst]

263 /445 cont./
433 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are
GOD
4. Mamia Rinô (Siebold, Nippon, VII,
p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on
Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that
he gave them to try very tasty, but did not
ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to
tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very im-
portunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the chil-
dren forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an
eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.

439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like.
They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the
dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient
quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar
and salt.

To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements
and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the
preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary
objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the
special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for
[Fig. 2] dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise
made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke (Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1
415 and 2) Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
193 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
(3)
ormoch-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of
1/2 [See Category 116, P. 1013 -- Analyst]

/446 cont./
415 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
197 earth yurt and in the summer yurt it placed on the platform of
the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin
and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and
some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the
Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the
circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting
tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part like-
wise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated
on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 5; matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle)
and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
[412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs.
5 and 6) Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller
kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak kombj).
415 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-
mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need,
use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong),
which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind
[531] from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved
arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
[824] foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[531] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls
made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with
various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl.
XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with
their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service,
so also the wooden spoons intended for the use of individuals as cups
and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
264 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray
415

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachutchisch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped
in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned
1/2 [See Category 116, P. 1014 -- Analyst]

G /469 cont./
296 If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various
824 substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine
dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft
type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even
mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When
it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked
G in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of
415 the pipes from time to time and stored in a special small pouch
(Gilyak nirychsin), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather
fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6) can
which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped
off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the
G pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as
296
824
[171]

1. The very same tobacco substitutes is
also used by the Chukchee, who, however,
obtain it by putting the wood shavings in
the tube, much wider on their pipes, above
the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated
with nicotine from the smoke passing through
it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London,
1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me
in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and
which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a
G fern. Among the Goldi in Kôurmi on the Amur I likewise saw
296 hanging beside the tobacco which they called tojra and used as a
824 substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of
these plants must remain unknown.

SS The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at
297 all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

SS 2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted
[191] with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly
chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not
1/2 [See Category 116, P. 1008 -- Analyst]

G /474 cont./
481 As essential a service as the small sled, its performs, however
are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on
uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they p
sinking into the snow only to a very slight extent, they are
very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they
not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow
makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expedit
and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small
G ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.101
824 like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak
koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as laksk-tschchar, i.
ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provide

A 3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their
481 ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia
824 (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der
113 Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region
and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad.
des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
No. 2, p. 99; Mittul, Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina
/Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi
out of ash wood (Budishchev, "Opis. lies.
chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests
of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib.
Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X,
p. 128).

G 4. With a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same
481 shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level
[304] up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made
[229] sealskin, which the hair pointing toward the rear, is pas
as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by
means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In
addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebon
or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of
ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps fo

/483 cont./

3 central ich, that is, therefore, with only a quarter of its total length, while the other three-quarters, unloaded, rise more or less above it, and only as a result of loading do the soles come in contact with the ground farther toward the front and back. The mountings serving to protect them extend at least as far as the outermost ich, and very often almost as far as the ends of the soles. The ich opposite each other are connected on top by wooden cross-pieces (Gilyak tynyssj, e in the illustration). On these rest the long rods (Gilyak turssj, f in the illustration) which form the bottom of the sled; they are lashed to each of the crosspieces with straps, and where there are no crosspieces, in the front and back quarters of the sled, also by means of a pair of straps plaited across and stuck through the wooden, longitudinal side-pieces, and finally their ends are stuck through a crosspiece bored for the purpose (Gilyak warr(o)s, g in the illustration) which connects the two wooden, longitudinal side-pieces of the sled just in front of the above-mentioned kernghi. Finally, at each end of the sled there is a curved piece of wood (Gilyak mich, i in the illustration), which, in a gently sloping position, is lashed to both the longitudinal side-bars and to the ends of the soles projecting beyond the last cross-piece. The guide rope for harnessing the dogs is attached to the soles immediately below the curved piece of wood at the front end. The curved piece of wood at the rear end is used for knotting on a strap which the Gilyak takes in his hand or fastens to his belt when he follows the sled on ski, in order to have himself thus dragged along by the dogs and to prevent them from running away without him. Sometimes, however, the curved piece of wood in the rear is missing, and in this case the front and rear ends of the sled differ, whereas otherwise they exhibit no differences. The Gilyak make all the pieces of the sled out of birch wood (both from Betula alba L., Gilyak chiws, and from B. ermani Cham., Gilyak kedras) (1), which on Sakhalin they designated separately for me as

1. In both Gilyak words the final s is soft and should be pronounced like the French z.

"tulytynt-tschchar," i.e., "wood for sled-building," with the sole

/483 cont./

493 [192] [824] exception of the curved pieces of wood at both ends of the sled, which are made out of the particularly flexible wood of the black-alder tree, and the bottom of the sled used for sitting, which is either likewise made of black-alder or of willow switches.

/484/ As is to be seen from the above description, lightness is the basic characteristic of the Gilyak sled: it has no iron at all and throughout is made only out of thin, carefully selected and fitted pieces of wood also fastened together in part by means of straps. It owes to the resulting flexibility its ability to withstand even rough trails such as the forest or the river and sea ice all too often present to it. It is not suitable, however, for carrying much baggage and heavy loads. In this respect it falls far behind the Russo-Siberian narte. This, generally provided with larger dimensions and wide soles, rests on the same principle as the ski, the distribution of the load over the largest possible surface and the greatest possible elimination of friction-resistance in movement, for which purpose, before a trip, the soles are provided with a thin layer of ice with a damp cloth, which to a certain extent substitutes for the fur covering of the ski (1). The narrow soles of the

1. The above-mentioned covering of the sled soles with bone or whalebone plates serves the same purpose.

Gilyak sled encounter only a little friction-resistance and therefore do not need the ice coating; on the other hand, it does not allow for a distribution of the load over a large surface and hence, even with a small load, cuts too deeply into the snow to be able to glide along easily. In accordance with its lightness and small size, the Gilyak sled has little space for baggage, for the basket designed for it is, as was pointed out, very shallow, only as deep as the wooden longitudinal side-pieces rise above the switches forming the bottom of the sled, and this is very little. To prevent the [237] baggage from falling off, a cover made out of fish skin (Gilyak mytsch) is first spread over the bottom of the sled, the baggage is placed on it, wrapped in it, tied crisscross to the sled with a long strap.

/501 cont./

501 184 [36] [181] for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators. And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft

501 boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily [192] consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put to-[824] gether have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from [192] above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/503 cont./

396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together [824] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only [412] with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water [192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips [192] put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too, [532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surfaces, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These [191] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

G 396 824 171 /507 cont./ longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G. Gi 501 Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some G Gi 396 824 Gi 184 of my own experiences. They are completely different from one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we Gi 114 501 landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabitants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case. Gi 501 184 But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish: even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about 286 283 the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and [824] Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first [462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, [114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kuik. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksj) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/558 cont./

123 152 203 1. (cont.) of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

41 171 In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin [192] punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees [824] or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley [192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113] 2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

41 230 53 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104] 3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- summer hat made of bird

2: Schrenck--1000 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

h bark, 3, 4 -- mittens; 5 -- ear muffs.

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Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

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Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

XXVII.

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

XXVIII.

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop; 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 533 534 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

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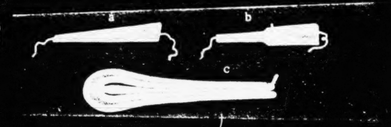

Gilyak jew's-harps.

517 533 534 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy. And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.

534 /684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

[824] [237]

/708 cont./

000 house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the

*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the

252 principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been mentioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

[354]

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area

*796 and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quanti-

[824] ties of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissk) are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festival, which may be one of the attestations of homage which are given to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them. Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

*796 On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the

231 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak, and arranged and carefully bound there between the stakes standing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again the same so that the small bear was closest to the building in the back of the kadhra, the läsgn, the large one in the middle, and

*796 the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood

[504] The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule, it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/710 cont./

*796 amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the

[54] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river

[264] and were reaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated

*796 around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three

824 Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of

[291] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and neck

[239] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the

231 bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi-

[156] ment. Chusisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

/714 cont./

*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] [127] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113] 1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf *796 of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] [126] 1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249/. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

/716 cont./

*796 532 825 322 824

Toad made out of birch bark.

*796 252 graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly, [888] [887] deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a [784] similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the kettle was filled with snow for it is ulïtsch to use water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor. [532] The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not [887] until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

/718 cont./

*796 252 sturgeon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in an unworthy place, so to speak, where they could not be seen by the bears, the women began to prepare various dishes, such as mossj, several kinds of groats, beans with fish oil or seal oil, and the like -- work which, undertaken quite differently and in the ordinary way, proceeded rapidly and vigorously.

*796 /719/ The morning of the following day (January 30) began with putting on the bear rack the two delves of the bears, three carp (Cypr. carpio, Gilyak pilengat) and a portion of all the dishes prepared the day before and put in various bowls of birch bark, whereupon an old man seated himself in front of the bears and immediately began to eat some of the freshly prepared mossj out of two bear-bowls.

There followed the customary feeding of the dogs inside the house and, as on the previous days, a race of decorated dogs along with drumming by the women. Next, strips of bear fat were again hung on the étagère and then, amid the heavy incense of fir branches, the internal organs of the bear were cut up and placed in [252] small bear-bowls. It seems that these parts are not cooked, but eaten raw, like the fat.

At the same time, the women congregated in one corner of the house around a little old woman and, out of motley rags, began to sew together a band about ten inches long and three inches wide -- the so-called tschudbas of the Gilyak. At sunset *796 825 this band is wound around the snouts of the bears just below their 532 eyes in order to dry the tears welling out of them. Fastened in the 322 middle of it, however, on the ridge of the snouts, there is a 824 representation of a toad, cut out of birch bark (1). I can give no

1. Like the one pasted on the window, see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has been said above other than the following. With the cutting up of its internal organs, heart, liver, and the like, the bear knows that its fate is sealed and sheds tears over the evil spirit, the toad,

/733 cont./

*796 342 184 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also mains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 184 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or benc of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

*796 184 354 252 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious, two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from th yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or [824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat an at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 778 353 184 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bur from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the co roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increa by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two [171] them, and not always even these, suspended from the two suppo posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one ap proaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name

/754 cont./

sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however, is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp. 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found. This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mä(r)ngal) are similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalż) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalż bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magä. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

/764 cont./

uitsch and took him back to the village, where he died in November, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death) during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm. I, pp. 18, 19).

47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put beside the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cremation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse, laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre, covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I, p. 27.)

48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there immediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a covering of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /765/ tied with a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narte /sled/, behind the he

2: Schrenck--1228 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/765 cont./

764 lay jukola (*), with several tobacco leaves wrapped in birch bark

* See p. 646 of this work.

[493] and a pipe on top of it. The narte was of the ordinary kind, except that the arched or curved pieces of wood (**) in front and in the rear

** See Plate XXXVI /p. 1016 /, Fig. 1, i.

were missing, and instead of them straight short poles projected out on either side. The corpse was tied to the narte under the gray covering.

After I had stood in front of the corpse for a few minutes, three dogs tied to a long strap, were brought into the yurt, and the strap was attached to the narte. Then several men lifted up the narte with the corpse, while another led the dogs, and thus the procession set out (Plate LXIII /p.1263 /). It went out of the yurt, passing by the storage chambers, and into the forest behind the village, where the burial place of the dead was located, marked by several raff (***). The wife of the deceased immediately fol-

*** See Appendix 50 /p.1232 /.

lowed the corpse, with her hair loose, a piece of birch bark in her hand, and setting up a monotonous wail, in which, however, she was not imitated by the other Gilyak, men, women, and children. When the burial ground was reached, the narte with the corpse was placed on the ground next to the pyre already prepared. The latter consisted of a few layers of wood placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, the first of which was the same length as the corpse. Beside this a large heap of fir branches lay ready for the cremation of the body (1).

•[824] 1. This was Pin. picea, as is everything else used for the cremation of the corpse and the decoration of the yurt.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263]

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[171] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

179 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
171 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

50 Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
• [824] boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[352] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore.
225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the
533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we
824
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3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskər plant. (1) Then we

1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskər to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.).

fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

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825 ETHNOZOOLOGY--notions about animals (e.g., mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, crustaceans, insects); ideas about particular animals (e.g., snakes, fireflies); technological and other cultural uses of wild animals and their products; native terms for animals; associated behavior patterns (e.g., avoidance of snakes); etc. See also:

Collecting, hunting, and fishing 22
Animal husbandry 23
Public health and sanitation 744
Remedies for snakebite 752
Germ theory of disease 753
Vampires and werewolves 754
Animism 774
Native fauna 136
Proper names of animals 552
Animal divinities 776
Totemism 61, 779
Animal sacrifices 782
Development of scientific zoology 816

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented b
* 114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differen
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looke through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
777 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[776] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' a cording to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan societ also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form o animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemis
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[777] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
● [825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[756] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
197 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'kl constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of t Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

/35 cont./

83 577 825 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 [829] The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 601 835 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law

174 601 835 614 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 774 776 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[177] [178]

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by

825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/50 cont./

825 for example, on a whale, the latter hold the flanks, while the leaders follow behind.

82 771 /51/ Once visible nature is only a mask and is not what it appears to be, there is a natural tendency on the part of the Gilyak to seize upon the smallest sign having resemblance to the human body or a part of it, in order to discover the human shape that is concealed under it. Hence fetishism -- the psychology which discovers a supernatural human-like being in every object which has an unusual form, be it a high mountain, a petrified object, or simply a piece of stone.

825 If inanimate nature is capable of arousing in the mind of the Gilyak the imagining of live creatures which conceal themselves under the dead form, then the cult of animals should all the more not amaze us at all. It is generally believed that fear lies at the base of the cult of animals. Primus in orbe deos fecit timor. In fact this is far from the case. First of all, we must remember that primitive man not only does not recognize any sort of gulf between himself and the animal world, but, on the contrary, in many respects admits the superiority of the latter over himself. A hunter by profession, he has invested in his art of hunting all his intelligence, all his inventiveness, all his human genius. See how brilliant his snares and traps are, and nonetheless how often and maliciously the insignificant little beast -- a fox, a sable, and others -- will laugh at all his machinations! Dozens of valuable sables run past his trap, leaving their footprints quite close to it; they guessed the cleverness of man and departed unharmed! How sensitive is the elk to the smell of a human being whole versts away! Never, never would a single beast be caught by the Gilyak, but for the will of the gods, the "masters" of these animals, which care for the well-being of the Gilyak. If a god does not will this, dozens of man's crossbows remain without a catch. Therefore the Gilyak sees in animals beings in no way inferior to himself, even though a god may sometimes give

/51 cont./

● 825 them to him for his use. On the contrary, the strength of the large animals, and the shrewdness and resourcefulness of even such small creatures as the sable, the extraordinary sense of smell and a great number of other instincts inherent in animals and of which man is devoid, furthermore such phenomena as the change in the color of fur, shedding, and so forth -- all this provides the Gilyak with sufficient bases for regarding an animal as an extremely intelligent being in many ways superior to himself. The smaller the beast, the stranger its form, the more mystery it contains and the greater astonishment it causes with its miraculous instincts. Therefore, even such insignificant animals as the toad, the lizard, the bat, the gnat, and so forth /52/ arouse no fewer fantastic notions in the mind of the Gilyak and impress him no less than the largest beasts.

The form and dimensions of an animal are only appearances. Every animal is in reality a real man-like being, no, just such a "Gilyak" as he is himself, but endowed with intelligence and powers which often exceed those in man.

If, however, the strength, the intelligence, and the amazing instincts of the animal cause belief in the spiritual superiority of animals and the supernatural quality of their nature, the cult of some animals is caused by certain other special traits of these latter, namely, their meekness toward man and their apparently conscious protective and beneficial attitude toward him.

The bear on land and the kosatka in the sea particularly strike the Gilyak with these traits.

The bear is the strongest and the biggest animal of his taiga; all the other animals run before it in terror. With a blow of its paw it can knock down the strongest man and crush him like a fly, and yet it is generally very meek with regard to him! Actually, the Sakhalin bear never attacks a man first, and upon meeting him in the taiga either runs away from him, or -- especially in places where man is rarely encountered -- passes by him with complete indifference, only rarely rewarding him with a look of surprise (1). And the Gilyak regards it as a friendly member of a different clan.

1. In the Ussuriysk krai, the tiger is

/52 cont./

●825 distinguished by the same meekness with regard to man and for this very reason is worshiped by the local natives.

The bear that awakens early from its winter sleep and in a frenzy of hunger throws itself upon a man is a crazy bear or a vagrant who has been driven away by the "master." In those rare cases when a Gilyak, while hunting, is killed in a fight with a bear, this is ascribed to extraordinary circumstances: either that it was not a bear, but a devil in the shape of a bear or that it was a female bear who fell in love with the Gilyak and who wanted to transplant his soul inside herself.

If a bear falls prey to a Gilyak, it is only because the bear itself wants it. In its struggle with the man, the bear itself offered a good spot for the fatal blow. After all, it loses nothing from it. After breathing its last, it actually casts to the Gilyak only its apparent covering, its shaggy skin, while it remains alive and unharmed as before. A few days later, at the end of the [796] bear festival, when /53/ its meat has been eaten and the bones placed in a storehouse of honor, the Gilyak kill several dogs, in whose company the bear gaily runs, with all its ornaments and presents, to the "master" of the highest mountain.

The whale-like, large-toothed sea animal -- the kosatka - is worshiped no less than the bear on land. One would think, what could be stronger and more terrible in the eyes of the Gilyak than the whale, this tremendous and mighty monster, spouting fountains, for whom a storm is a diversion, and each of whose vertebrae is heavier than the largest Gilyak? Yet there is a beast before whose sharp, cone-like teeth the whale flees without a backward glance and throws itself with a roar of despair on the banks and the shallows of the Sakhalin coast where the Ainu and the Gilyak make opulent feasts of him. This is the kosatka. It creates an imposing impression, even on a European, when a kosatka unexpectedly appears near his boat, and the general flight of all the inhabitants of the sea begins. At the sight of this terrible beast fish, seals, dolphins, and eared seals scatter as if seized, and forgetting all caution,

/53 cont./

●825 run on the harpoon of the Gilyak. Woe to the animal who falls to his teeth; he tears the great eared seal in half. The most awful sight, however, is kosatki hunting a whale. "Sighting him, the school of kosatki divides into parties. The younger ones set out on the flanks, trying to contain the whale, while the older ones remain in the rear. Having thus stationed themselves for a battue (cautiously without noise so as not to frighten the whale), they suddenly appear on the surface of the water when they calculate that the catch should be in the middle of the circle they have formed. They then throw themselves savagely upon the whale and begin to tear his body into large chunks and greedily swallow them. They all vie in particular to try to get his tongue. The whale thereupon raises a soul-rending roar which can be heard for many versts. Hearing such a roar, I always knew that somewhere close by kosatki were hunting a whale." Thus the zoologist Voznesenski described this terrible sight in the Aleutian Sea, and I happened to see the same sight many times in the waters of the territory of the Gilyak.

And yet this same monster before whom quake the titans of the sea, this tyrannus balaenarum (tyrant of whales), as he was called by Fabritsius, an ancient specialist on whales, not only never touches the boats of the Gilyak, but is his true benefactor, driving nammals and fish to him!

[825] /54/ For hours on end the Gilyak waits in his fragile little boat for the appearance of the head of a seal on the surface of the water in order to throw his long harpoon into him. But the cautious seals prefer not to appear at all, or show themselves from under the water only to dodge in a most crafty way the blow directed at them. Then, quite unexpectedly, as if specially sent by someone, seals, eared seals, and beluga begin to run onto the harpoon of the Gilyak... The kosatka has appeared, forcing the inhabitants of the sea to throw themselves in all directions without a backward glance! -- How, after this, could the Gilyak not consider this mighty creature, who does not spare anyone but him and, in addition, is his bread winner, sending all sorts of sea animals, his god-benefactor? And he calls this animal none other than yz' -- "master."

/54 cont./

● 825 [796] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 796 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" -- master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, 825 seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, 796 however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. 554 It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

/55 cont./

796 825 For the Gilyak, the most important gods-"masters" are Pal'-yz' -- the master of the mountains and of the taiga, and Tayrnadz, the same as Tol'-yz' -- master of the sea. The first lives on the highest mountain, and with him, whole settlements of his clansmen. Bears serve him as dogs. All the beasts of the taiga are subordinate to him, and, at his discretion, he distributes them to the Gilyak. It is he who orders the sable to dress himself in a new skin and hurry into the noose of the Gilyak; he, again, orders the bear to offer a good spot for a true blow. The god of the sea, Tayrnadz, lives on the bottom of the Sea of Okhotsk. He is a very old man with a white beard, who lives with his old wife in an underwater yurt. In the yurt there is a huge number of boxes with all kinds of spawn, which he throws by the handful into the sea from time to time. It is he who, at the appointed time, sends the countless detachments of salmon, without which the life of the Gilyak would be impossible; it is he who sends out the kosatki to establish order in the sea and drive all kinds of sea animals toward the Gilyak.

796 Besides these most important gods, there is a great number of less important ones who watch over the Gilyak. In the house of the Gilyak the master of the fire and the mistress of the threshold, keep vigil over him. Some kind of "master" watches at every stream, looking after the well-being of the Gilyak...

Not all the gods, however, are on such close terms with man. The sky is inhabited by whole tribes of tly-nivukh'i, heavenly people, who only rarely interfere in the affairs of the Gilyak, and then to no purpose, for a joke; for example, out of mischievousness a heavenly man will lower a fishing rod with hooks to the earth in order to catch some Gilyak. This [538] does not always work, however. For example, the young Gilyak, Il'k, from the village of Arkovo told me that tly-nivukh once caught his father with a golden hook, and he just saved himself by grabbing a tree, thus getting away with only a scare and a torn coat.

/58 cont./

795 614 [766] a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain, water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters" and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i -- forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices. These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods 795 614 of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of 825 primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people), the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well, having entered after his death the clan of this or that master, also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore, that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem. 795 614 Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or predecessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods, as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

614 171 The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

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796 782 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent excretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 [242] All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which 796 774 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the 825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'-yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 224 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn ceremonial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and [782] is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together. [766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a 796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great 825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/68 cont./

000 respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

796 Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of 231 the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an element of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some occasions may catch young animals, and, whenever he finds it profitable, he feeds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur, and young eagles for their feathers. Similarly, it is disadvantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more natural it would seem than to use the killing of the bear for a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast [825] for a close person. By the way, the feeding and the killing 868 of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth, who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible animal of their taiga, learn not to fear it, and study its disposition, its strength, and its weaknesses. The procedure for getting the bear out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting it out of its lair.

796 Nonetheless, it is not these crude, utilitarian motives that 825 play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome, and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by other motives, perhaps also utilitarian, but of a quite different order. As we have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak, the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is concealed under the hairy covering of the bear, a divine clansman of the master of the mountains, a mountain man, or a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in any case he is a creature of a higher order, more powerful, and superhumanly strong. The presence of such a being for a long stretch of time in his native settlement, according to the view of the Gilyak, who is convinced of the constant conspiracies of crowds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threatening his life and health, must be extremely beneficial. The presence of this mighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant, must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

/69 cont./

796 825 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear [787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen [755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman [756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to [171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has [614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the [774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/69 cont./

796 825 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master." We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Ave long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the c of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mount man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or e a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." T fore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed head, generously supply it for its journey with various kin provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable conse of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display o respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to t distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and t food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear dur 782 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in 825 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, [114] lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacri to each god only that which the god himself does not have and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. H needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- a it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itsel 796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important momen 825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a gener 861 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
[562] into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which
imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and
therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the
bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below);
2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the
slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and
through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this
is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of
all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with
a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the
bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master,"
a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives
its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains"
himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides
in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent
through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master,"
but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteris-
tic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the
first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the
festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of
women who are wives of the members of that clan are not
allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/95 cont./

*614 628 It is quite another matter between men of different clans. Here the principle is implacable: the bones of the clansman must be raised! To raise the bones is the technical term for clan vengeance. Blood must be redeemed with blood, and only in very rare cases can blood redemption be replaced by ransom. This obligation is clearly colored more by a religious than an emotional element. Vengeance is obligatory not only for the contemporaries of the slain man, but, in the event of its non-fulfillment by them, for the two [672] following generations as well. It is obligatory not only in the case of premeditated murder, but for completely accidental murder as well, even one which is only indirectly *614 825 672 connected with one or another person (1). And what is

1. One Gilyak of my acquaintance brought vengeance upon his clan when his rifle accidentally went off when he picked it up from the bottom of a boat, accidentally killing the helmsman.

still more instructive, it is obligatory also with respect to animals. Vengeance upon a bear who has killed a man is no less wrathful than it is with regard to a human murderer.

The ritual of such vengeance is extremely characteristic for understanding the psychology of this clan institution, and we shall begin our analysis with it. As soon as the news of a man's death in a struggle with a bear arrives, the whole adult population hastens into the taiga, in order to catch up with the "murderer" by means of his fresh tracks. If they do not succeed /96/ in catching the real culprit, it is necessary to kill at least three other bears (his "clansmen"). If this is not accomplished during the winter, it is necessary to do it during the summer, and in addition the "mountain man" gives them a "tkhusind," in the form of a plentiful catch of every beast.

/96 cont./

14 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-
25 "murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their
72 most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock
766 out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

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1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of *shavings*. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

/96 cont./ Not far from the

*614 native village a framework in the likeness of a bear hunter is
826 set up, with openings for the proper sacrifices. On the out-
766 side, at the corners, four sharpened saplings are set up, while it is decorated on the inside with the sacred inau. Here are also deposited the remains of the murdered man and his murderer, in the same position in which they were brought from the taiga, as we described above.

A unique funeral feast with the carcass of the slain bear is held beside this framework. On both sides of a long uninterrupted campfire sit the clansmen with large pieces of bear meat in their hands. Each one cuts the meat into thin pieces, and as each piece is cut off he throws it from his knife across the fire to the one sitting on the opposite
[688] side of the campfire. The slice, caught on a knife, is slowly roasted in the fire (the greatest insult for the bear, whose meat may only be boiled), and then with a look of revulsion they each bite off a piece and scornfully throw the meat away, although ordinarily it is /97/ considered a great sin to let even the smallest piece of bone fall to the ground.

[782] After this procedure of "refined" revenge, a feast with
[767] sacrifices to the master of the mountains and the murdered man begins. First they throw into the fire the carcass, which has begun to be burned, then various viands. At night they place a guard of two men with spears over the framework, lest the spirit of the bear wish to take revenge. The sentries firmly assert in such instances that they heard the cries of the murdered man, "Ai, Bear!" and threw themselves with spears upon the invisible avenger. In the morning they will tell you, traces of blood are clearly visible on the points of the spears...

*614 With the end of the funeral feast, peace between
775 the mountain men and the clan of the murdered man has
782 been restored. The latter is accepted and will live to a
769 ripe old age in the clan of the mountain people, while his
766 clansmen for three generations will twice a year (summer and winter) make sacrifices: part to the master of the mountain, part to the divine clansman.

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835 applied both to individuals of an actually ascending generation (to own father, mother) and to their brothers and sisters, the significance not only of generations, but of ages completely disappears. The brother or sister of the father may be younger than the speaker, although they consider themselves mother and father in relation to the latter, and nevertheless the prohibitions are equally effective by virtue of the kinship classification alone.

Class of tuvn. It consists of two groups -- of 1) the group of the descendants of agnate brothers and male cousins, and 2) the group of the descendants of agnate sisters and female cousins.

Within each separate group in all generations, neither sexual intercourse nor marriage are permissible, which is in complete accord with the kinship nomenclature, since in neither of these groups are there individuals designating each other as pu and arĝ(e); they are all tuvn.

I noted only one deviation with respect to the descendants of sisters, /153/ and that only among certain clans, namely, if sisters are married to individuals alien to each other, the prohibitions are in effect only in the first two generations. But this is a purely local deviation, induced by the extreme inconvenience of the prohibition under conditions of an extreme lack of women. In general the prohibition is strictly observed both among the descendants of brothers and among the descendants of sisters. This prohibition, which is reinforced by a taboo and which seems to us unnatural, has become among the Gilyak an instinctive feeling -- namely, one of prohibition against mutually looking at each other and of conversing (see below). To what degree the prohibitions
●[825] within this group have gone into flesh and blood, even in the most remote degrees of kinship, even in relation to persons whom they call "tvĝund-tuvn" (agnate male cousin), transformed by tradition in their thinking into natural phenomena of nature, we may see by their attitude toward the infraction of this prohibition among their sole domestic animal -- the

/153 cont./

835 dog. Among dogs, according to the belief of the Gilyak,
●825 brother and sister do not copulate. Exceptions are very rare, and they are attributed to the evil doing of a milk'a (evil spirit). Therefore, when a Gilyak notes such a case of incest, he is obliged to kill the dog; otherwise the sin falls on him.

[782] It is true that the slaying takes place as a religious ritual, by means of a ceremony of strangling, and blood is sprinkled to all four quarters of the compass in sacrifice, but for the dogs this is a punishment for incest. It is curious, however, that incest between ascending and descending lines (son and mother, and so forth) among dogs is tolerated by the Gilyak, and they do not kill the criminals (is it not due to utilitarian considerations, since begetters are valued very highly by them?).

835 Cognate male and female cousins. Here, of course, only cognate male and female cousins, i.e., the children of a brother and sister, can be in question, inasmuch as the children of brothers, on the one hand, and the children of sisters, on the other, are considered tuvn, and we have already discussed the complete prohibition within each of these groups. From the kinship nomenclature we know that the terms used in reference to each other by cousins depend on whether the male or female cousin whom they are addressing or of whom they are speaking is the son or daughter of the brother of the mother, or of the sister of the father, namely: if "I" am a man, then I call the daughter of the brother of my mother arĝ(e) (wife), and, conversely, she calls me pu (husband), but my sister calls the son of the brother of my mother akhmaik, navich (father-in-law, husband of the wife's sister), and, conversely, he calls her n'ern -- wife's sister, i.e., terms which have nothing in common with matrimonial terms; and these terms correspond perfectly /154/ to reality. Sexual relations and marriage between the daughter of a sister and the son of her brother (and correspondingly between their tuvn) are not permitted; on the other hand, marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is not only permissible, but is considered a regular phenomenon. And in this case, as in all others, the terms brother and sister are

/184 cont./

*835 levirate. Then, in order that the
183 woman remain in the clan of her
589 deceased husband, she is given, ac-
768 cording to the decision of the clan
[614] council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons
*835 of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.

[776] In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in
●[825] beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the
[767] same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging
[533] of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/254 cont./

835 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which
831 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
763 himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
533 ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
538 entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first
[539] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on the wall."

832 The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited love.
●[825] One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress. But there are also other means that are not so harmless and lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days, dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of them.

832 Among the Gilyak, as in our country, there are timid in-
[534] dividuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present. Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries, ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresponding to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

832 There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the attraction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the term poch urland, literally -- "of a good face."

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578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[437] a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz´u
686 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz´) and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz´? ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az´ tongz´ shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/303 cont./

695 dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft.
686 They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz´u n´ivukh,
825 and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the
[424] Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If
[614] outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja´, mygja´, n´i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigy´ tuur pugusá enan´ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral´ó, sidz:jejmralo cherakh jot´in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n´ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n´ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n´erakh elyg:az´ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

/304 cont./

685 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorá
615 mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n´erokh tokh elyygujá. Chi nar´ár; chan
maj:okhanú. Mykyz´ mra lytyng ivg:aj hukt6ókh elyyg:az´o."
685 While they argue, a crow (ves') and a cat are thrown into the fire
615 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi ta:rodz: furará n´ivykh lerý mra cin unakhana ulkhyndor by nivukhdokh elyygujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan whose kekhal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
654 thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz´ nyngjú -- look

/307 cont./

765 and bring over the favorite dog and feed it. This dog is called
231 pryski -- gzn (among the Gold -- khan'a, i.e., soul); every person, even a child, has without fail his own pryski. From childhood everyone has his favorite dog, and when a man dies, they select either his favorite dog or the best dog of those harnessed to the sled and make a pryski of it. If it dies, they
765 bury it and cover it with chocks. Each says the following to the
775 deceased: "Ning yvr: hdmnydz: kys'kuvr: tog:agán urgur vija mu-n´ivukh gudókh mlyvo-rokh (pimlykh-tokh). Vingán, /308/ erirózonydz:, hdin pyk tynakhanú, pyk tyké, chi jerinakhana hongan pi ozngan, cham nar:kir: pknuukuja plyngu tengu, hokharód vétana khan'a nyn'gtr: kiur kera'á, hyhagyskó vetajá kakgir, turi khei: tozja, pykn'ir: pyk chakh tanýdz: pyk tekó: pernakhanú. Urgur vir: namugur humyjá pytykhu dogra pymykhu dogra, pi ykyngudogra, vijá.

"To live near us, there is no happiness (not fate), in such a case, fine, go to the deceased, to the settlement of the dead (to your settlement of the dead). When you go, you will cross the river; a cuckoo will cuckoo there; after the cuckoo bird cuckoos for a long time, you will wake up. When you get up, you will shake off ashes and coal with eagle feathers; then you will dress yourself, make an insole out of the hair (1), put on

1. Out of the hair of the wife, sister, or mother.

this clothing, and, having made something like a little bridge from the figure, cross; a cuckoo bird, becoming tired (2) after it

[825] 2. All during the trip to the stream the cuckoo will cry; before the stream there will be no water and no food. It will become tired and will have to drink from the cup. There are cuckoos which squeal, which means that they are tired from accompanying the deceased.

/310 cont./

755 Mainly it is necessary to treat leprosy -- khachudz, and skin diseases.

The treatment of a leper. The shaman asks that a dog be brought into the isba. The sick man sits up with his legs hanging from the plank bed to the floor. In front of him there is an iron kettle with the opening upward. The man holds the dog, while the shaman moves around the yurt and kamlaet (shamanizes); then the shaman spits -- "emits the spirit," takes a small worm out of his mouth and carries it toward the dog. The dog jumps back -- it has been pricked. Then the angry worm is brought over to the sick man; the shaman stands opposite the sick man with the worm in his hands, and the head of the shaman turns into a large woodpecker -- ves'khr: -- black, with a red forehead -- and, squinting his eyes, he begins /311/ to look closely at the face of the sick man in order to determine where to peck a bald spot, i.e., to learn where the worm of the disease is (the shaman, having squinted his eyes, sees through the man, and the sick man sits "all naked"). The shaman finds a soft spot, pricks it with the worm, and pulls out of there another worm, which he throws into the kettle. He thus pulls out all the worms from the entire
[761] body, leaving only one worm, samui. Without a worm, a
[825] person cannot live, but this worm cannot propagate. Those who have seen these worms in the kettle say that they look like tree worms. This kettle is covered with other kettles. At the same time he orders his kekhn to keep watch at night over the cup. On the following day he orders the Gilyak to bind the kettle tight with a kaluga net and to bury it in the ground, while he himself shamanizes. The shaman carries it away over five rivers and five ranges. He sings, so that the small mountains become large, and the streams -- large rivers. There he digs out a pit, where he places the kettles together and binds them. Those who go must count five narrow valleys and five ranges. And the shaman sings once again, so that the dried up little springs turn into large rivers, the rivers -- into cliffs, and the kaluga net -- into the densest wire bag -- "become a wire bag, so that the worm does not come out." The shaman solders the kettles with words: "Two kettles, having melted together, merge and mutually become one."

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramiadz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat,
even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
773 myg:nga igagh syktymu yz´mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thu
The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest
loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- kakhtr, ag:nl, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn´ is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

/320 cont./

The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd); no chukh-chugnd (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire, the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajrnandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air, along the Milky Way (Tairnandz: -- tif); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each k:khal has its own Pal-nîvukh, its own Tol-nîvukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Tairnandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-nîvukh: a fir, an ashberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chkhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose. They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-nîvukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He comes to the Gilyak, opens a window (kugutý), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avgujà" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-nîvukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself, for Ge-nîvukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/331 cont./

775 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
787 him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

774 The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[231] large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski' (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.
[735] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make
[825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

775 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-n igyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-n'igyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shreik at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

775 The night bird takhch is of the size of a crow and just as
825 black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say atk.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

/332/

775 This bird (the soul of the slain man) enters the avenger of
• 825 the slain man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagn,
[532] takhchynnga) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and placed, with the roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the
[708] slain person. The chkhnaj of this bird must be made out of the root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

775 The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin from a person who has died, he will say, even before sustained speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.

775 When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him
789 backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and then he says quietly, "Well, that is enough, forget the past," and puts the hat on him in the proper way. Then the boy forgets everything and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the milk.

II.

Hunting and Fishing

224 Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vyzn:d (fynydz:). 1. When winter
782 sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol n 'ich: -- to the master of the sea, Tol yz 'dokh.

To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the other hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

/333 cont./

224 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
782 trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigynd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

• 825 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are
177 found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a
784 woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If
[626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tos' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

221 Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
[252] and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tkhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tkhusind.

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372 782 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur n'irá, nekhlang kun k:kholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'nung ankh --" the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

776 342 The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -- four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

[688] If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

832 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person [825] fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

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197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

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823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.
773 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.
761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 825 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may
[782] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

724 825 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and
[261] they treat him like a killed one. When they set off somewhere (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

773 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

182 /354 cont./

614 5. The members of the clan are bound together by comm
796 sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to
[574] everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to t part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the ex penditures in connection with the festival are covered by the cla men. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubl Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great number of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during th festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious char ter or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful at
[224] tack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoure the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bea was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping anima was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in th eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and invi
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear,
[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh.
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a positi of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
322 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
352 in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
354 three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.
[417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mão at the
342 time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
825 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible
[251] to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

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eve that the reason that a lynx skin, and all
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ables.

re expensive furs, such as black fox, for exam-
e is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not
like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value.
resented below on the values given by the
objects will show, there are also a number of
hold which they value even more than a lynx
vertheless do not impart to their possessor such
and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions
ust therefore come into play here. In view of the
old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese,
to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger,
most ferocious, and most dangerous of all ani-
nt of its related species, the panther, stands
e throne: for example, the seats of high
governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are
and panther skins for solemn occasions or pro-
chair cushions carried behind them have just
(2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

orants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar
/A Three-year Trip to China/, Am-
m, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Descrip-
e l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie
ise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

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covered with tiger skins on the outside (3); long tiger and panther

3. Marco Polo (Reisen, German by Aug. Bürck, with annotations and emendations by Fr. Neumann, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 318-319) relates that the pavilion borne by four elephants in which the Chinese emperor (Kublai Khan) stayed when hunting in the province of Liao-tong, as well as the hunting tents erected for him there, were covered on the outside with tiger, or, as he says, "lion," skins.

tails hang down from the halberds and lances of the officers forming the bodyguard of the emperor and /391/ walking in his retinue during public processions (1), etc. (2). Under Chinese

1. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 90. Gerbillon, in Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 235.

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2. Many more examples of the high esteem for the tiger and its skin in China could be given. I shall content myself, however, with referring here only to some of the older testimony of this kind. On account of its predatory nature, evoking fear and terror, its likeness is put on the garments of officers and and other persons in military service in China, as Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey Through China in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 31), Staunton (Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J.

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2. (cont.) 1792-1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey /Ambassadorial Voyage of the Earl of Macartney to China in the Years 1792-1794, with Reports on China and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. I, p. 341), and others have reported. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy to China, etc., second edit., London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) also saw several companies of soldiers who were wrapped from head to foot in long, yellow and black striped garments which were supposed to make them look like tigers to terrify the enemy. On the other hand, the tiger also seems to be the object of religious veneration in China. For example, Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 270) reports that four stuffed tigers in a sitting position were set before the altar in the pagoda Huinon-tsu in Peking. In a similar manner, the Chinese (Man-dse) in the Ussuri region erect chapels for the tiger, in which they offer sacrifices to it and hang pictures of it (Arkhim. Palladii, "Usur. Man'tszy /The Ussuri Man-dse/," Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 376). I shall come back on another occasion to the value that the Chinese in their superstitious beliefs attach to the meat, gall, tendons, bones, and claws, besides the skin of the tiger.

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influence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has become established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak

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3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

825 439 171 The trading trips of the Gilyak

to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness the extraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as well as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, the respect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former erect small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures of it (4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

even bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

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5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

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825 439 171 about the tiger that the Gilyak bring home from these trips, especially the stories that they hear from the Chinese and Goldi about the many human lives annually falling victim to it (6), undoubtedly

6. Przewalski reports (op. cit., p. 233) that in 1867 no fewer than 21 Man-dse were killed and six wounded by tigers along the Zymuche, a tributary of the upper Ussuri.

contribute no little to the panicky fear and superstitious ideas that govern them with respect to the tiger. I have already discussed this above (7) and intend to add more occasionally below.

7. See my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 90-97, where, in speaking of the distribution of the tiger and leopard in the Amur region, the beliefs of the Gilyak and other Amur peoples concerning them are given.

825 Since /392/, however, the tiger appears in the area of the Gilyak only as a most infrequent guest on its rovings from the south and is scarcely ever killed by them (1), it, and to an even greater

1. The Gilyak did not know of any instance of this kind to relate to me.

degree the leopard, belongs more in the category of mythical animals occupying only their imagination. On the other hand, [439] they meet in their forests, and not so very infrequently, another animal, which through its decidedly predatory nature and its total appearance, the cat-like habitus, the spotted and in part striped marking of its fur, the black tip of its tail, etc., resembles the tiger as well as the panther (2), and whose fur is highly

[171] 2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 242) reports

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2. (cont.) that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

[113] 3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

825 to the lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their conceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or royal beast.

/392 cont./

825 291 554 royal beast. Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can thus scorn the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

291 But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always buttoned by [177] the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5),[1] and the skirts of the coats likewise overlap. To hold them together, however, the complete winter outfit includes, besides the belt, which will be discussed later, a special piece of clothing, the so-called kossjkha, that is, a short apron-skirt of sealskin extending around the body, which, for a better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII[2] and XIX).[3] [171] The kossjkha seems to be an article of clothing that is genuinely Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /393/ the Gilyak always traveling astride his low dog-sled, the kossjkha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a swathing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak torknbas; see Pl. XXII,[4] Figs. 4, 5). The hand coverings (Gilyak wom(a)ch) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX,[5] Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a

1 2 3 4 5 [See Category 116, pp. 1009, 998, 999, 1002 and 1000 respectively -- Analyst]

/398 cont./

292 237 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration [554] was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126] 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

171 291 237 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples. 825 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

[113] 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

/398 cont./

let a wolf or wolverine tail hang down at the neck from their elegant reindeer-fur caps, trimmed with otter or wolverine skin, to their backs (3). One would not err, I believe, if he assumed

3. Lagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vladienii v" Amerikie /Description of a Journey on Foot through Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847 and 1848, Pt. II, pp. 21, 22.

that such articles of clothing based on the imitation of animals are of ancient national origins among those people for whom they are customary and in whose lives the animals in question are of special importance, bringing harm or advantages. It certainly seemed obvious to primitive man to pursue and carry out in detail the similarity with a given animal that he acquired by clothing himself in its fur. Here and there superstitious beliefs of the kind, say, that by imitating an animal in one's clothing, he might gain its good will or render it harmless, might also have given rise to garments copying animals. It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea of special elegance and high distinction becomes attached to such ancient national garments. This also explains why the tschlyghi-hak of the Gilyak /399/ women, though made out of purely native materials, is regarded as more elegant than the tscharp-hak made out of expensive Chinese silk with dragon designs.

I cannot leave this subject without permitting myself yet another pertinent and general remark. Since the customary practice among all primitive peoples clothing themselves in animal skins is to wear the skin with the hair on the outside, might not the thought of using the skin for protection against the inclemencies of the climate in the same way as it is given to the animal as natural clothing have arisen out of the imitation of animals, until experience taught that this is in fact the way of using animal skins for clothing that gives the most protection? Without any other covering as nearly air- and water-tight as possible, which primitive people were not familiar with, animal

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1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and preserved by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primitive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

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*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
412 side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1), and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head; then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
● 825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[226] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longr[sch]), Salmo leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out

[See category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively--Analyst]

/426 cont./

*262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both quali-
252 tatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the
● 825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma,
*262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113] 3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running
574 through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak
264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches,
*269 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4) with
412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

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1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[See category 116, p. 1014--Analyst]

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*262 /432 cont./
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they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For

● [825] [113]

6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

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7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

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8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

/437 cont./

is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls. The Gilyak
*262 seem not to eat on principle only the crow (Corvus corone L.,
● 825 Gilyak karr), although, or perhaps because, it lives for the most part on the same food as they themselves do, for it happily and in great numbers stays in the vicinity of their villages and huts in order to benefit from the scraps from the catch of fish or the preparation of jukola, and appears at the midday or overnight campsites of traveling Gilyak even before the fire has gone out, in order to eat any possible remains from the meal; in fact, they not infrequently steal a march on them in consuming /438/ a nochla-nga
*262 frozen fast to the sea ice or an animal caught in a trap. Perhaps
825 the Gilyak are also governed in this by some kind of superstitious
171 belief concerning this bird, like, say, the Chukchee (1) and the

[113] 1. Kiber", "Chukchi /The Chukchee/" (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1824, Pt. II, Ethnography, p. 119).

Eskimo (from Kotzebue Sound), who regard the carrion crow as the creator of the world (2). At any rate, I saw them sometimes

[113] 2. Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 30, 72.

carry with them on trips a crow's head on top of the sleds laden with provisions and trade articles as a means, as they themselves told me, of bringing good luck. Incidentally, ideas quite similar to those concerning the crow prevail among the above-named peoples, the Chukchee, the Eskimo from Kadjak, the Kenai, and the Koljuschen in connection with the raven, and the latter therefore do not eat it (3). In view of the great similarity between the

[113] 3. Lutké, Voyage autour du monde /Voyage around the World/, Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 189, 214. According to Nordenskiöld (Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Vol.

*262 /438 cont./
● 825
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[113]

3. (cont.)
II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been shot.

*262 In view of the great similarity between the
825 two birds in externals and in their way of life, it is quite possible that the Gilyak have the same attitude toward both and therefore likewise do not eat the raven.

Among the reptiles and amphibians, there is not a single animal that the Gilyak eat, for with regard to all of them, but especially snakes and toads, they have a fear rooted in superstitious beliefs, which will be discussed in the following (4).

[171] 4. In China, frogs, turtles, and even snakes are eaten. Jakinf, op. cit., p. 262; John Bowring, loc. cit.

226 Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few
*262 invertebrates must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not scorn gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks tossed up by the sea or left behind by the ebb. For example,
[136] on the west coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina venulosa (Gilyak kär wub) (5), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

moghomi-wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

[192] 6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a snail shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubk, according to Glehn.

jotang-wellach and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose animals they eat and at the same time praised them as being "sweet as sugar."

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226 upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the sections of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschongr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this fashion the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords from the wall of the net or bag, so that the presence of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance of the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces.

[532] The representation of a face on the odn-tschongr is always necessary, however, according to Gilyak belief, and very essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /521/ Gilyak superstition should be considered, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon

• [825] and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I shall return later with regard to its consequences.

226 171 Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known in Siberia as ssamolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obj, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 444; Vol. III, p. 88.

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225 825 789 532 Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like

• the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon.

225 825 Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put

[999] into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the

[171] above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

Ainu ABC
Goldi RX3

/546 cont./

225 825 seals was very inconvenient for me inasmuch as, because of it,

• I was unable to obtain perfectly whole and intact skins of the seals of the Amur region.

A 225 Just as among the Gilyak, seal-hunting also plays an important role among the Ainu living on both coasts of Sakhalin and is practiced by them in quite similar ways. Thus, according to Mizul's information (2), the above-described, long-handled

2. Op. cit., p. 130.

harpoon, the Gilyak lych, is also used among them, and even Mamia Rinsô mentions /547/ that they put in the water small wooden floats onto which the seals crawl and are then killed with javelins (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

G1 225 Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region it is possible for only a few, because of the location of their habitation area, to turn to seal-hunting among other sources of sub-

G1 [439] sistence, or to practice it at all. The former is the case in particular among the Orochi of the coast, who do not practice seal-hunting merely to satisfy their own needs for seal furs, skins, and oil, but also get from it important articles to barter in trade with their western neighbors, the Goldi. Nevertheless, even among the Orochi seal-hunting falls far behind the preferred

G1 [361] hunting of forest animals. The Olcha, too, though to a lesser extent, have an opportunity to devote themselves to seal-hunting within their own borders, thanks, on the one hand, to their dwelling sites on de Castries Bay and, on the other hand, to the

G1 [191] ascent of the seals in the Amur River far into their territory. [197] There can be no doubt but that they practice it in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak, who here again are their teachers.

G1 225 221 361 Finally, the Negda, though living at a distance from the sea, annually travel in some number from the Amgunj, and especially from their northeastern dwelling sites on Lake Orell and

/548 cont./

225 171 In view of this distribution of the white whale in the Amur region, the Gilyak are practically the only one of its peoples that occupies itself with catching it. To be sure, the Ainu along the east coast of Sakhalin would have the opportunity for it, but there is no mention of such an occupation by any of the travelers who became acquainted with them. Little inclined toward bolder hunting ventures, they presumably are satisfied, so far as the white whale is concerned, to capture the individuals stranded on the shore, just as they do in the case of the larger

225 true whales. With regard to the latter the Gilyak do no differently, but they pursue the white whale with weapons, and, to be sure, for this they use a harpoon intended specifically for this purpose, their so-called parr (Pl. XLII /see p.1022/, Figs. 3 and 4). This consists of a thick and short bone tube into which a dagger-shaped, double-edged and pointed iron lamella provided with a barb on either side in the back is inserted. This piece is mounted on a wooden shaft (Gilyak werl) for hurling it and, in addition, is equipped with a long, stout strap by which the wounded animal is pulled in, either to the boat or directly on land, depending on where the hunter may be, in order finally

• [825] to be beaten to death. Here, too, as in seal-hunting, superstition, and presumably as the result of a similar idea, demands that, first of all, the head of the slain animal be cut off; it is not thrown into the water, however, but hung on a tree standing on the bank, after all the muscle meat and the like have first been removed from it. At various places along the right bank of the Amur I saw such trees with many skulls of white whales hanging in them, which at the same time showed the success

[171] of the Gilyak in hunting /549/ the white whale. I cannot say whether the Olcha, in whose territory the white whale is much rarer, likewise hunt them, but, if this should be the case, only the Gilyak could have been their teachers. Thus, the hunting of the white whale is a characteristic feature in the way of life of the Gilyak in contrast to the other Amur peoples and brings them closer, in view of the arctic nature of this animal, to the

ooo polar peoples. And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

/549 cont./ And, strangely enough, the custom of stic

225 171 the skulls of slain white-whales on a tree or, lacking one of on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some

• 825 of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed

[113] 1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 275.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

/550/ Section 9

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Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapo and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 171 As we now turn to the second main source of subsiste of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the fores I m first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the rem frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing increases the more in immediate importance and significanc the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur a into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

224 The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observa tions, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peop

[439] to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them cato ing fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for them-selves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these end

/556 cont./
224 Middendorff and others (1). Thus, larger animals are usually
191

1. Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1382 ff., and the woodcut.

only killed by chance with the weapons to be described later.
224 Some of the animals mentioned above, such as the lynx, the
825 wolf, and the alpine wolf, conventionally offer such highly prized skins that one would expect regular pursuit of them by the Gilyak, and yet, as far as I know, they do not set up any self-firers for them. Undoubtedly superstitious beliefs are in part the reason for this. With regard to the lynx (Gilyak tschlyghi), it has already been pointed out above (2) that the

2. See p. 583 ff. above.

Gilyak see in it an image, as it were, of the tiger, of which they have such a panicky fear that they hardly dare name it or talk about it aloud (3). This awe alone may prevent them from

3. See Vol. I, p. 94, of this work.

hunting it in a premeditated fashion and with the same devices as other animals, and only permits them to go after the carcass adorned with precious fur in case of an accidental meeting and, so to speak, in self-defense. The situation is similar with regard to the alpine wolf (Canis alpinus, Gilyak tschoramlatsch, or Sakhalin-tschchodamlatsch), which the Gilyak do not hunt at all out of superstitious fear, and which, in addition, only stays in remote mountain wilderneses, into which, with their slight
224 inclination for hunting, they may come but rarely. Finally, with regard to the ordinary wolf (Gilyak lugi, along the east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin atrk), it is pursued by the Gilyak regularly, although not with the self-firer, but rather by means of a device which I shall discuss in a moment. Thus, the self-
191 firer, which, in more or less differing forms is used in Siberia both

/561 cont./ such specimens, however,
411 are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch
566 bark, are stored away by their owner as symbols of great wealth.
Bear pikes and lances are the weapons most commonly
224 used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like. During the first period of my stay at the Nikolayev post, when it consisted of only a few log houses erected at the edge of the still completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping there, tried to keep on going by swimming; but the Gilyak immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water with their lances, whereupon I received the skin of the animal. In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order to kill them eventually with their pikes and lances. They get at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested plains of northern Sakhalin and sets out in small herds on the ice of the Liman, in still other ways. When in early spring, under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough to support the dogs, but breaks under the reinderer, they pursue it on a light sled harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they use these weapons against the bear. Aside from the tiger, almost only mythical because
825 of its great rarity, and the no /562/ less unfamiliar leopard, which, out of superstitious fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 90-96) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

825 /562 cont./
224 as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs
184 is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are
[262] fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slajn bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on
224 a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)
184

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly asso-
224 ciated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their ob-
78 servance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers
825 of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in
224 case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by
114 Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans
256 to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce
533
825

825 /563 cont./
114 it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among
256
224
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[113]

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts
224 on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do
825 not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect.
[796] The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward
[199] off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the
224 profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the fol-
825 lowing superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I
123 entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I
199 saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

/564 cont./
224 animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then,
825 after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch
123 bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My
199 efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "unlsch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if the were to sell it to me in an intact
224 state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same
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[113]

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

/564 cont./
224 to fishing or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the
825 circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among them hunting does not by far stand in the foreground of life to the degree that fishing and seal-catching do.
223 In discussing the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak, the hunting of wild fowl was also considered above in passing. A few pertinent remarks might in addition follow here. By far the greatest number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are not killed by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which on the whole are used very little, but are caught in nets during the molting season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally, but not infrequently, they capture birds that get their food by diving into the water and become entangled in the nets. Among these they pay special attention to the divers. Colymbus septentrionalis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which however, is done, not for practical, utilitarian reasons, but out of superstition, about which I shall speak later when discussing their methods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hauz) and white grouse (Gilyak parrä, along the Tymy on Sakhalin tschleola-nga), with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied the Nikolayev post during the winters of 1855-1857, are caught by them in snares (Gilyak kusi). With regard to the white grouse,
[532] which one also finds represented on amulets among the Gilyak,
[825] although in a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion, I likewise noted among them the above-mentioned superstition relating to the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird they greatly desired to remove the head first.

For the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the fishing eagles. Haliaëtos pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tscharngai-tscham) and H. albicilla Briss. (Gilyak myght-tscham, in the interior of Sakhalin ach-tscham). The former, however, occurs only rarely in their territory and chiefly along the seacoast, but the latter, on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout the region, and it is therefore always meant when merely the
[439] tscham (eagle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive from it consists in the fact that the rectrices are an important

/598 cont./

435 439 undoubtedly can be explained by their great quantity, by the as yet still undiminished wealth of animals in the lower Amur region. Only two types of fur considerably surpass all the others with their high prices: the black fox and the lynx. The former owes its high price, not only to the absolute beauty of its fur, also recognized and highly appreciated by the Chinese, but certainly also to its far greater rarity. The lynx fur, on the other hand, as was pointed out above, has too high an imaginary value in the eyes of the Gilyak themselves to be marketed in great quantities.

435 2) Like the lynx fur, several other articles are distinguished in the above table by their very high price, in no way corresponding to their real value. Among these in particular are the old Manchurian iron armor and helmets discussed above at great length and the Japanese kettles with three handles, which, unfortunately, I did not see, but these could hardly so greatly surpass in quality the kettles from there with two handles, or otherwise somewhat different from them in form, as to justify [550] the great difference between them in price. The necessity for special marks of wealth and distinction, present even among the otherwise practical Gilyak, is expressed in these things.

825 556 3) The same motive, vanity, also explains the high value of a live bear among the Gilyak. It brings its owner not only no material /599/ advantage, but, on the contrary, even disadvantages, for the killing and consumption of it can take place only in a festive fashion which entails expense for the owner and host, in return, however, it brings him the flattering reputation of a rich and renowned man.

435 439 291 4) Among the various clothing materials which represent the principal barter item of the Chinese in dealing with the Gilyak, the latter most prize the colorful silk materials with dragons and other Chinese patterns and often gold and silver interwoven through them, but not because they themselves take special pleasure in them and live in luxury with them -- instead, one sees them used among them almost exclusively in small

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593 845 595 586 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a [825] [789] woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to 844 114 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kufk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. [132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 343 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/677 cont./

805 184 825 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound 805 184 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the 825 former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas [439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

805 825 191 113 3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/677 cont./

805 825 191 113 3. (cont.) des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 184 114 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long -- a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the 805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

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Section 13 (1)

000 1. The table of contents for this chapter is missing in the manuscript.

(The bear festival). Their cultural character and social significance. -- The bear festivals among the Amur Gilyak. Ceremonies and entertainments before and during the killing of the bears, as well as during the consumption of them. Burial of the bones and skulls of the bears. Modifications among the Olcha, as well as among the Gilyak on Sakhalin and the Ainu.

825 The bear plays an outstanding role in the life of all the peoples of the Amur region and Siberia up to Kamchatka. But among none of them is this the case to the extent that it is among the Gilyak. The huge size that it attains in the Amur region (2),

2. See my measurements of bear skulls in Vol. I, pp. 8 ff., of this work.

its vicious nature, which, perhaps because there it does not find anywhere near the abundance of food that it does in Kamchatka, makes it not hesitate to attack even human beings, and its frequent occurrence at all times make it the most feared beast of prey of the region. It is therefore not surprising that the imagination of the Gilyak is much occupied with it and surrounds it, in life as well as after death, with fearful superstitious ideas. For instance, there prevails among them the belief that [1175] [1766] the soul of a Gilyak who was killed in a fight with a bear moves into the body of this beast of prey, which may have chiefly arisen from the fact that the bear in its mode of life and its bearing reveals many a similarity with them, in that it, like them, feeds largely on the salmon ascending the river in masses, on berries, plant tubers, and the like, like them it prepares a place for itself for the winter in caves under snow-covered twigs, like them it stands upright in combat, etc.

/696 cont./

825 like them it stands upright in combat, etc. In spite of all this,
[262] however, the Gilyak is not willing to forgo the great enjoyment which bear meat and fat provides for his palate, and he longs for it especially if the bear first lived in captivity for a time and was fed on fish, for this food adds a fishy flavor to its meat and fat, which is especially agreeable to the Gilyak. Moreover, a person may /697/ then indulge in the enjoyment of these savory morsels quite without danger and without punishment, for, in order to achieve this, according to Gilyak belief, a long series of preliminary act is necessary, all of them aimed at outwitting the bear during its lifetime by attestations of esteem and to deceive it, as it were, about everything that is done with it, but, after its death, to pacify the angered spirits of revenge of the mighty beast by paying homage even to the manes of the slain animal.

231 The attestations of esteem begin immediately with the leading of the bear into captivity. If the bear has been discovered in its lair and safely shackled following a successful battle, it is taken, as has been said (1), on two sleds put side by side and tied

1. See p. 878-880 above.

together, in a triumphal procession to the place from which the hunters set out, and it is received there with loud shouts of jubilation from young and old. The same thing happens when a Gilyak returns from a trading trip to Sakhalin and in the central space of his boat brings with him one or a couple of young bears bought on the island (2). In the Gilyak villages there is usually

2. See p. 960 above.

never a lack of lodging for putting up the bear, but if need be a new one is erected for it. This consists of a square box made of beams, open at the top, with a small, heavily barricaded door and an even smaller, always open window. The bear is forced to climb into it and, after it has been unfettered, is prevented from escaping its prison by a layer of boards spread over it, fastened with poles, and weighted with stones. From now on

/702 cont./

*796 Thus the procession sways along, sometimes forward, some-
354 times backward, but always closer and closer to the house door,
231 amid the loud roars of rage of the bear being tugged back and forth, in which the other two animals join, and amid the wild, intermittent shouts of jubilation of the bear leaders as well as the bystanders. The few oil-lamps do not sufficiently illuminate the large space of the yurt with its dark sooty beams so that all those who are busy with the bear can clearly see its movements, and yet this is absolutely essential for the prompt intervention of one or the other man in front. Hence a number of boys leap onto the sleeping benches and from there illuminate the turbulent proceedings, following the procession back and forth with improvised torches, which consist of rolled-up birch-bark and sometimes flare up brightly and then again spread only dark smoke. Truly a strange picture (see Plate XLVII /p.1247/).

*796 The two other bears were then /703/ led out of the house in
231 the same manner as the small bear. The first one was decidedly the most enraged and intractable of all, which the Gilyak ascribed to the fact that it had broken a leg while being captured and consequently was still limping. It was remarkable how differently the three bears expressed their rage and defended themselves: whereas the small bear and the large one straightened themselves up and tried to claw the man goading them, the third bear behaved quite differently; it did not try to get up at all, but attempted to ward off the thrusts of the stick by holding its paw in front of its face and reaching out for the legs of the one goading it, or it would lie down on its back and defend itself with its paws. It was also the only one of the three which in its fury, tried to scratch up the stamped-earth floor of the yurt, which, however, the Gilyak stopped it from doing each time.

The purpose of the procession with the bears was to lead them
[825] through all the houses in the village, of which there were seven in Tebach; the procession with the three bears turned into each of them, and everywhere they were arranged in the same order, the large bear in the middle, the two others at the sides, and treated with mossj from nichyr spoons as a sign that they are held in esteem and are welcome guests in each house.

/707 cont./

*796 bear did not leave or enter Judin's house until after it had been
231 led back and forth through the door four times. Again the bears had to be led through all the houses in the village and treated everywhere with mossj and crushed ice. Twice they came into Judin's house and received the same treatment. The Gilyak espe-
*796 cially like to see their boys, even if they are very small, partici-
857 pate in the feeding of the bears: they bravely step up to the ani-
231 mal and offer it the spoon filled with mossj, which is sometimes held and supported by several small hands; many a little fellow who can hardly stand on his legs, not to speak of holding a nichyr, must be helped by the father or older brother, who lifts up the
[825] little one. Perhaps this is done for pedagogical reasons, but more probably for superstitious reasons, namely, in the belief that through this the children will continue to have the good will of the mighty animal even after they are grown. As soon as the bears have again been taken out of the house, however, the children use the free space to romp about in and to perform an exact duplicate of what they have seen during the leading of the bears, during the changing of the bands on them, etc., most faithfully imitating all the movements, positions, and demeanors of the adults, as has been described above (pp. 1136 ff.). Thus they learn how to deal with the bears long before they can lend a helping hand.

In the evening, in bright moonlight, the bears were led
*796 beyond the village and all the way around Cape Tebach on the
231 river ice. It was a long procession that started moving down toward the river, for, in addition to the three bears, who were led in the same order as /708/ always, a great number of idle boys followed them. Since the bank is high and slopes rather steeply down to the river, it was interesting to see how the procession moved down the slippery hill without falling into disorder even for a moment: while those standing at the front rope ran down at top speed, the ones busy on the rear rope had to hold back with all their might in order to prevent the bear from running down just as quickly and causing damage below; by their combined efforts, however, they succeeded in letting all three bears slide down the hill slowly and evenly. It was much easier going back, for those

*796 /715 cont./ At this window,
532 after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation
825 of a toad (Gilyak mipitsch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig. 3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear, and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house, but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal (hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can express only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustration appears here./

*796 Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this
252 day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the
[888 hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the
887]

/716 cont./

Toad made out of birch bark.

716 graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys
252 and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
888 deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
887 fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
784 similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the kettle was filled with snow for it is uftsch to use water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
532 The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed.

887 The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

/718 cont./

*796 sturgeon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in
252 an unworthy place, so to speak, where they could not be seen by the bears, the women began to prepare various dishes, such as mossj, several kinds of groats, beans with fish oil or seal oil, and the like -- work which, undertaken quite differently and in the ordinary way, proceeded rapidly and vigorously.

*796 /719/ The morning of the following day (January 30) began with putting on the bear rack the two belves of the bears, three carp (Cypr. carpio, Gilyak pilengat) and a portion of all the dishes prepared the day before and put in various bowls of birch bark, whereupon an old man seated himself in front of the bears and immediately began to eat some of the freshly prepared mossj out of two bear-bowls.

There followed the customary feeding of the dogs inside the house and, as on the previous days, a race of decorated dogs along with drumming by the women. Next, strips of bear fat were again hung on the étagère and then, amid the heavy incense of fir branches, the internal organs of the bear were cut up and placed in
[252] small bear-bowls. It seems that these parts are not cooked, but eaten raw, like the fat.

At the same time, the women congregated in one corner of the house around a little old woman and, out of motley rags, began to sew together a band about ten inches long and three inches wide -- the so-called tschudbas of the Gilyak. At sunset
*796 this band is wound around the snouts of the bears just below their
325 eyes in order to dry the tears welling out of them. Fastened in the
532 middle of it, however, on the ridge of the snouts, there is a
324 representation of a toad, cut out of birch bark (1). I can give no
824

1. Like the one pasted on the window, see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has been said above other than the following. With the cutting up of its internal organs, heart, liver, and the like, the bear knows that its fate is sealed and sheds tears over the evil spirit, the toad,

/719 cont./

*796 that led him to it and was the cause of it all. It itself thus recog-
825 nizes the toad as the culprit. The Gilyak, on the other hand, have shown it only kindness: they have received it as a guest in their houses, put it in the seat of honor, offered it some of all the foods, in general did everything only with its knowledge and permission, and their women show it a final act of kindness by consolingly drying the tears in its eyes. Therefore no guilt for its fate or responsibility for it falls on them. At the same time a second symbolic
*796 act is carried out on the bears, the explanation for which, it seems to me, must be sought somewhat further afield. In addition to the tschudbas[2] a second head-band is put on them: a strap tied crosswise, on which are found one or two agate balls about one and a half inches large, which rest on the forehead and a little to one side (2). The small bear was given a band with one agate

2. See the woodcut, p. 1163.

ball which lay above its eyes in the middle of its forehead; the large bear was given two such balls, that is, in addition to that one, a second one which rested over the right parietal bone, and, finally, a band with two agate balls in the middle of the forehead, one directly over the other, was put on the medium-sized bear displayed in another house (that of its owner). On this point it seems that if more balls than bears are available, there is room for choice and only the ball in the middle of the forehead is obligatory.
*796 These agate balls are of Chinese ("Manchurian") /720/ workman-
177 ship and are highly prized and never sold by the Gilyak. Their
174 exotic origin seems to me to suggest an explanation for the entire procedure. /Illustration appears here./ During the many years of frequent intercourse between the Gilyak and the Chinese on the Sungari, it could certainly not have escaped them that the Buddhist divinities of the latter as a rule had a bump or swelling on the forehead above the eyes, indeed, it is possible and probable that they viewed this as a sign of the special holiness of the divinities
[824] concerned in the eyes of the Chinese. If one now considers the
[796] striving of the Gilyak to imitate Chinese ways, it is quite

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/720 cont./

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine, and that they do this with the agate balls which are newly added to them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to my idea, the bear is regarded as a divine animal among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the toad and bead bands, or the toad and agate-ball bands, all the honor shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give themselves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into requisition on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bear, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench of honor. First, a tub, which, judging by the use of the word omsin since in /721/ had been propped up against the fireplace the whole time, was used to present pieces of Russian sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it, simple circular

/721 cont./

upon the rack in the central section of the yurt, decorated with fir branches, numerous wood shavings (ŋamnmun), and the bear-skin hanging down from the roof, while the other lamps shed a gloomy light upon the long row of totally tattered fellow-diners sitting along its walls and with large consumed appetites, the bear. There was /722/ something orderly and yet savage and uncivilized about this strange picture. Now one of the servers stepped up to the bear and had received the two head-pieces of the bear, which he put on them as well as from the portions of those sitting next to them, a small piece of meat was distributed to each person with a knife. Only now did the two guests in the middle draw up their portions and begin to eat, and all the others followed their example forthwith. Immediately smaller and larger lumps of the bear were put themselves here and there, and a few young men passed along the whole row of diners and collected from them contributions in small bowls for those who did not participate in the meal, and a few bites were also given to the women and girls.

By now it was 7:30 in the evening; the feast had therefore lasted about and a half hours and, judging by the size of the still-remaining portions, would last about two hours. Unfortunately I was obliged to depart, since the night had to be utilized for traveling on account of the great amount of ballast water that had to be pumped out of the second compartment of the river at this time of year.

Let us now compare the second act of the bear festival as it proceeds, on the one hand, among the Gilyak and, on the other, among the Olča. In spite of the great similarity in the principal and secondary features of this festive performance, a very different spirit in the way it is carried out among the Gilyak and among the Olča is apparent to us. Among the former the character of the festival is altogether cheerful, as is shown by the fact that it has been transmitted. While the object of the whole is exactly the same, namely utilitarian, in both cases -- the ultimate consumption of the bear -- very different ways are used by the one and by the other to try to attain it. Among the Gilyak the bear festival proceeds from the idea of the bear cult, or at least is tied up with it; in a

/730 cont./

preserved in part by veneration for the mighty beast, in part by superstitious fear of it and its spirits of revenge. It is given the place of honor in the house. The people appear to act only with its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, and, finally, all guilt and responsibility are shifted from them. On the other hand, scarcely anything of the art is noted among the Olčan: the only superstition conceptions referring to the bear and the bear festival which I found among them consisted in the fact that they did not want to sell me any bear meat and that they regarded it as ohach (an idea which they have borrowed from the Gilyak) or pu omtak (with the taboo from the bears during the bear festival which, they said, was by no means forbidden at any other time. In contrast to the fearful, superstitious, and, as it were, religious-cultic conception of the Gilyak, the second and most important part of the bear festival has degenerated into mere amusement among the Olča, a series of pedantically observed formalities, such as one might expect from the conservative old Chinese, but not from a primitive people. Perhaps this degenerate of a custom originally foreign to the Olča, which does not have its roots in the people, has indeed come about under Manchu-Chinese influence. Among them, too, all the foods served at the festival are almost the sole exception from their usual fare and are of Manchu-Chinese /722/ origin, whereas among the Gilyak, in accordance with ancient tradition, sturgeon and bear meat and millet prepared from species of salmon play a prominent role at the festivals. It can be observed, incidentally, that the eating of foreign Manchu-Chinese foods is always done with greater formality even among the Gilyak, which can be explained by the fact that it immediately lifts primitive man out of his everyday routine and puts him in an elevated festive mood. The greater number of Manchu-Chinese foods at the bear festival of the Olča in comparison with the Gilyak is undoubtedly due to the fact that their sources for these products are closer and more numerous as a result of both the permanent residence of the Chinese in the administrative areas of the Olča and Golči and the more frequent and active intercourse between these peoples and the Chinese on the Sungari.

/730 cont./

ohach, which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 5, Pots a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, it perhaps is unmistakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly is a bronze copy of a Chinese bronze, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the heads of the bear has been eaten,

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill mugwon and hamsa (see above, p. 1240 and Plate LI /p. 808). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the bear skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull is left, however, in several different places in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The Gilyak, in accordance with ancient tradition, place the bear skull used for a similar purpose by the Golči, to judge from traces of blood, on the top of a tree, however, quite the skull of the bear, but conceal themselves, forgoing eating the bear, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Bar, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Dmuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed in its aster to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 6-15).

/730 cont./

sometimes the right, sometimes the left parietal bone. In the habitation area of the Gilyak I saw trees hung with dolphin skulls, to be sure, but I never came across any with bear skulls, though the number of bears killed and captured and eaten there annually is probably much larger than among the Golči. This definitely indicates that, unlike the Golči, the Gilyak, aside from bearing in open or splitting the bear skull, do something else to in which is scarcely less notable than the covering of the bones for removing it from the right of human beings. In short at various places in the forest near Gilyak dwellings I have came across spon which, upon close inspection, proved to be small, roofless huts made of young trees were cut off several inches above the ground, the remaining piece of trunk was split into two prongs, and the bear skull, spin the two prongs projected out of the sygomatic arches and held it clamped between them so that the prongs, in addition, as either side a short wooden peg was driven from above through the zygomatic arches and into the frontal bone. /731/ If grass grew over the spot, nothing is recognizable to the casual glance. This method of dealing with the bear skulls was transmitted from the Gilyak to the Olča, who, in accordance with the idea that the bear skulls are sacred, had bone experiences with the neighboring peoples. The Olča, in accordance with ancient tradition, place the bear skull used for a similar purpose by the Gilyak, to judge from traces of blood, on the top of a tree, however, quite the skull of the bear, but conceal themselves, forgoing eating the bear, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Bar, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Dmuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed in its aster to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

/731 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Poramina vertebralis on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Golči birch-bark boxes and baskets, and I found also on the grave sites of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having moved to Sakhalin from the mainland, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individual

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between the mainland and Sakhalin. In a different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the mainland and Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, sow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top, which, in contrast, is not visible from a distance, the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young Ainu, stripped of their bear-skin trousers, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ragiet-shaped, coled wooden-shavings (ŋamnmun) hanging down from their crown and from their shoulders and backs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and the bear skull hanging on the same, or on wooden carts (ŋaŋŋ) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk. Dul. Juin. Pad-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/746 cont./ /p. 1946/ Golči which serve most well in favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples, wherever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W. R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The idea that the bear is the dwelling place in which they are expected to live with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of putting the bear (ki) was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals. The bear kiŋ or behaŋki serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstition beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few bear idols. And this is unusually true of both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuŋ, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised hand runs around its body, upon which other animals served to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country; the toad -- mujimch (2) on

2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

/746 cont./

the front side of the bear-idol, the lizard mikrŋŋaŋ on the back side of it, and the snake kilanga, whose image is found on either side between the first two. I often witnessed the use and fear of the Gilyak before reptiles (1).

1. See Appendix 20, paragraph 2 /p. 1204/.

Among the Gilyak, besides the bear, one finds idols of the ati or mikrŋŋ, with downright superstition fear connected with it among them. But since the tiger and leopard, which are united under the same name ati or mikrŋŋ, are rarely seen in the northern homeland and casualties caused by them are rare, the idols of the ati are less common than those of the bear. The slight anatomical of the Gilyak with those predatory animals causes them to make the idols of them poorly and superficially (3).

3. See Vol. I, pp. 82-84, of this work.

See Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 represents an idol with a tiger's head, which I obtained in Tymovsk. The marks which characterize the tiger and leopard and are present on the representations of these animals among the Golči. Only the general shape of the animal is indicated, and the tiger's head figure is in fact supposed to represent an ati in certain, since I obtained the idols from a Gilyak expert in this. (Ibid. I, pp. 82, 83.)

11. Gilyak. A fish carved out of wood, which came from the Gilyak village of Tetkin, seems to serve less as an idol or talismanic than as a piece of carving, as a representation, textual in general. It is supposed to represent the fish ŋaŋ-nuŋo, which is unknown to me. Even earlier I acquired from Tebarch the figure of another small fish, the pilengat, Cyprinus carpio, which carvings wire had no significance other than that of ŋaŋ (see p. 1090). Both are illustrated on Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9. In an idol, I obtained another carved fish from Tebarch, which was supposed to represent the ŋaŋ(?)-nuŋo, i. e., a large pilengat-nuŋo. (Ibid. II, p. 32.)

/749 cont./

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idols -- images that are worn around the neck in a manner of talismans. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end bears the head of a human being, and, on the other end, the head of a bear. The bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Alfed. Sometimes, in place of the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 8) while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however the shoulder of the bear's head with human and bear heads are at times for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bin. II, p. 38.)

20. Gilyak. In the bear cult near the village of Chaire, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the dead were found which are of a special character and, in the standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with mich and other pieces of wood, are reminiscent of idols. For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (ati) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /p. 1262 /, Fig. 1). Fig. 2 is a human idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs and a head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 7).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal with remarkable traces of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide mouth was densely studded with teeth. This illustration, which is shown on Plate LXVI /p. 1262 /, Fig. 3, contained another carved fish from Tebarch, which was supposed to represent the ŋaŋ(?)-nuŋo, i. e., a large pilengat-nuŋo. (Bin. II, p. 32.)

/750 cont./

figure was made in case of bachelors, in order to rid oneself of the ashamed (Plate LIX fp 1209/, fig. 8; (2.5.8.1, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Ilde I was able to buy many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of bear's head (Plate LVI fp 1208/ Gilyak /fp 1207 / fig. 8). It was named for me as *oech*, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl /*kiu* on a human body (Plate LVI /p 1207 / fig. 8); in the case of a third one the owl was the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p 1206 / fig. 8). several human figures had carvings on the body and head.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of pegs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the Yakuts in past and which is called *ulbi* or *ulbe* or *ulbe-ulbe*.

Then there were idols of the white whale (*pem-mchen*) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p 1204 / fig. 9). It well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and *kiu*n, etc., here.

In the village of Tchelbunak many idols with *oech* wound around them and carried clothes in buraldak form on a shelf in the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVI /p 1211 / fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many bear heads, all of bear carvings made with representations of various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a head, a tiger, and the like on them. These were all self-made. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an *ulbe* (Plate LIX /p 1210 / fig. 1). This vessel was called *tuhdaul* and was used for the same purpose. So amount of *yukagirom*, however, helped in getting the women who owned them to sell them to me and offer me other idol-bowls. She said that it is a sin and would cause her death.

/750 cont./

Several nearly carved and iron-ring idols were also sold to me in the village of Pati. On one the back of the head had the shape of a bear; on another you could see the head of a bear, which represented two bears (Plate LV /p 1205 / fig. 5). /751/ The bear could, by the way, be taken apart, and on each carvings (see 13 fp. /1202/ above).

Among the idols here there was one with the head of a *tong* or we bear /*ha seal*/. The sea dog /*hurbo seal*/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2.5.8.1, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschyhtesach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is carved so that the head of a fish, with eyes teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass beads. The hair and rear extremities are attached into the back of the fish-man. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately as a horizontal plane with the body, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p 1208/, fig. 1). C. v. Dittmar (who was in part interested in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patcha there is a legend which he was not disinclined to accept as true, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

"Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patcha ventured from fishing on two boats ladies with fish. They were caught in a storm and the fish arose and prepared the sea until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark on the idea. The men meaning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had been at work during the night. There therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

/750 cont./

was taken, for above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, two bronze one, Tschihach, fresh in the village of Kalk, above Nikolayevsk. In case of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to village where there are no shamans (1). There are shamans implements, however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have been a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, so he-bear, also folkore from the fact that they never denigrate as shamans, or at least, they are considered by their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and spokesmen. Bear worship is well known (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "in shamanistic" see pp. 1153. 1165. of abo. p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the heathen fragin and bogin in Kalk, further swords of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as is customary in the shaman performance, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wati was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part of the cognitions of the shaman, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, fears for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. I, pp. 24. 28.)

23. Gilyak. The shamans performance. I learned that makes are especially feared from information given to me by an eyewitness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Petrovskoye. After singing and beating had been performed by the onlookers, the shaman turned in the good ruling heaven, sun, moon, and stars (above whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

/750 cont./

that he had been thus informed by the client of his people, and he pronounced the conjuring spirits to be the sun and the moon and the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russian. During the conjuring spirits, the shaman, who had put on an animal-like stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake decorated at one end and a bear at the other. The bottom bowed and danced, and then the shaman beneath the bowl the god for good, and the bear for evil. The snake was considered to be favorable and safe for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 8.)

24. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

2. Ineffective in cases of sickness, for which and epidemics, because of being a tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called *mgrunch*, and sometimes a double one, *wap-mgrunch*, with a doubled body and extremities. The former lives on land, for the latter in the water. Some the former is also designated as *mrf-mgrunch*, the latter as *tail-mgrunch*, in which case the former is called *ka-mgrunch*. (especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Perhak and her son, Dshamas, from Kalk. Jonhsin Gnaghi of Kalk has informed me that he himself is a very capitulation of the rebels, which these souls go to one of the stars, was also another, I was told that they also were beyond there, *kiu*, i.e., "inland" from the stars (↑↑). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

↑↑ Therefore beyond them, the sun-star-Ovetdorr, p. 1155.

25. Gilyak. From Chontsamho I learned the following about the claws of the Gilyak with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/750 cont./

tick and dies, if he does not see the proper means to free himself of the spirit, the only means that he has help him, however, is a shaman. He conjures up a *bhgu* (a good god), who removes the spirit from the sick man, and then the same *bhgu* is represented carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman in long wooden sticks, which, when not used must be with the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future.

A sick man want wears a single amulet, a woman a double one. The *mgrunch* are always carved out of wood, especially the *wap-mgrunch*, which is only on the nose-band of the dead bear (Bm. pp. 116, 118) that a single *mgrunch* of birch bark may be found. This is made by the women. The amulets made of bear claws are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, carved out of wooden sticks. A number of amulets and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (*mkrgrgn*) are similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much more attention is paid to lizard. The former are taken into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman with the help of an amulet-dog (*ka*) (1)

1. See Appendix 15 fp. /1156/, 16 fp. /1204/.

It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (*ulb*, where the souls of the mentioned are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether those souls go to one of the stars, which was also another, I was told that they also were beyond there, *kiu*, i.e., "inland" from the stars (↑↑). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

↑↑ Therefore beyond them, the sun-star-Ovetdorr, p. 1155.

26. Gilyak. From Chontsamho I learned the following about the claws of the Gilyak with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/771 cont./

on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore is longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, the idea may in part also go too to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. I, pp. 64-66.)

44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (***), the

*** See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the sea, or who has fallen into the (or into) a river, or who has gone up to heaven or to hilly, we, but goes into a seal-dog, *nad*, to be sure, into a *kighmch* or *pyglitlingg*. i.e., the seal-dog *kighmch* is represent a number of antelopes and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

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↑↑ Therefore beyond them, the sun-star-Ovetdorr, p. 1155.

45. Olcha. From Chontsamho I learned the following about the claws of the Gilyak with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/773 cont./

yaran (↑↑). The tomb is chopped off several feet above the roots,

↑↑ On the specimen given in the Academic Museum the tomb is chopped off and the representations was supplied by a piece of wood specially made for the purpose. (Bm. II, pp. 161 (of) See Plate LXVI /p. 1208 /, Fig. 3).

painted (the top of the stump, /773/ end, with the painted end, which rises the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the roots, representing the wagmch, are in the ground. The wagmch are also represented among Gilyak, there are wags in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wawi, Kaki, Wati, Kaigdo, Tebech, and elsewhere.

According to Sieger's information, a wag is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, the Gilyak Olcha somehow in the same village, the latter does not get a wag. Similiarly no wag is set up for a man who died in the same village, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In the case of a murdered person, the wag remained. The same if done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wag is set up.

The bird's head of the wag is said to be patterned after the bird-shaped amulet, which, in the Gilyak, is said to accord by the Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wag. Such stuffed skins of Gilyak's sections and segments are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wags, the Gilyak give the head of the *gill*-tech of *ioe*, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

1. Perhaps the wags, by its threatening aspect, are explicitly said to be intended to frighten off the blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wags are set up in cases where the murdered person is administer --

/773 cont./

1. (cont.)

the burial place of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any more earthly food, as stated in the *ulb* of the windening soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 64-66.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) tell me, they bear their corpses and erect wags over the ashes of murdered persons. (G. W. E., p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Gilyak living in Ilde (situated in Ilpschi-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise erect wags for murdered persons. It is done along the Amur, in the Lunzan, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arlak (excl.).

A *wag* is erected over only the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a tank, *pch* or *tonz*, and *pch-ngri* or *tonz-ngri* as a *ngri*. The *pch* is painted red and is among the Tymy Gilyak been the symbol of *mrf-mgrn*, that is, of a burial home manager chamber, which obviously corresponds to its significance. Only the *tchri-ngri* is painted red. (G. W. E., p. 8.)

See Appendix 15 fp. /1156/, 16 fp. /1204/.

64. Gilyak. From Arlaci on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as unclean but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the neighbouring Ainu on Sakhalin and Saikalin and the Amg (G. W. E. I, pp. 8-9.)

/774/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arlaci (G. W. E. p. 22).

65. Gilyak. The Gilyak are said far from the Russian village of Bogoroditsyn in the village of Tchi-ngri Gilyak of Pulij (Pulo on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various decorations

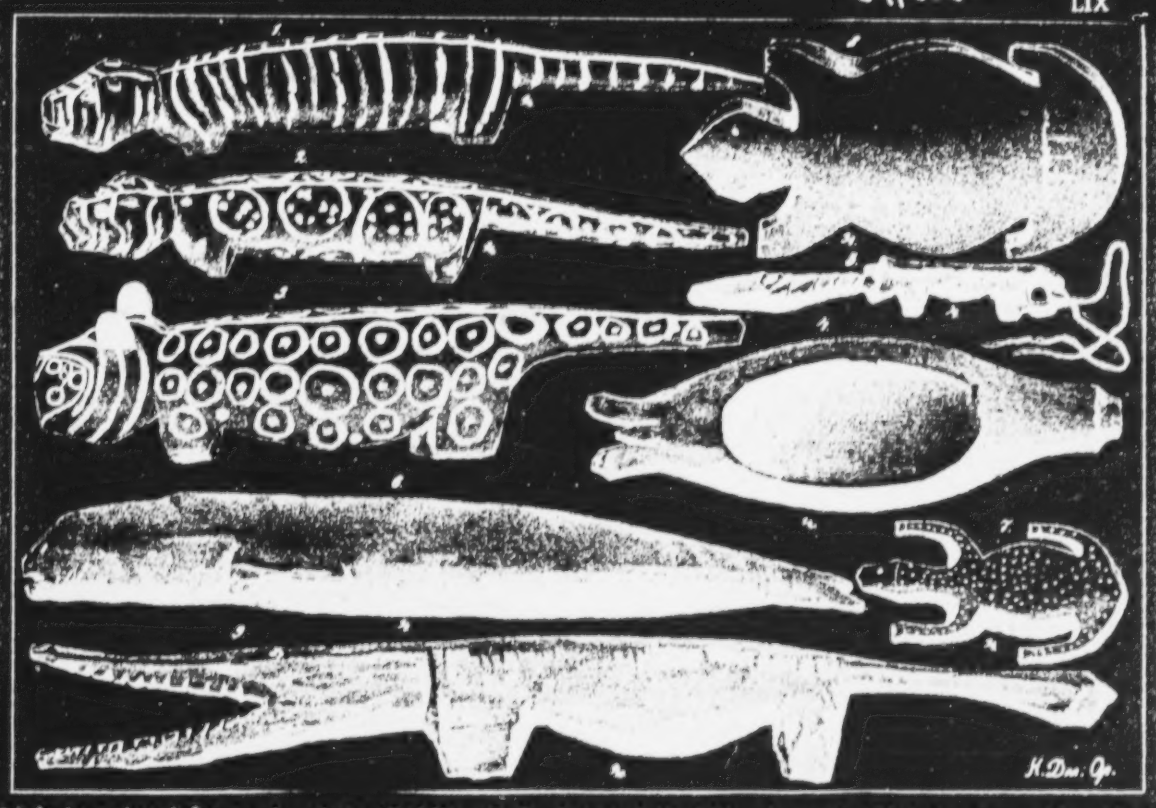
Gilyak idols made out of carved human and animal figures.
1.-human being and tiger. 2.- human being, tiger, and bear. 3.- human being and bear. 4.- human being with bear head; 5.- human being with wolf head. 6.-human being with bear head and paw. 7,8.- Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9.-similarly, a bow with human head.

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal figures combined.
1.-human being and tiger. 2.- human being, tiger, and bear. 3.- human being and bear. 4.- human being with owl head. 5.-human being with bear head and paw. 7,8.- Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9.-similarly, a bow with human head.

Gilyak idols in animal form: 1.-bear, a toad in his belly; 2.-is the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3.-bear, a toad, dressed in fish skin; 4-6.-tiger.

2: Schrenck--1259 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Rx2 Goldi Rx3

LIX



Idols in animal form: 1--tiger (Goldi); 2, 3--leopard (Goldi); 4--seal (Olcha); 5--unidentified animal, a human heart in its mouth (Olcha amulet); 6--white whale (Gilyak); 7, 8--toad (Gilyak); 9--"chas" of the Gilyak.

9: Hawes--202 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 183, 527, 782, 825

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the raison d'être of the custom, [LSS: The bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any case, they would not reveal to a stranger the hidden meaning of their rites. The following is how a Russian fared when he tried to find out the signification of the ceremony, and I met with no more success.

Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.

Russian. Why do you not recite about it during the killing of the bear?

Gilyak. I don't know.

Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for his crimes?

Gilyak. No.

Russian. Why does the cham recite these charges in the bear's ear?

Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from ancient times. Ask the old men, perhaps they know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, knew no more."

25 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
32 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
52 boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant ays, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd ('major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

5 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
2 mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
6 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
5 (aγs). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea. Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ʒəks twig and the other is a qosk əks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are the uiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

411 called əmləus and the sea-end is
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end,
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's sto
which, according to the Gilyaks, w
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me,
seine. In place of plummets, stones
of the seine. They are called tətr-
(vaγ) are fastened to the upper co
head of a sivuch gets caught in the
flounder; at times so violently that
the seine together with the plumme
finds itself literally in a sack. Som
the seine. The seals pəγi are shr
in the net.

In the past as well as at the pres
the village Kul set the tola-k'e at
Loγri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, som
225 owned seal hunting places in the pa
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lul
524 3. ət.

471 Lulvəγ-pər and γaγreqej are na
of the water. Seals crawl out of the
ət is a small island close to which t

3. In a fog the hunters com
or of the small island ət. T
amuse themselves and play.
laqr-paγ stones for a game
who cannot." Close to the r
place where the Gilyaks com
consists in jumping on one fo

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋr
vər.

The first two places form parts o
resting places for seals. The third i

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off
seals and Hapzə- vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters tak
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus,
198 substitute prearranged names for th
825 objects. This prearranged language
789 past when hunters used it to keep th

alled ǝz-baχ-puks
which is lowered into the
e' or 'master stone,'
eighs two poods. This
forms the anchor of the
are attached to the bottom
aχ . Large wooden floats
d of the seine. When the
net, the sivuch starts to
it throws the lower edge of
s over the upper cord and
etimes dolphins fall into
ewd and are seldom caught

ent time the Gilyaks of
Ḱivf-ŋalu, Ḱe-ŋalu, Vilk,

e clans in the village Kul
t.
ǝχ-pǝr, 2. ŋaγqeǰ.

mes of rocks sticking out
water onto these rocks.
here is another such rock(3)

ne alongside of the shore
hen the young hunters
There are onǝt two
: "who can lift it and
ocks there is a flat
pete. The competition
oot (teŋot ŧerd).

ri, 2. Tŋǝri-γrǝ, 3. Zomi-

of the shore and are
is a rock.
Vilk, a resting place for

e a number of measures
in conversation, they
he usual names of certain
is an echo of a distant
eir plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552
198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ĭevropy ĭ severnoĭ Azĭĭ"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Ĭtnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.
mu 'boat' they say orq.
ke 'sun' they say am.
la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.
tǝlu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiulǝd.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.
va s 'lake-salmon' they say vǝtik.
al o 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 ti r 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket tuγr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'
la r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say ŧǝrŋ.
i d 'to kill' they say ŋazd.
pǝt 'tomorrow' they say mandǝa.
e r vida 'let us return' they say pǝχtkuda.
saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvǝta-mu.
kǝr-ŋoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ŋod 'tava hurts.'
krǝzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqŋ-taŋgad 'the little finger sticks out (?)' or tot-ŋod 'the hand hurts.'

198 urla-ḍus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-ḍus 'amra bad
225 meat.'

əkila-ḍus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-ḍus 'amra good meat.'

etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiγid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

15 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. LA. Shternberg.

25 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
25 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
87 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
26 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
84 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even it if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kəs

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of kes, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home? " he told me. "Surely kes must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kes exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivevŋ 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
67 following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals: Pila-laŋr 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-ŋa 'present-time animal', i.e. a sivuch born in the given year.

2. Tje-ŋa literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

25 3. Pila-laŋr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
52
25

Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qrŋər is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-ŋəski-kəld is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-ŋəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' ŋəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-ŋəsχəl last year's ŋəsχəl.
4. Qat next in age to tje-ŋəsχəl.
5. Siusui-ŋa next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Taŋarŋa - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Arəfk - next in age to taŋarŋa, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alχ.

25 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
37 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (maχt) and two upper ribs.

25 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
82 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋoχt."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzŋi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

"Among the Gilyaks the Ch'uff, as they call the bear on Sakhalin, plays the greatest rôle in the animal world. He is regarded with peculiar sentiments, and the beliefs and ceremonies which cluster around his sacrifice are unique and interesting. The natives are fully aware of the Ch'uff's cunning, and regard him almost as a Gilyak, certainly as a competitor, and love to tell stories of his knowing ways. They describe how he will go a-fishing, by preference at night, but if by day, he will stand with his right paw held close to his breast lest the sun should cast a shadow on the water and frighten the fish; how he will get up on his hind-legs to fight, and parry a spear-thrust, or shield his heart from a shot, with his paw."

9: Hawes--255 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 136, 225, 825

"In autumn a few seals ascend the river, and these are shot by the natives. They follow in the wake of the Salmo lagocephalus, or are driven before the attack of the dreaded grampus, or black killer (Orca atra). This terrible enemy, the largest of the dolphin family, is armed with a formidable dorsal fin, which in the case of the rectipinnia species attains to the enormous length of six feet. Not content with smaller fry, these terrible wolves of the ocean will even attack a large whale, gathering round it and gashing its throat and lips, and finally hauling it to the bottom of the sea to rise thence with great pieces of its flesh in their maws. Even the fierce walrus will crawl upon the rocks with its young to be out of the way of these voracious creatures; and when larger prey, such as the smaller dolphins or seals are not to be had, salmon and smaller fish furnish a meal for this hungry animal.

Hence, before it are driven ashore and up the rivers the seals, salmon, smelt, trout, etc., upon which the Gilyak lives. It is, therefore, not unnatural that he should look upon the 'sword dolphin,' as the Germans call it, as a friend to whom he owes many a successful catch. The grampus never meets with a hostile reception from the natives, and if his lifeless carcase be cast up on shore, rightful honours are paid it.

It is otherwise with the white fish or white whale Delphinapterus leucas) which haunts the mouths of rivers; for his flesh provides a feast for the Gilyaks. From the skin, [L SS: of the white whale.] I believe, and certainly from that of the rarer seal

116, 539, 766, 775, 825

"Wild swans occasionally flew across high overhead, and a woodpecker could be heard tap-tapping the trees. Our natives eagerly asked us to shoot the eagles which soared aloft or settled on the top of a high tree, only to fly away as we approached within gun-shot. These were the white-tailed eagles (Haliëtus albicillus), prized by the natives for their tail-feathers, for which they declared the Chinese gave them three dollars (about 6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are said to use them to indicate the residence of a person of importance by placing them over his door; in any case, the Gilyaks themselves value the feathers, which they use for arrow-heads. The wings are also prized by them, being placed at the grave of a Gilyak who has been murdered or has committed suicide, to aid his soul in its flight to heaven."

9: Hawes--255 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2

116, 136, 225, 825

(Arctocephalus monteriensis), thongs of several hundred feet are obtained by cutting it spirally. These are again cut into lengths of about 130 feet, and much prized for harpoons, dog harness, and straps generally."

116, 224, 776, 782, 825

"Gazing carelessly at the bank, I espie
to my interpreter and the natives in a l
Seeing nothing, they smiled; but on my
it, and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! C
dog). Now, occasionally we had seen a
village, fishing or waiting for his mast
had realized the mistake the animal had
rushes and grass, giving us, however,
a white tip to his great brush. Even as
stryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh
god of the mountains will be angry), and
would have in store for us should we cr
less to expect to come up with the anim

According to Vanka, if we had killed
when we set out for the winter's hunt th
Vanka was really sincere, I think it far
hunt should suffer, because, by killing
augurated with the usual ceremonies. T
(he is lord of the forest and all therein)
and bounty, was to risk bringing down h

d a head peeping out of the long grass, and called
ow voice, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!).
reiterating and pointing, Vanka caught sight of
Gilyakskiy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak
native dog sitting alone at a distance from a
er, and we therefore hesitated; but before we
got up and trotted off, disappearing into the tall
one clear view of a beautiful coal-black fox with
he disappeared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet
budet serditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The
d much more as to the fate the lord of this region
oss his will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hope-
al.
it, its brethren would have been informed, and
ey would have banded together to kill us. If
more likely that he feared lest his winter's
thus in a haphazard fashion, it had not been in-
o seize of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh
before acknowledging in due form his sovereignty
is wrath upon our heads."

9: Hawes--198 B-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 825

"[LSS: During the bear fête] The bear was then paraded down an avenue of tzakhs stuck in the ground, to the place of execution. On the mainland there is much more merciless teasing of the animal than on Sakhalin. On the banks of the Amur the poor brute is dragged round for three days, and visits each hut in turn, where he is tied up and poked and teased, not always without danger to his tormentors. The smallness of the Sakhalin dwellings prevent such exhibitions on the part of the bear. While the poor animal was left tied up to ruminate over his position, the natives went off to feast; but first they took of their luxuries, rice, whortleberries, etc., and fed their victim until he could eat no more. This is a characteristic trait of their attitude towards Bruin. They were about to kill him, yet they fêted him. It was an attitude of apology. They realized that their conduct must appear ambiguous to him, and therefore, though he had to die at their hands, yet they would do all that they could to retain his good-will. Therefore they feast him loyally with all manner of dainties before he meets his fate at their hands."

10: Coxwell--128[3] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 776, 825

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AND THE GRATEFUL TIGER

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 121-124.]

The story of Androclès and the Lion will occur to the reader. It is observable that in the East transmutation is into the larger animal forms, thus here is a tiger-man and, in a Kalmuck tale, a demon appears as a buffalo, as opposed to the transmutation into a wolf of a Russian tale and into a yellow dog of a Mordvin tale. But the man has not been transformed into a tiger by a curse, as in Western werewolf stories; on the contrary, the general Gilyak belief that there are special beings in the mountains and forest who, having the appearance of Gilyaks, can assume the shape of wild beasts, seems here shadowed forth. The absence of ceremony is noticeable when the Gilyak marries the tiger-man's sister."

9: Hawes--201-202 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 527, 776, 782, 825

"The original signification of the whole ce
largely lost, but the religious motive in the
the sending of a messenger to the great lord
to their punctilious observances of the rites
senger may not miss his destination, it was
some villages to assist the spirit of the bear
aids were given him, one the planting of a st
east where the great lord lived, and the othe
were to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh.
he was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He
and all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh
and water, but in nothing would he give thank
offerings after every meal, therefore it coul
to find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be
ways most punctilious in placing some fish o
offerings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasio
tion from a watery grave to this timely act o

Probably the fact of the bear being the mos
adds to the value of the offering, of which th

remony of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is
minds of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be
of the mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness
of offerings; and, in order that their mes-
usual, and is, I believe, still so among
in finding his way to Pal ni vookh. Two
ick on the execution-ground, pointing to the
r, the killing of two dogs, whose spirits
For it was explained that the bear, though
vould eat of the provisions made for him
and Tol ni vookh, the lords of the forest
ks; whereas a true Gilyak always made
d not be expected that he should know where
inclined to go to him. Even Vanka was al-
r tobacco on the ashes of our camp-fire as
on we owed, so he assured us, our preserva-
of his.
st difficult and dangerous animal to capture
e bear's spirit would be a witness. There

9: Hawes--201-202 T-3 (190
116, 527, 776, 782, 825

is another consideration which lurks,
Not only is the bear the most danger
has deteriorated to the seizure of cub
est rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as
the forest; and even robs the Gilyaks'
fore on every [202] count he must die.

however unconsciously, behind this c
ous animal to capture, although now th
s and the rearing of them; but he is al
they do, on the fish of the river, the
snares of the small animals caught th
"

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, the soul takes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut] through the hole or opened door, thence to emerge later and begin its long journey to that other world village of Mligh-vo, which the Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the earth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim Gilyaks say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where the sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spirit of the deceased shall travel as he was accustomed on earth, the spirits of the dogs, the sledge, etc., must all be released. The dogs, in number according to the wealth of the departed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten to death. The sledge is broken, and so are also his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and his arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm), or if the deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-rings (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it should read meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho). All these articles will be needed by the deceased in the future life; but they must be broken in order to finish their earthly existence, and to give release to their spirits. Every object has its soul, which resembles it. This is set free in the case of inanimate objects only on being broken, and is then used by the soul of the deceased. To burn them is not to be thought of, because they cannot have that honour done them.

Camping out on the banks of the river Tim in the forest, we were casting around one night for fuel, when Mr. X. came upon a bit of shaped board which he was about to throw on the fire, when Vanka stopped him, crying out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

20: Bush--102 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 764, 775, 825

"Their funeral rites are sometimes quite impressive. The remains are first burned, and afterward a small wooden house or tomb is erected over the ashes. At death the soul is supposed to take up its abode in the favorite dog of the deceased, where it remains until released from its confinement by the death of the animal. To facilitate its escape, it has become customary to sacrifice the dog at the tomb of its master, the creature being first fattened for the occasion."

10: Coxwell --41-42 B-3
116, 774, 782, 825

"Among the Gilyaks, all natural
be made to the 'owners', if violenc
beings, and the bear is superior to
to the 'owners' of the forest, the m

6. Czaplicka, quoting

with him certain leaves and roots [
similar purpose, he makes the dog
and to the spirits of clansmen who

1. Idem., p. 272."

objects have a life of their own; and sacrifice must
e has been done. Animals are, in reality, human
man in both mind and body. Sacrifices are offered
ountains, the sea, and fire. (6) The Gilyak carries

Sternberg, p. 271.

42] intended for a sacrifice, and, moved by a
a victim. Periodical offerings are made to the bear
have been killed by bears. (1)

10: Coxwell--130 B-3
116, 539, 825

"SON-OF-T

[LSS: For the text of this tale, se

Sternberg remarks that the son of
defeated many bears. The Lord of th
Mother-of-Water fought with the aid
challenged him to a duel, and both pe
would be useless except for self-defe
would, thus armed, risk a contest wi
fights and, at the last moment of the

(no date) 1925 Gilyak

HE-MOTHER-OF-WATER
e category 539, pp. 125-126]

the Gilyak and of the Woman-Fish grew up and
e Bears, being much offended because Son-of-the-
of a sable, instead of with the traditional spear,
rished. As an instrument of the chase, a sable
nce. Only a man of unusual physical strength
th a bear. But the hero of a certain legend so
contest, stifles the bear in his embraces."

24 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
78 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
39 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

24 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

36 The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for
24 it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs
25 only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

136
224
825

himself takes
instinctive fea
terrible natur
ness. Even w
enormous lea
overcome a m
supposed to a
finishes it off.
gerous that be
comparison, a
dire necessity
and cannot be
with bayonets
the place wher
method of cap
up of rifles wh
The corpse of
usually serves
returning the c

The wolf exi
and does no ha

223 Birds, esp
grouse are nov
for partridges
grouse are lur
openly hunted i
surrounding co
Nikolayevsk-na

462 We mentione
handicraft and
much more tha
The man hunts,

remember only two instances when
Europeans were assaulted by it
without having been the attackers.
The one case occurred in the year
1878 in broad daylight on the ice near
a post station. A post servant was
gored by the tiger. The skull of this
animal which was itself killed the
next day now belongs to me. It meas-
ures seven and one-half vershok (33
centimeters), the upper canines are
as long as a finger.

the offensive, does the monster lose his
r of him, and then suddenly shows all its
al qualities, to which belong an amazing tough-
ith five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes
os, and even in its death throes it can still
an. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is
m at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart
Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dan-
ar hunting may be considered child's play in
nd the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in
when the tiger breaks into their stables
got in any other way. In that case 15-20 men
on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on
e the animal was scented. But the regular
ure is poisoning with strychnin or the setting
ich go off when the tiger approaches the bait.
an animal that was killed by the tiger himself
as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of
lay after his assault.
sts on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself
rm. It is seldom shot.
ecially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel
v usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set
on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel
ed in spring with whistles, in winter they are
n spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the
untry are the chief purveyors of wild game for
-Amure.
d above the other occupations and embryonic
trades. Specialization [124] consists in not
n a division of labor between men and women.
, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a pra
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate
buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where
various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is wel
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led throu
the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and
this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house
to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of th
river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an
abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who
put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all
sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cra
berries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak al
prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means wo
ship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fu
some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to s
revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is
not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo them
selves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful
blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty,
with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When th
happens the woman who has had charge of him is often hea
to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gily
seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are
passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [2
roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at
bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as en
tertainment has been described. Special music is produce
527 in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here a

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -t
old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were
supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was
destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged t

9: Hawes--202-203 T-3 (190

116, 527, 764, 775, 782, 825

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [L
tioned, but which possesses some special sig
head, which is never on any account eaten. A
dogs which I bartered for were all minus the

It is noticeable that while the bear's head
bring success and courage to the hunters, but
eating of the brain would render the consumer
The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak
phins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habi
place theirs near their huts and make offering
and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyak
of the woods, and are not frequented by them.
of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it s
of the animals whose spirits have gone back t
those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of thes
and either guard the remains of the Gilyak or

SS: The bear fête] which I have not men-
nificance. This is the saving of the bear's
, skin offered to me, and the fells of the
heads.
is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will
I gathered that the Gilyak believes the
bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows.
cemetery, and there, with skulls of dol-
t common among the Ainus, who, however
gs of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them
s' cemeteries are in the secret recesses
What the idea that lies at the [203] root
eems probable that they think the remains
o the great Pal ni vookh should rest near
e animals will come back to these spots
at least refrain from haunting the living

predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imagination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversations, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not emerged from fetishism.

God (kush or kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In this we may already see something like priestly self-glorification. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

The bear usually appears as the executor of divine ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their lifetime. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstitious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as a god or demigod.

The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians regard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay. Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

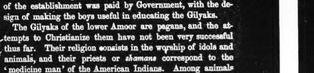
796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment. For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also, the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobsen was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, furthermore, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to bring them destruction? In the former case one would think that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The second assumption does not agree, again, with the circumstance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word, 'Fulyhnin' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the attempts to Christianize them have not been very successful thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-



BEAR IN FRONCEBHOP.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On feto-
826 days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course
796 is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the
325 high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy.
326 Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with
439 great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

796 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia,
152 are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the functions of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his co-

826

1; Shternberg--372 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/254 cont./

832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
574 from their racial viewpoint. Men and women both
826 609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Piłsudski, redhair-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractive appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrh -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree," lush heart like a bird reaching to the waist, hair made sleek), gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side,
[198] smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size ("her trunk is as firm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
241 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
211 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered
533 with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated seal-skins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability
574 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ivukhr, i.e., re-
[467] spected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer. Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

826 ETHNOGRAPHY--conception of ideal bodily proportions; ideas about the torso and its parts (e.g., belly, breasts, buttocks, navel, neck, spine), skin and pigmentation, hair (e.g., axilla, body, facial, head, pubic), head and its parts (e.g., brain, ears, eyes, lips, mouth, nose, teeth, tongue), limbs (e.g., arms, legs, hands, feet, fingers, toes, nails), blood, veins and arteries, bones, fat and muscles, nerves and sinews, internal organs (e.g., heart, intestines, kidneys, liver, lungs, stomach); interpretations of physical abnormalities (e.g., albinism, clubfoot, cretinism, dwarfism, harelip, hermaphroditism, hunchback); associated behavior patterns; etc. See also:

Albinism	30	Deformities	749
Anthropometry/Measurements	141	Dogs	782
Bathing and diving	158	Use of hair and nails in sorcery	794
Beauty, ideal	832	Hair, human, as a charm	794
Bear ceremonies	825	Ceremonies of scientific interest	796
Blood brotherhood	188	Notions about the genitalia	831
Blood vengeance	820	Length of penis bone	832
Taking of trophies	797	Ideas concerning menstrual blood	841

1; Shternberg--373 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
574 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867

A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
843 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
826 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the
Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty
and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, ap-
parently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[198] bestiality, only in one village on the Tyms was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
832 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
839 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I
wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even
the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur
saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then
in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like
beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view
of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (mukaud in the eastern dialect, miskiy --
in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of
[588] hermaphrodites are a common event.

1; Shternberg--374 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/256 cont./

143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often con-
fused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic
instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known
to me. On Sakhalin I knew of two cases. In the settlement
of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak,
Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a
certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum
virile was underdeveloped) and wore women's clothing.
Later the membrum virile attained the proper development,
and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.
143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a
woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter was dressed in a man's fashion. My companions explained that only a year ago she had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against
[538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given
[594] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which would sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

1; Shternberg--375 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chancer, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoras found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year. This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
881 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained
302 sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen
117 her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where the can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos connected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women, fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

Gelji Ri
Gilyak
Sakhalin Island

/409 cont./

At is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could consider the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and
302 plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting
[192] in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridi-
826 cule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn
[356] from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of
301 boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/211 cont./

*796 visibly amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer
231 who is to dispatch the fatal arrow toward the bear, however, is
[354] made by the owner himself and is regarded as an honorary token
of his favor. For the two animals belonging to him Iudin had
chosen two young people, one of them an Olcha from Tschlwi
whose father was a friend of his and from whom he had bought
one of the bears. Both animals, hit in the right lung at a dis-
tance of about five paces, fell dead after the first shot; the third
animal died slowly after it had been hit by two arrows. The blood
[184] which they lost in dying was immediately covered with snow, for
●826 otherwise someone might step in it, which would definitely be
unlucky.

As soon as the bears were dead, they were dragged into
the kadlra by their chain and an auxiliary strap tied around the
snout, and put down at the places where they had stood in life,
on a bed prepared for them out of peeled sticks. Here all three
carcasses lay in the same order and the same position: the snout
and the front legs to the front pointing toward the entrance into
the kadlra, the hind legs to the rear, pointing toward the lisng.
The neck /712/ and body bands were taken off of them and the
snow beaten off their fur with sticks. Next the carcasses were
skinned and cut up. For this purpose a /illustration appears here/
strap was next slung around the neck of the animal and attached
[184] to the stake in front. Again it is unlucky to step over this strap --
one may only walk around it, either in front or in back. The
bear was now rolled over on its back, and a cut was made down
the middle of the entire belly side, beginning at the throat, and
from this middle cut four others went out to the legs. Then the
fur was stripped off and cut around the paws in such a manner
that a ring of fur remained above the claws on each one. After
the belly side had been skinned, the animal was turned over and
the fur stripped off the back side up to the head. Then the man
standing at the tail end once more waved the fur up and down
over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his
companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

827

827 ETHNOPHYSIOLOGY--ideas about anal reactions (e.g., urination, defecation, farting); circulatory reactions (e.g., heartbeat, pulse); dermal reactions (e.g., flushing, fever and temperature, perspiring, shivering, itching and twitching, sloughing of skin and hair); facial reactions (e.g., laughing, smiling, grinning, sneering, frowning); nasal and respiratory reactions (e.g., breathing, panting, sneezing, running of noses); ocular and auricular reactions (e.g., weeping, blinking, dilation of pupils, ringing of ears, secretion of wax); oral reactions (e.g., salivation, spitting, swallowing, vomiting, coughing, hiccoughing, yawning); ideas about digestion and respiration; notions about heredity; associated behavior patterns (e.g., scratching, congratulations upon sneezing); etc. See also:

Genetic and antogenetic data	34	Eating 364
Drinking, smoking, and narcotics	37	Humor 825
Sleeping, elimination, and bathing	81	Sorcery with enemies 764
Sickness and therapy	76	Relation of breath to soul concepts . . . 794
Death and mortuary customs	78	Taboos on looking, listening, and speaking . 784
Sex	80	Development of scientific physiology . . . 818
Reproduction	86	Ideas about sneezing 825
Ideas about language	125	Ideas about development and maturation . 850
Gestures	201	Classification training 863

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only huda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and
eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and
bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore
they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cran-
berries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered
for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor,
they gather and consume great numbers of berries and espe-
cially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nour-
ishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use,
of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea
which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but
has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly,
because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to
buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are
utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
● 827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to
Schrenk, the semicia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup.
Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since
they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer
so acute. And that formerly they could tell what animals had
passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them.

Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina)
is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it
induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak
do not know any other intoxicating beverage.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not
very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke,
although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very
expensive. After this general account of the various articles
of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something
about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes
is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup.
One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner
of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

828

828 ETHNOPSYCHOLOGY--ideas about impulses or drives; conceptualization of sensation, perception, and emotions; standards of sensory pleasantness and unpleasantness; ideas about conscious and unconscious mental processes; notions about abnormal mental states (e.g., aphasia, catalepsy, coma, delirium, hallucination, hypnosis, hysteria, sexual); interpretations and explanations of neuroses and psychoses; ideas about habits, attitudes, and the learning process; concepts of the self, of human nature, of motivation, of personality, of character; associated cultural behavior; etc. See also:

Data on behavior processes and personality	15	Punishments for abnormal behavior 689
Use of alcohol, narcotics, and stimulants	37	Ideas about blindness, deafmutism, and feebleminedness 725
Ideas about sleep and stimulation	81	Use of anesthetics 782
Soul	83	Psychotherapy 755
Education	87	Food cult-cycle 774
Perceived expression of emotions	201	Types of religious experience 781
Gratification and control of hunger	261	Divination and interpretation of dreams 787
Food preferences	262	Magic 813
Manifestations and control of thirst	271	Conception of free will 815
Palliation of labor	405	Development of scientific psychology 815
Esthetic ideals and canons of taste	517	Ideas about form, color, and sound 825
Appreciation of form and perspective	520	
Ethics	577	

/178 cont./

*835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
●828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a
woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak
youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often
and so persistently about these relations; they considered
them so commonplace that they should not, according to their
way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked
me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you?
Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not
permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
*835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival
or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns
/179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been
a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions
that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power
over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirta-
[182] tions of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between
brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger
brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for
the purchase of wives.

*835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another ad-
vantage is gained; having married off their younger brothers,
the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent
from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own
wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak,
with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are
too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured
against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

116, 732, 828

"Yungkin announced Gilyaks. A party were returning to Chaivo, and seeing our fire ha
stopped for a warm, a pipe, and some tea. They joined us around the cheerful blaze,
talking volubly, and taking some pleasure in pointing out to us one of their number, wh
they said, had a devil in him. He was an idiot, one glance at his face was sufficient to
determine that, and without showing any violence continued to make the strangest con-
tortions. His presence completed the weirdness of the scene, this group of uncouth
figures of a primitive people crouched round a fire on a desolate island on a wild night
The madman, who was known as 'Oto,' lived in one of two huts which are on the opposi
side of the Strait of Chaivo. He was not [251] allowed to work, but his comrades suppli
all his wants, for they regarded him as a kind of sacred person singled out or set apar
by the unseen powers. He was not, however, permitted to have a wife."

ng the Gilyak's, many persons are liable to convulsive attacks, which are
ed by a fainting period, during which the sick person reveals to those around him
ulars of devils, heavenly beings or sea creatures. The patient believes firmly in
has seen.(1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, Tale I, Note. 29."

829

829 ETHNOSOCIOLOGY--social philosophy; interpretations of the society's charter; native ideas about social relationships and social structure; concepts of society (e.g., social contract); notions about culture and cultural change; economics and political behavior (e.g., mercantilism), racial inequality; etc. See also:

Population policy	168	Criminology	474
Socialistical trends	178	Penology	481
National character	181	Welfare policies	548
Social planning	185	Theological systems	779
Development of nationalism	618	Missionary programs	787
Constitution	642	Philosophical systems	815
Principles of taxation	651	Development of scientific anthropology	
Policies of government regulation	658	Sociology, and economics	815
Political movements	666	Educational policies	871
Jurisprudence	671		

/18 cont./

173 hurricane breaks up the joined ice-floes and carries separate floes
174 together with the hunters caught on them, into the /19/ open sea.
183 often throwing them on the shore far from their place of residence.
One can also not infrequently see tremendous pieces of turf, on
which dozens of people could be placed, being carried on the
waves of the sea, having been torn from the coastal tundra by storms.
During the civil wars among the Ainu, when someone urgently
needed to escape from persecution, there existed a practice accord-
ing to which the persecuted one fearlessly transferred his family and
his boat to a "hovykh" which happened to be passing by fixed on it
the sacred pole with the sharpened wooden tongues, and entrusted
his fate to the caprice of the wind and the current.

Now, if we consider that the currents pass from the north
along both shores of Sakhalin Island and the continental coast,
currents which carry ice floes almost until the month of July, one
can allow with more or less probability that the legendary hovykh
served as that natural means by which individual seekers of ad-
venture or exiles moved from the north to the south, and further-
more it is not difficult to imagine how, step by step, such migra-
tions reached the extreme southern limits of the present-day Gilyak
area of settlement. Almost before our eyes, since the time of
Middendorf, the northern boundary of the permanent area of
settlement of the Gilyak has descended from the mouth of the
Tugur to the mouth of the Kol' River.

174 We should not imagine, however, that the migration of the
Gilyak into their present territory is a matter of a historical epoch
very close to us. We have positive evidence about the permanence
of the boundaries of the Gilyak territory for the last two and a half
centuries, and the legends of the Gilyak about the island and the
continental coast depict this tribe as fully acclimated to its present
homeland, and among primitive peoples such acclimation comes
about through a long process of many, many centuries, maybe
millenniums.

●829 At this point, I cannot fail to mention one characteristic
fact, which is in a way characteristic of the ways of thinking of the
Gilyak themselves, on the question of their kinship with other tribes.

/19 cont./

174 In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a
124 small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an
●829 old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were
the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not
a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing
about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my
interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I
think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same
race. It turned out that the well-known seaman, Orlov, who served
in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an
Aleut, with whom my Gilyak informant had a chance to talk at
great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about
the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the
way, about the bear festival, they both came to the conclusion
that the Gilyak and the Aleut are kal'nyakhr (one people). Taken
by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course,
have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in
connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the
Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, charac-
teristic.

144 Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants
[194] of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possi-
ble for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak
tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no
role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the
Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such
thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at
the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened
Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus,
and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck
has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead
straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the
eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less
long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair
on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the
Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine
type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

/34 cont./

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
●829 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the
brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to
them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you,
among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live
with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative
answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well,
that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at
one another.

835 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even
-152 the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of
permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind
of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother
will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a gen-
eral light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of
course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not vio-
lating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not especially
value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force
parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters.
[849] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become in-
[849] volved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property
status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the
given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral
5717 prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the
greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness
prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we
understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a
given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual
morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group
sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing.
The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have
intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the
category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her
husband and she likes him.

/35 cont./

83 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he
572 transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous
825 act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves
●829 for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with
regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of
prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of
people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the
Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only
to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even
with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e.,
with the whole class of nuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar
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on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of per-
mitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin
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younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden,
and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder
brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with cate-
gories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying
hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange
601 facts come from? How can we explain these complex and con-
825 fusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship
nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual
rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married
sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his
brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman
calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives
sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law
174 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
825 clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
614 of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts
must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact
of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which.

/127 cont./
609 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the
594 Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has
609 wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with
● 829 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance
* 614

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general
186 relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course,
609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national
829 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We
* 174 614 615 can now resume it.

/178 cont./
* 835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
● 829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often and so persistently about these relations; they considered them so commonplace that they should not, according to their way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you? Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
* 835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns /179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirtations of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between
[182] brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for the purchase of wives.

* 835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained; having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

/347 cont./
101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-
● 829 Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "yrk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "yrk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the
197 language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on
127 Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the conti-
174 nent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo,
[614] one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language,
[184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

/354 cont./
614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following
580 the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-yrk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,
614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages
● [824] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the
[860] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from
[623] father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the in-
173 capacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

/367 cont./
597 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
783 clear conception of sin ("umgyah"). It goes without saying /368/
673 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
688 there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
[682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
● [829] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

Tungus RUS
Daur

/173 cont./
175 discussed above, and undoubtedly it was a duty of the officials
648 of Algun and the advanced Manchurian outposts along the Amur
361 beyond the mouth of the Komar to see to it, among other things, that this measure was strictly observed. Only along the upper course of the Komar does one again come across sedentry, agricultural Daur, evidently because the Chinese government thought that they were sufficiently far from the Amur there to not preju-
[169] dice its detoltion to any extent. Perhaps, /174/ thanks to this circumstance, they did not have to move from there in the seventeenth century, or they were Daur who at that time withdrew from the Amur and the lower Komar, or, finally, later settlers who came here from the Nonni.

175 The Chinese government acted quite differently with regard
648 to the more or less itinerant traders than it did in the case of the
434 sedentary agriculturalists. They had free access to the entire
443 upper and central Amur region belonging to the administrative district of Tsitsikar, and only having intercourse with the Russians beyond the last guardposts on the upper Amur was forbidden to them. Thanks to this permission and to the inclination and aptitude of the Daur for trade, especially with the related Tungusic hunting peoples in the north of the Amur region with whom they had been familiar from ancient times, we see that they soon reached that wide distribution as traders along the Dseja /Zeya/, the Stilimdsha /Selemdzha/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and their tributaries which has already been discussed in detail above (1).

1. See pp. 79, 107.

Here I only wish to draw special attention to one circumstance which is significant for both the scope of this distribution of the Daur and the role which they have played in relation to the more primitive Amur peoples. Though the Daur are not permitted to
G enter the lower Amur region, and, on the other hand, the people
● [829] from there are forbidden by the Chinese to go beyond the Sungari mouth on the Amur and the city of Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the Daur traders are nevertheless known even to the most distant Gilyak,

83

/34 cont./

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
829 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at one another.

835 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even
152 the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

●83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not violating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters.
[848] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become in-
[847] volved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral
577 prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing. The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her husband and she likes him.

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577 transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous
825 act are killed, being considered werewolves.

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[829] for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

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835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
614 of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

/107 cont./

*614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "common sin"
784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general. The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
*614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion,
● 83 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, follow their natural inclinations with complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
*614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibi-
602 tions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

/149 cont./

III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

● 83 Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kin-
[121] ship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extramarital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion. Outside of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Young men of a given clan, having rights to the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien usurper and soundly teach the stranger not to sneak into a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very rarely. It is a much more serious affair if a married woman is
684 involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a
[108] married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of penal repression has begun to restrain some from impulsive slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
684 ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her
562 thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her:
[581] in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, having cost her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker.
684 In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

/168 cont./ Under
582 such circumstances,[1] it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to re-
[182] main unmarried. And it is right here that the institution of the right to marriage with persons of the class of an'g:ej about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, next their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad class of persons whom the Gilyak calls akhmalk (fathers-in-law).

We already know the nature of the relations of these latter with their sons-in-law /zyat'ya/, and it is clear, therefore, that obtaining an individual wife among the an'g:ej, among the daughters of one's born akhmalk, is surrounded by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man stands a sure chance of getting the widows of his brothers.
[178] But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition within each class of pu for their an'g:ej and under the conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has developed under the influence of commercial relations and has greatly weakened the traditional matrimonial relations, even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective for the individual marriage -- the group marriage, an absolutely unlimited right to sexual intercourse between classes of pu and an'g:ej. We turn next to this right.

* 835 Group marriage. Though the right and obligation of individual marriage in the classes pu and an'g:ej have been considerably shaken by the inevitable influence of both historical conditions and the conditions of life, the right to group marriage, the right to sexual intercourse between persons of these classes, continues to be preserved in full strength. This right, it is true, does not carry with it a definitely compulsory character: a woman cannot be coerced into sexual intercourse
● 83 either by her kin or by her pu. It is not even allowed that the father, brother, or husband of a woman propose to the daughter

[1] [i.e., a limited choice of women plus unequal sex ratio in favor of the men.--Analyst]

/168 cont./
● 83 or wife that she share her bed with a guest who is her pu, as happens among peoples who practice hospitable hetaerism. Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed. No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his group an'g:ej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses /169/
833 openness of sexual relations is not allowed (1). Intercourse
* 835

[171] 1. The avoidance of public caresses between individual spouses is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Gilyak. According to the testimony of Radlov /Radloff/, the Altaian in public does not allow himself even a joke with his wife in the presence of strangers, while at the same time the broadest freedom in relations between the sexes prevails among these peoples. -- Radloff, Aus Sibirien /From Siberia/, I, 314.

may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned (2). If the act takes place at night in

[171] 2. Compare the similar phenomenon among the Tibetans. -- Westermarck, The Origin of Marriage, p. 141.

the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman (both sides alike take the initiative, but women more rarely) move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attentions if there has not been any preliminary agreement. In summer the affair most frequently takes place in the open air: in the

831

831 SEXUALITY--ideas about the male and female sex organs; conceptions of
ual physiology (e.g., erection, nocturnal emission); notions about semina
vaginal secretions; favorable attitudes toward sex (e.g., as natural, nece
amusing, sacred); idealization of sex (e.g., romantic love); unfavorable a
tudes toward sex (e.g., as dangerous, debilitating, unclean, disgusting, s
idealization of continence and chastity; preoccupation with sex (e.g., sexu
symbolism in religion and the arts, obscenity, pornography); etc. See als
Description of secondary sexual characteristics . 142
Sexual humor 522
Differences in sex status 562
Celibacy 589
Affection between husband and wife . . . . .
Chastity as an ascetic ideal . . . . . .
Ideas about the sex impulse . . . . . .
Notions about puberty in each sex. . . . . .

/182 cont./

835 their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same
171 way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari designate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all considered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs (ibid., 19).

IV.

831 Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us, broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations, naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal
[837] fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women, and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such *exceptions*
831 are not encountered. In the society of the most respected
521 individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ adventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman (urdla n'ig:yvyn) at all. In my presence, and that of a gathering of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Laruk, to the accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter, related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20
831 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/183 cont./

● 831 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
* 835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an unmarried ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) is a most desirable guest in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
562 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
* [835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an appearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And, on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example, reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

cont./

Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described ore definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that second husband must always be either a brother or a close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

d among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, ver, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian m, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim o fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the nian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been .

XI.

Sexual Life

The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves pitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual alism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital y, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant n the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake t hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, els, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any al dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very ly developed.

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
481 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
574 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/248 cont./

836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gynd --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous reception always awaits him.

/249 cont./

It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the
831 sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must
832 differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors.
597 The former, when at home in their own settlements, are
more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders
than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when
journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they
avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other
hand, the married women are surrounded with so many
temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they
violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity,
the more so since far from all many for love or persons of
their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with ex-
tramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on
decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything
abnormal, since for the most part they take place between
group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm
of primacy, as concerns excesses among grand-people,
must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak,
"you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women
you will not find a single one."

Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among
836 the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extrava-
535 gances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman,
Pigumkun, who before her marriage was intimate with
14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or
another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The
hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his
daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to
him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People
used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after
that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become
upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry
her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

/250 cont./

Such instances must not be regarded as a general
831 phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened
192 sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors
are also acting. Among the married women, such factors
are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both
married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and
bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissolutenes plays
no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an eco-
nomic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily
the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or,
if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both
[826] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp
reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for
laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And
[842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages
831 to dissolutenes. But the saddest of all is the influence of
158 dissolutenes on the psychics. A whole series of nervous
disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myrechnik among
both men and women, and diseases connected with the full
[584] loss of psychic composure (self-control /given in-English/)
are the result of dissolutenes, which furthermore, among
women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm
of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the
appearance of hysteria.

Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom
831 described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role
192 in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term
for love, /of-ŋmud/, denotes both love and love in
general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term
for reciprocal love -- /ofmud/, for marriage for love,
/ofmudkly, vayvul/. There are also some other terms for
love, for example, /ŋyad and ohlem/, but there are no special
terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although
[533] /251/ one can say /ofmula ŋgyvyn/, i.e., "man whom they
love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate
each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/251 cont./

words signifying "my man, my woman," - /ŋ'ax'mych,
831 ŋ'ax'sh/. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage
[192] of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This
view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down
on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's
nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time,
let me be!")

Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
831 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
582 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considera-
575 tions, since during the period of passion the young people
neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In
general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the
sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[584] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter
or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer,
but is even forbidden to summon the girl to a duel, and he
may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the
amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural
phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the
confidante of the amorous women of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly
address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-
ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved.
Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
835 going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
762 the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In
such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
575 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/251 cont./

childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an
831 unloved man. Such cases are encountered often.
584

In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in
831 any way from love in civilized society. Coarse sexuality is
completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive peo-
ple we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the
tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil love's
sorrow to the stormiest outbursts of heroic passion, which
neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a
manly resolution to part with one's life.

These psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in
831 love songs, especially in the songs of women.
523

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and
delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching
images and forms. "Night and day do I think of thee...
As on my own mother do I gaze... I'd thou leavest me, only
of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I
walk. From the well whence we both did drink, thy dark
shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth
most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful
and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and
flint that hang from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy
boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like
a tin, like calf of my right leg falls my, it has become im-
movable, wholly dry have I become, my legs do not move" --
with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak
songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy
that the same sentiments and notes sound in the songs of the
men, and the references to left and right tears pattering
like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the
same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One
finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly,
all of thee"... Only rarely does clumsy vulgar (from our
point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat
thigh the joint (the galven) spinŋ(wichen), that is how I
like it." But never any cynicism.

/252 cont./

The importance of the role of love in the life of the
831 Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not
835 every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone
knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in
Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their
assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other, at
place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to
meet, they send each other songs, composed at her, through
a third person. Special terms have even been made up for
such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
831 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
835 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
762 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
842 are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is
presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary
motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the child-
hood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
831 woman is violently carried away. In such case suicides
835 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
762 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
584 herself from the unloved husband, but, in the event
of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such chara-
teristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was
given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from
her husband, her father, who demanded her return by force,
tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him.
Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and
utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force.
Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.
[847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
835 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
584 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
[582] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/253 cont./

instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo.
831 The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at
835 this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time
his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man.
He slew his competitor, which he was arrested and
taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the
widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another
man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off
for the village of his beloved. The young man, on his part, he
stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of
modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed
in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with peo-
ple, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present
that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by
the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with
her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew
for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers
835 in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solu-
762 tion. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily
584 in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang them-
selves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives,
they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the
world beyond the grave, and they shed tender tears over their love.
Some of these songs have come down to us in the following
way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the
man, breaks loose after this vows the desire to repeat
the attempt. It is he who seeks for potentry /254/ his
835 dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has
762 become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago.
584 A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of
her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a
long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she
535 began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible
to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging.
When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave

/254 cont./

835 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which
762 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
584 himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
535 ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first
[537] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy
bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earringe hung up on
the wall."

832 The Gilyak employ magic means against unequited love.
[825] One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which
they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or
they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress.
But there are also other means that are not so harmless and
lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these
drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days,
dies. I knew two persons, somewhat familiar, who used to
sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of
them.

Among the Gilyak, as in our country, there are timid in-
831 dividuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration
582 of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old-
women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present.
Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries,
ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, correspond-
ing to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.
832 There remain to be discussed only what the stimuli of love
are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the at-
traction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the
aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The
word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the
[537] term poch utland, literally -- "of a good face."

/374 cont./

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
nate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[247] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[584] lives in the house of her husband and children, she participa-
tes in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife
and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[745] to show exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourn-
ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[578] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance
and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
and true protection; they will return the bride price and take her
back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of
[584] polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
among the Gilyak /275/ frequently without special reason, such
as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the de-
sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
Gilyak to provoke himself with two or three wives, whom he gradu-
ally acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlement closest to
the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
Arkyvyo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.
This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
[577] sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the
Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

831 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less
hivolous, from our point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy
of husbands, the sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
to cohabit (tme, not openly) with individuals of those categories
of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already
stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I
shall add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic
propensities which not only impel young people to make long
journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but further drive
them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a
woman by force of arms.

594 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large
complex families in which the aged father lives in a common
household with all his children and their children. The master's
brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess
equipment of their own frequently enter into the composition of
the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of
their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother at an
early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with
her son-in-law and son-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
594 cially when the latter have no sons. We shall note special peculi-
ties in the make-up of the family farther on; for the present we
shall say that the normal composition of the family, its frame-
work, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
593 ones pass into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
549 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resem-
bling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman
family. /376/ the sons show respect for the father, but the latter
does not wield over them that power which is known under the
appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
the family of the father and live in separate households. Living
with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
[428] The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers; and,
on the contrary, the youngest sons, as those who live with the
father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
inheritance.

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's anĝej is lo-
*835 cated between the sleeping-bunks; in the living-room -- somewhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt; in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
*835 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
821 married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they con-
tinually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
*835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, and, moreover, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
the demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
have been unanimously formulated in legal theory, which have
come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with unusual
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with nothe other than the tender words "my
dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
[614] of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (not the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
*835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 noteathat during the negotiations between the pu and the
584

*835 anĝej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
[195] together. To say to a woman of the anĝej category, "Let us
have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to
exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
*835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
6 836 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons con-
cerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute
a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely
important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside
of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a com-
pletely alien woman -- although at the present time this does
not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes,
as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the
forniators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at least a cruel
duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for be-
lieving that intercourse with female strangers was even once
under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom,
by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who
is not bound to a man by clan relationship tries to seduce
him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a
symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes
without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is
obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand
publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[714] 1. I personally happened to be a
[629] witness to such a ceremony of
ransom. It was in the settlement
of Tamlevo. One of my traveling
companions, a Gilyak already
middle-aged, once woke me early
in the morning and with anxiety
asked me to go with him to "court"
in the neighboring yurt. There I
found a large assembly of the
masters of the settlement. My

complaint against a local woman,
who the evening before had seized
him by the leg, on the grounds
of which he was demanding
"ransom." They summoned the
culprit. She confessed and by the
decision of the assembly she was
obliged to hand over publicly to
her accuser an adjudged ransom,
namely, a puppy and a birch-
bark dish. Why the fine was limited
to such insignificant objects (it
they were not merely symbols of
especially female labor) I explain
only by the fact that the guilty
woman was entirely alone and did
not possess anything more valuable.

834 /171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak
*835 are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous
[194] opportunities for sexual intercourse, even with women, pass
[159] by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom
as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women
was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded
is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this
meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen,
punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and in-
evitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question
of a causal passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as
the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the
persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons
of forbidden categories has become converted into that same
instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or
*835 own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual
intercourse between the categories of pu and anĝej realized.
In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
*835 is not a person having an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
834 the appearance of a stranger man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions
of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility,
concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about
her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man
at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has
made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very
quickly: The man follows her to the well, or to the berry
patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then,
after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke to-
gether a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)."
or "Let's have tea, dear," the matter is settled very simply.
Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved
and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Some-
times the business is consummated without words, limiting
itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing
the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff,
the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the
symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the
wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a
joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /conferareatio/.
[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the
Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North
America, for example among the Lilloost Indians, according
to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such issues in alien villages is practiced not only by
839 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my
companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gilbel'ka, who en-
joyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of
his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in
the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his
young companions about the pretty women of the settlement,
and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

835 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, and
834 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
[427] himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
[532] ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
[535] entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the
[531] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy
bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyt

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on
the wall."

*832 The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited lo
[825] One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, wh
they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or
they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress.
But there are also other means that are not so harmless and
lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these
drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days,
dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to
sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of
them.

832 Among the Gilyaks, as in our country, there are timid in
[582] dividuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration
of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old
women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present.
Sometimes they send some present through these intermedia
ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresp
ing to the number of days until the admirer will pay his vi
832 There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli
are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the at-
traction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the
aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The
word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the
term pochi urland, literally -- "of a good face."

/254 cont./

832 826 609 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrà -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

832 826 533 In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree," luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek), gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 291 533 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 577 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ivukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer, Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the [867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
517 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/335 cont./

372 782 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur n'ira, nekhlang kun k:kholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'nung ankh --" the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

776 342 The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -- four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

[688] If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

832 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person [825] fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/335 cont./

832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
846 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

843 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846]
[171]

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

833

833 SEXUAL INTERCOURSE--sexual initiation (e.g., age and circumstances of first intercourse for each sex, preferred partner); defloration; times and places considered appropriate for coitus; degree of interest and enjoyment ascribed to and manifested by each sex; initiative in copulation; degree of elaboration of preliminary sex play; preferred, variant, and tabooed postures; accompanying behavior (e.g., biting, urination); frequency and duration of coitus; occurrence of female orgasm; artificial means of augmenting sensation; behavior after coitus (e.g., sexual hygiene); psychic difficulties in coitus; impotence and frigidity (e.g., prevalence, explanation, prevention, treatment); etc. See also:

Defloration rites at marriage 585
Regulation of intercourse under polygamy . . . 596
Contraception 842
Sex training of children 864

/168 cont./
83 or wife that she share her bed with a guest who is her pu, as
happens among people within part of Sakhalin, Ussurism.
Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed.
No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his
group an'g:ej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary
agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses /169/
832 openness of sexual relations is not allowed (1). Intercourse
835
[191]

1. The avoidance of public caresses between individual spouses is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Gilyak. According to the testimony of Radlov /Radloff/, the Altatan in public does not allow himself even a joke with his wife in the presence of strangers, while at the same time the broadest freedom in relations between the sexes prevails among these peoples. -- Radloff, Aus Sibirien /From Siberia/, 1, 314.

may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned (2). If the act takes place at night in

[191]

2. Compare the similar phenomenon among the Tibetans. -- Westermarck, The Origin of Marriage, p. 141.

the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman (both sides alike take the initiative, but women more rarely) move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attention if there has not been any preliminary agreement. In summer the affair most frequently takes place in the open air; in the

/169 cont./
● 832 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
822 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they con-
tinually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[321] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[847] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with religious
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[964] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
835 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
584

/257 cont./
147 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
824 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He con-
siders the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with
pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as
an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases
among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the
Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden
who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait
her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual
maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period,
which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.
881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained
sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen
her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where
the can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to
the mustache.

Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life
and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos con-
881 nected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,
847 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
585 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before
● 833 its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls from
the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not
begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of
the onset of the first menstruation.

/322 cont./
756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
704 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
704 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
578 of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these
islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone
tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the
abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and
Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron
fleut, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
559 Aykovikoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell
sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans
are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!"
The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night;
if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live."
That is what happened.
756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth,
and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
584 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
253 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-cholch. A
253 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
253 away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
● 833 attacks.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
756 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
558 She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth
with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her
tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings
and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows...
The sound grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

834

834 GENERAL SEX RESTRICTIONS--sexual modesty and decorum; ideas of proper behavior between the sexes; sex taboos observed on particular occasions (e.g., before or during ceremonies, war, hunting, or special industrial activities); miscellaneous sex restrictions; etc.

Effect of sexual repression on personality 833
Regulation of sex relations between classes, castes, and ethnic groups 835
Sex behavior and taboos at menstruation and during pregnancy 84
Exploitation 188
Modesty in dress 824
Modesty about elimination 816
Modesty in bathing 818
Sex taboos 83
Etiquette 670
Informal communication 688
Sex regulation under polygamy 686
Avoidance and joking relationships 692
Punishable sex offenses 684
Trial taboos 794
Anecdotes 795
Sex taboos during lactation 832
Training of children in modesty 864

See also:

* 835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
822 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
822 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
[361] brothers. Among the settlement of Ai-Tokotan, the southern-
most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by
such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there
only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak
companions maue not a few jokes about him, but he was in-
vulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
* 835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
● 834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an ob-
servance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when
an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds
of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her
sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and com-
pletely disregards her obligations to her individual husband.
In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to
move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[160] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
* 835 a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
578 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences.
Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a
great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy.
I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I
happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski,
but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A
certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to
me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual
success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too
openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[662] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[556] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all.
Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in
debt to everybody, lighthearded, and undistinguished by any

831 /183 cont./
group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on
account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
* 835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1)
the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden cate-
gories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of
several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-
in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their
disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose
this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an
unmarried vmg:i (son-in-law /syat'/) is a most desirable guest
in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "vmg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
832 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
● 834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
* [835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of
the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an ap-
pearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be
the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to
their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And,
on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example,
reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially
sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is
observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown
to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions
on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither
physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable
basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
[illegible] closest agnate male and female cousins. During

/247 cont./
amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
837 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brown knit, and hardly answers the questions
of the man. But this is only extent a inaccessibility,
concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about
her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man
at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has
made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very
quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry
patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then,
after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke to-
gether (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)."
or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply.
Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved
and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Some-
times the business is consummated without words, limiting
itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breast, seizing
the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff,
the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the
symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the
wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a
joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.
[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of
the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North
America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according
to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my
companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who en-
joyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of
his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in
the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his
young companions about the pretty women of the settlement,
and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/294 cont./
834 One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and traps
are being set, i.e., during the narkhund, and also during a bear
festival and when a man has died.

III.

342 The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected
with the House

[787] A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post. The
sweetbrier guards against the milk, while the flint is there so that
there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spirit)
cannot come through. The door is toward the east.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They make
an inin chihnaj (chihnaj ef (?) ekhling; Ady-Tymi) in the
shape of a human face on each of four posts (nas'ki khar) of the
house, and, for the sturdiness of the house, inau are tied to the
cross rafters (nas'ki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the nas'ki
khar closest to the door, and rub the chhknaj with the blood of its
[782] heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and the
chhknajinau, the holgelnar'kh, or (in Arkyvo) the lymymmam,
and the nich are fed. Three small fats are then placed in the
hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (akhz);
for some reason these bindings are called "little bear." After
this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the ground.
At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn
the fats and say a prayer.

370 In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyond
787 the fire the old man tugur-vchih. The tugur, the master of the
fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the fire
and say: "Urgur inj, urlantaf mujši" (i.e., "eat well, be a good
house!"). Next they feed each /335/ corner, repeating: "Urlan
tugur mujšiik urlaf parkjš, hiulan taf mujš ta chos'khejš" -- "be
a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck in
the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old woman

/638 cont./
834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
570 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with
them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure,
such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[18] 2. N. Buse, Otr. Sakhalin" I Eksped.
1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Ex-
pedition of 1853-54/, St. Peterb., 1872,
pp. 55, 56, 70.

[37] shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
[33] unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
[348] most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
[347] been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother incites out
corporal punishment on her daughter, while the father tries
to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

832 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
542 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[58] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about
them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what
I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have
already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which
people live together does not permit such delicacy; however
the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers.
Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the
open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of mem-
bers of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in
urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard
against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had
some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was
taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawn-
ing and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not
make much genuflection, but do it largely when they are
forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the
Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of
course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the
Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating
expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vasrda-
Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the
streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has
deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can
be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about.
In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent
that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably
partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they
want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they
love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen
that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the
hut; only during the most severe spells of frosty
weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in
case she herself is the housewife. If she is not the
housewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut
are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these
spirits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the
most important and mysterious natural events takes
place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the
hut designed to banish the evil spirits. But this
convenient and easy way of protection is not always
sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming
hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who
was compelled to do all the work in the narrow and
disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood,
had, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's head.
On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a
Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire
when she had started a fire in order to warm her
chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur
as frequently as one should expect is due to the
admirable strength of character and fortitude of the
Gilyak woman who, even worn out and sick, never
loses her presence of mind and her ability to work.
It is the might of her powerful love which, in such
moments, increases her will power and her fortitude
to a degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.

847 Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
163 which they would have to suffer, sometimes effect
artificial miscarriages; they use the same means
which are said to cause natural miscarriages. But
their skill in committing abortion is not great, for
there are many cases of infanticide.

Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman
gives birth to a dead child; but that happens so
infrequently that it could not be shown a single woman
to whom that had happened.

834 The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
864 matters and about facts connected with them. That
is probably the reason why the appearance of a new
member of the family is explained to children in such

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are
told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree
or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to
have found it in the snow.

845 Twin births.

163 No tribe on Sakhalin island has reported the birth
of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why
there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the
natives. They contend that in each one of these cases
both children are of the same sex. I personally came
to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were
between forty and forty-five years old. In regions
rather well known to me there occurred three twin
births in a population of more than 300 persons
within a decade, but all three twins died immediately
after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month
old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of
845 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song,
asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he
will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is
the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-
ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now
benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak
Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another
explanation by a Gilyak: one of the
twins is said to be an offspring of
the mountains, the other one an
offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away.
But, not being certain which of the children is not an
offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them
both equally.

845 It is a custom among the Gilyak of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

835

835 KINSHIP REGULATION OF SEX--incest taboos (e.g., between primary rela-
tives, bilateral and unilinear extensions); patterned exceptions to primary in-
cest taboos (e.g., ceremonial and dynastic incest); violations of incest taboos
(e.g., incidence, circumstances, notions of physical and social results, treat-
ment of offspring); privileged and tolerated sex relations between kinsmen (e.g.,
between cross-cousins, between siblings-in-law), etc. See also:

Exogamous rules . . . . . 11 Permitted marriages between kinsmen 685
Regulation of marriage . . . . . 648 Punishments for incest 684
Fictitious and honorary marriages 649

1: Shternberg

835

/For information on "group marriage," the right to s
of the pu and angtej classes, see category 116, pp. 251-

RX2 Gilyak RX2

exual intercourse between members
275, and 329-345./

/31 cont. /

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/32 cont. /

601 In particular, among many primitive tribes, the Gilyak calls not only his own wife, but also the wives of his elder brothers of all degrees of kinship, as well as all the sisters of his wife of all degrees of kinship, his wife (an'gej), while they, in turn, call him their husband (pu, ivn). Their children call one another brothers and sisters (tym, ngl). In addition the Gilyak calls all his female cousins on his mother's side /32/(the daughters of the brothers of his own mother and of the brothers of all the women born he calls ymk -- mother) his wives from the time of their birth. The Gilyak calls not only his own mother, but also all the wives of the brothers of his father, own and agnate, as well as the sisters of these women, mother (ymk), while they call him their son. Consistent with this, he calls not only his own father, but also the brothers of his father, his father (ytk), while in certain clans the term father is applied to all elder and younger brothers (own and agnate) of the father, and in others (among most of the Sakhalin Gilyak) -- only to the brothers younger than the father. The children of brothers in relationship to the latter are considered sons and daughters. Seemingly even stranger is the rule by which women call their husband's brothers' wives sister, while men call their father-in-law's sisters mother. A European bears with astonishment a small Gilyak boy call the wife of his elder brother an'gej (wife), while she calls him -- little husband (ychikh, pu, ivn), or as the Gilyak very often says "I shall go to see my fathers and mothers," i.e., the brothers of his father or the sisters of his mother, but after long observation one becomes so accustomed to this strange phenomenon that he begins to consider it completely natural. In spite of the view expressed in recent times that a classificatory system of kinship represents only the nomenclature of ages, I can testify after long years of observation that among the Gilyak this nomenclature, based on a strict calculation of degrees of kinship, fully corresponds to their norms of sexual intercourse. Age plays no role: frequently very old men and young adolescents are included in one and the same category. All persons bound together by the names an'gej and pu (husband and wife) actually have conjugal rights to one another, i.e., they not only have the right to enter into regular marriages with each other or to have sexual intercourse before entering into a

/32 cont. /

601 regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse
835 even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage, being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, without any strange strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their geological information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course. This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Eurasian koski and kumiti, who will find a martial bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are koski.

171 835 In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms nou and pirauri (1). Among them each

[113] 1. "Australian Group Relations." by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute. 1885). pp. 12 f.

woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other nou; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men.

/33 cont. /

835 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of
171 the tribe. With regard to this group, the laws of the tribe were vague. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation and to some degree shaming the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 In my travels I observed seven cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a Gilyak from the village of Tangivu, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tendernes from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad feelings between the brothers.

/34 cont. /

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
839 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in almazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is not so? You mean one could live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at me.

Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even
835 the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of
152 permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of active form, and, if it does, it is only in the form of a light irritation, and in some cases a jeering remark to the husband, because, on the other hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees. And, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[836] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? If we ask the Gilyak about the reasons for the marital rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
835 the clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization: a type which

/35 cont. /

because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons, naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kinship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection
835 of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.

First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature according to which 1. a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law mother (ymk), while the wives of his brothers, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one community, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and, consequently, my mother, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan, but to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont. /

my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were the wives of the ancestors of the clan of my father. In the kinship terminology this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the daughter of the sister of my father (an'gej), but simply nayikh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'n. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me
532 which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet known to European literature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh unge genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives from the clan of your mother." P'fand'ukh the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

[1] 1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh
is interesting: it is composed of pi (ones
own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mother),
and ukh (from). The word pandf is from
pandynd -- "to be born."

[835] wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on the marriage of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak has never been the exchange of a brother's own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the father. On the other hand, marriage with a

/146/

171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia. where a
835 great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly de-
clares which men and women of the tribe have the right to
group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and difficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the decisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individual person and became the function of a competent institution of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
614 in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis, every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife throughout the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where ascending and descending generations belong to different classes, and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even in the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

/106 cont./

* 614 7. One sin. Although the norms and customs of religion and
● 835 conduct are almost the same for the whole tribe, nevertheless
602 each clan has its own complex of obligations and prohibitions,
obligatory only for its own members. The first extensive
category of prohibitions relates to sexual norms. For the
members of each clan certain categories of women are prohibited for marriage and sexual relations, for example, all the women, without exception, born in the given clan, further, the wives of one's younger brothers, all women who are called ymk and ranr, all women who come from the clan of the "sons-in-law" /syat'ya/, etc., /107/ so that to know what women are prohibited for one or another person is enough for infallibly saying to which clan he belongs. In this category the prohibitions of speech may also apply. For the members of each clan there are certain classes of persons with whom it is prohibited to speak; such classes are the tuvn (brothers and sisters of all degrees of kinship), the achik
* 614 (mother and aunts of the wife), and others. A third category
688 of prohibitions deals with religious norms in the narrow sense. Each clan, as we have seen, has its own clan gods and sacrifices, its own sacred objects, its beliefs, and, consequently, its own ritual of the clan cult, common to all the clanmen but having no religious significance whatever for members of other clans. These numerous rites and objects of the cult demand the greatest respect. The whole clan, on whom is vented the wrath of the offended deities, answers and therefore each member of the clan is not only obliged himself to avoid infractions of his taboos, but to defend them against infraction by outsiders. For each such infraction it is necessary to exact tkhusind. Hence the customary difficulties with members of other clans over an accidental defiling of the enclosure of the hearth, over the taking of fire from the yurt, a bear bone dropped during the festival banquet, the infraction of the inviolability of all the appurtenances of the bear festival -- the posts to which the bears are tied, the poles with their heads, the storehouses for festival utensils and bear bones, etc.

/150 cont./

684 for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all
this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual
836 relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with
583 the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction,
even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen
684 to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part
of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion;
582 then there is an impossibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also,
at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying
a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship.
● 835 It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions. Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "anŋrej," that is, /151/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

835 What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the
614 extensive class of kakhal, i.e., the persons born into one
common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely
exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are
no aliases that call each other "pu" and "anŋrej"; neither
marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

/151 cont./

● 835 And therefore we must come out in the most categorical
614 manner against the assertion of Schrenck that the Gilyak clan
114 is endogamous. "Affiliation to the clan," says Schrenck,
"does not play any role whatever in the most important
phenomenon of their life, namely, in marriage... the Gilyak
freely permit marriages between Gilyak of one and the same
kal'a (clan)" (1). Elsewhere he states even more definitely:

1. Schrenck, II, pp. 23, 24.

"only own brothers and sisters and the children of two own brothers cannot marry" (2). This absolutely false assertion

2. Ibid., p. 6.

would be completely incomprehensible coming from an investigator who had spent about two years in contact with the Gilyak, if it were not for the fact that Schrenck did not command the Gilyak language and had to make himself understood through a guide. On the basis of many years of association with the Gilyak, in their own language, and of an especially thorough study of marriage law, I can categorically refute this absolutely groundless and antiscientific assertion of Schrenck's; both marriage and sexual relations between persons born in one clan are absolutely forbidden.

835 We turn now to the particular classes, within as well as
outside of the clan, which are excluded from the right of
sexual relations and marriage.

Class of the ascending and descending lines. Classes whose members call each other atk, achik, ytk, ymk, nankh, and, conversely, ŋhie, i.e., the classes of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, agnates and cognates, uncles and aunts -- on one hand, on the other -- their descendants. Thus, intercourse between ascending and descending lines is excluded not only in the direct, but also in the most distant collateral lines as well; sexual intercourse

/151 cont./

● 835 is not permitted either between uncles and nieces or between
aunts and nephews (and correspondingly in the classes of
their tuvn, both in the agnate and cognate line). But the
prohibition in these lines is not limited only to persons of
different sexes within these groups; it extends also to the
persons who are married /152/ to these individuals, and not
only to those actually married to them, but in general to all
those who reckon themselves the pu or anŋrej of one of these
persons according to the kinship nomenclature. Thus, for
example, if "I" am a man -- my uncle on my father's side
(ytk, pilang) not only cannot have sexual intercourse with my
wife, but not even with the most distant sister of my wife,
even if she is married to a man of an alien clan, because I
call her anŋrej -- wife, just as I am forbidden to have sexual
intercourse not only with the wife of my uncle on my father's
side, but also with the sister of his wife on the father's side,
even if she is married to a man of an alien clan, because
she is ymk -- mother to me.

But the prohibitions in these groups go still further. From the kinship terminology we know that in the ascending line of a man are reckoned, in addition to the aforementioned categories, the sisters of the father of the wife and their husbands (they are my "mothers" and "fathers"), the father of my wife himself and his wife, and their brothers and sisters (tuvn) and all their ascending line (they are my "uncles" and "aunts"). All these persons are also prohibited, according to their sex, to their "son-in-law" /syat'/ and his "wife" and to the classes of their brothers and sisters (tuvn), as are actual grandfathers and fathers, grandmothers and mothers, and uncles and aunts to their direct or collateral descendants.

But one must not think that the above-mentioned prohibitions between ascending and descending individuals constitute prohibitions between factually different generations. Not at all. The distinction in generations is purely a nominal one; under the classificatory system, when the same terms, ytk, ymk, atk -- father, mother, grandfather, are equally

/152 cont./

● 835 applied both to individuals of an actually ascending generation (to own father, mother) and to their brothers and sisters,
the significance not only of generations, but of ages completely disappears. The brother or sister of the father may be
younger than the speaker, although they consider themselves
mother and father in relation to the latter, and nevertheless
the prohibitions are equally effective by virtue of the kinship
classification alone.

Class of tuvn. It consists of two groups -- of 1) the group of the descendants of agnate brothers and male cousins, and 2) the group of the descendants of agnate sisters and female cousins.

Within each separate group in all generations, neither sexual intercourse nor marriage are permissible, which is in complete accord with the kinship nomenclature, since in neither of these groups are there individuals designating each other as pu and anŋrej; they are all tuvn.

I noted only one deviation with respect to the descendants of sisters, /153/ and that only among certain clans, namely, if sisters are married to individuals alien to each other, the prohibitions are in effect only in the first two generations. But this is a purely local deviation, induced by the extreme inconvenience of the prohibition under conditions of an extreme lack of women. In general the prohibition is strictly observed both among the descendants of brothers and among the descendants of sisters. This prohibition, which is reinforced by a taboo and which seems to us unnatural, has become among the Gilyak an instinctive feeling -- namely, one of prohibition against mutually looking at each other and of conversing (see below). To what degree the prohibitions
● 825 within this group have gone into flesh and blood, even in
the most remote degrees of kinship, even in relation to persons
whom they call "tylgund-tuvn" (agnate male cousin), transformed by tradition in their thinking into natural phenomena
of nature, we may see by their attitude toward the infraction
of this prohibition among their sole domestic animal -- the

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/153 cont./

835 825 dog. Among dogs, according to the belief of the Gilyak, brother and sister do not copulate. Exceptions are very rare, and they are attributed to the evil doing of a milk'a (evil spirit). Therefore, when a Gilyak notes such a case of incest, he is obliged to kill the dog; otherwise the sin falls on him.

[782] It is true that the slaying takes place as a religious ritual, by means of a ceremony of strangling, and blood is sprinkled to all four quarters of the compass in sacrifice, but for the dogs this is a punishment for incest. It is curious, however, that incest between ascending and descending lines (son and mother, and so forth) among dogs is tolerated by the Gilyak, and they do not kill the criminals (is it not due to utilitarian considerations, since begetters are valued very highly by them?).

835 Cognate male and female cousins. Here, of course, only cognate male and female cousins, i.e., the children of a brother and sister, can be in question, inasmuch as the children of brothers, on the one hand, and the children of sisters, on the other, are considered tuvn, and we have already discussed the complete prohibition within each of these groups. From the kinship nomenclature we know that the terms used in reference to each other by cousins depend on whether the male or female cousin whom they are addressing or of whom they are speaking is the son or daughter of the brother of the mother, or of the sister of the father, namely: if "I" am a man, then I call the daughter of the brother of my mother an'g:ej (wife), and, conversely, she calls me pu (husband), but my sister calls the son of the brother of my mother akhmalk, navkh (father-in-law, husband of the wife's sister), and, conversely, he calls her n'ern -- wife's sister, i.e., terms which have nothing in common with matrimonial terms; and these terms correspond perfectly /154/ to reality. Sexual relations and marriage between the daughter of a sister and the son of her brother (and correspondingly between their tuvn) are not permitted; on the other hand, marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is not only permissible, but is considered a regular phenomenon. And in this case, as in all others, the terms brother and sister are

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835 class terms, i.e., the norms in force between the children of a brother and sister extend to the children of brothers and sisters in the most distant degrees of kinship and relationship by marriage. Thus, an exchange marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, as is practiced, for example, among the Tungus peoples, is not permitted; sons have rights to the daughters of the brother, but the sons of the brother are prohibited for the daughters of the sister, and this is true for all classes of tuvn. This norm, which seems of specialized im-

[614] portance and affects only brothers and sisters, plays an enormous role in the norms regulating the sexual relations between entire clans, as we shall see in the next section.

835 614 It is especially surprising that the aforementioned prohibitions which regulate the relations between the children of brother and sister are extended not only to the class of their children -- cousins, but also to both clans in their entirety. The rights and prohibitions which bind together the children of a brother and of his sister and their cousins extend to all the generations of both clans; namely, in each generation, as we have seen in the foregoing section, all the men of the class of tuvn in the clan of the sister and all the women -- tuvn in the clan of the brother call each other reciprocally from birth pu and an'g:ej, and they, in fact, have the right to sexual intercourse and marriage. But the men from the clan of the brother and the women from the clan of the sister are absolutely prohibited for each other in all generations and call each other nanakh (elder sister) if she is in an ascending generation, and n'ern if in the same generation, while the women call these men akhmalk. Thus, the women from the clan of the married sister are prohibited for the entire clan of her brother. It is still more surprising that these norms extend to the clans of the son-in-law /zyat'/ and father-in-law in general, even though the fathers of the spouses are completely alien; it is enough for one member from clan A, let us say, to marry a woman from clan B, even though this woman and the members of her clan are completely alien to

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835 614 clan A, and the relations established between these two clans are the same as if the father-in-law of the given man were the brother of his mother: the whole class of "sisters" (tuvn) in each generation of the clan of the father-in-law are the wives of the "brothers" (tuvn) of the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and, conversely, the wives of the latter are prohibited for the former.

/155/ The kinship nomenclature corresponds completely to these norms; atk, akhmalk -- designate the mother's brother and the father-in-law in general, ymg:i designates the son-in-law /zyat'/ in general and the sister's son or even any male of the sister's clan. This norm leads to very complicated consequences. It very often happens that separate members of one or another clan, A, we shall say, have taken wives from several different clans and in turn have given their women to several different clans, and at once in relation to all these clans those same prohibitions that we had in the first case when there were only two clans concerned, become valid for clan A, i.e., the women of clan A are forbidden to all the clans from which its members have taken their wives, and, conversely, the women of all clans whose members have taken wives from A are forbidden to clan A. This inconvenient regulation is aggravated still more by the following limitation. Clan B, let us suppose, from which my clan, A, takes women, in turn takes wives from clan C, and at once this clan C, having become the akhmalk of clan B becomes also the akhmalk of my clan, A, and therefore wives from my clan are forbidden not only to clan B, my immediate akhmalk, but also to clan C, which, as we have seen, is called, in contradistinction to the first, "tujma akhmalk" -- (distant father-in-law), and on the Amur -- tun'g:i akhmalk. But this phenomenon also has its converse side. If the quantity of prohibited clans for this or that clan increases proportionately as the number of clans which take women from it increases, nevertheless, on the other hand, as its members begin to take wives from various clans, the number of permitted

/155 cont./

835 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new class of wives -- an'g:ej. Nevertheless, the extension of [178] [61] prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men, called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man gives this name to two completely different classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of wives of his og:la (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited character of the second category is not so absolute. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced [184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation (an'g:ej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as an'g:ej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

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835 and of designating the wife of the younger tuvn by the prohibitory term jokh; and, correspondingly, sexual relations between a man and the wife of his younger brother are not permitted. Notwithstanding the dominance of this norm at the present time, originally both the terminology and the norms of intercourse were apparently identical with respect to all the wives of brothers without distinction. Evidence of this is not only the fact that in certain places, as we have seen, this arrangement still prevails, but also certain features of the terminology which have been retained even in those places where the new order is dominant. Thus, for example, children everywhere without distinction call the wives of all the brothers of their father ymk, i.e., by the same term that they apply to their own mother, and (in many places) kill the brothers of the father yrk (father), from which we must conclude that formerly the sexual rights of men extended to the wives of all brothers without distinction.

The norms of lawful sexual intercourse. From the kinship nomenclature we know that whole groups of men call whole groups of women their wives, and vice versa, i.e., the latter call them their husbands. This strange nomenclature fully corresponds to actuality; in the language of our own European nomenclature, such groups of men and women are joined in marriage.

121 58 But before entering into a detailed examination of these relationships, strange from a contemporary point of view, it is necessary, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to analyze precisely the meaning of the term "marriage."

In the institution of marriage there are three main features: 1) sexual intercourse, 2) begetting offspring, and 3) common /157/ domestic activity. It is completely clear that the intrinsically indispensable element in marriage is only the first, namely, sexual intercourse; the other two features, although they, too, play an enormous role in the marital union, may be completely absent. There are marriages which, on account of natural or artificial causes, are

/161 cont./

581 587 721 intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

835 Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'g:ej" become understandable to us, and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "an'g:ej." We have already said that for the Gilyak, at least at the present time, it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one, except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males, and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship [601] nomenclature, either from birth or from another specifically defined moment, he calls an'g:ej (wife), and he calls all their agnates akhmalk'i (fathers-in-law). We already know [602] who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

[601] Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

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835 [601] All these categories of "wives" and "husbands" are far from nominal /162/ categories. Behind these class terms (pu and an'g:ej) there are hidden two important real rights: 1) the right to individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular.

The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categories pu and an'g:ej are bound by the right to marry, in other words, out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinship terms, only these alone have the right to join in individual marriage with each other; all the other categories of kinship groups are prohibited from marrying each other. But this right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature -- the absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly in the eyes of the Gilyak the mnemonic significance of these terms is of great importance in itself, for in view of the extreme complexity of kinship relations a firm knowledge of the marriageable classes is the only guarantee against violations of the very strict taboos on marriage in the prohibited degrees of kinship. Nevertheless the mnemonic-permissive significance of these terms does not at all exhaust their legal content. Prohibitions against marriage, as we have seen, are absent also among persons who are complete strangers to each other in the kinship relation, and nevertheless, for persons of these categories to call each other pu and an'g:ej before marriage is not tolerated. The right to individual marriage between persons in the pu and an'g:ej categories is not a naked nudum jus; this right, which is simultaneously an obligation, is a debt for both parties concerned. This obligation is seen first of all in the category of "brothers" and their individual wives, who are, as we know, joined mutually in the relationship of pu and an'g:ej. By the general rule the [587] [614] widows of "brothers" (own and collateral) cannot leave the clan, and they become, according to the disposition of the clansmen, the wives of the brothers who have survived their husbands, completely independently of the wishes of these brothers; none of them can decline the widow assigned to him.

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587 835 [614] In those clans where the "older brothers" are excluded from the class "pu" with respect to the wives of "younger brothers," the widows are ordinarily assigned to one of the "younger brothers" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brothers," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the widow, without the right, however, to sexual intercourse with her.

But the typical aspect of the marriage-rights relations between the pu and an'g:ej is not concealed in this extremely common institution of the levirate, about which /163/ we must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon and embraces only one insignificant class of this category. The most characteristic aspect 835 of the rights-obligations of marriage between pu and an'g:ej lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the kinship terminology, in other words, in the conditions of the normal marriage. This right-obligation character of marriage between pu and an'g:ej has, it is true, been considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall speak further on -- the Gilyak do take wives outside of the aforementioned categories, but these marriage unions do not represent the favored, characteristic form of even the contemporary marriage. On the contrary, both the contemporary customs and the ancient epos equally indicate that precisely between these classes of pu and an'g:ej marriage was obligatory and the most satisfactory of all from the 835 specific point of view of the Gilyak. In order to show how 538 imperative this consciousness of the obligation of marriage between persons of the classes pu and an'g:ej is, it will be sufficient to introduce one example from a story I recorded. In this story, they tell about a battle between a young Gilyak and a mysterious werewolf-shaman. The fight ends with the werewolf's receiving a mortal wound and returning to his yurt. On his deathbed he remembers that he is a distant akhmalk of his slayer, that is, a member of that clan from which the clan of the killer has the right to take wives, and of the very category of persons of that clan whose daughters

/163 cont./
835 are the an'g:ej of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the
538 killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow into his house; and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." Such is the force of the ancient categorical imperative of marriages between the categories of pu and an'g:ej. This imperative is also active nowadays.

Let us return for a moment to the kinship terminology.
601 We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connec-
582 tion with the laws of marriage later on. For our purposes
614 now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each other either older or younger "sisters" or "aunts" and "nieces"; 2) all the agnate kin of the wife are considered, according to generation, the "fathers-in-law" of all the clansmen of this /164/ man; 3) the man calls the sister of his "father-in-law" his "mother," and he calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife (an'g:ej). Judging from this, 1) the wives of all the members of each given clan must be taken from one clan, and, consequently, in each generation they are sisters (own and collateral); 2) the clan of these women, for each individual man, is the clan of his mother, and the wife of each individual man, must be the daughter of his mother's brother. This we see in actuality, notwithstanding all the deviations of modern times, the causes of which will be made clear later.
614 The ideal of the clansmen is to have women from one clan,
582 from one clan of common akhmalk'i; if this turns out to be impossible and it is necessary to turn to still another clan, then once again it is preferably to that clan which is already the akhmalk of the given clan, that is, that clan from which the individual clansmen, fathers and grandfathers, at an earlier date took their wives for some reason or other. Under these conditions, for each individual person the most favored

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* 194 /194 cont./
582 relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).
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● 835

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

[13]

* 194 2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons
582 of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women
581 for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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191 Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession;
* 194 the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves
581 over to another. As for the children, either they are not dis-
582 tinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of
595 the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

* 194 3. The same situation in a new variant: the first
581 brother has reached marriageable age before the second.
582 The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his
● 835 father /sic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother remains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

191 4. At a given moment a brother has several adult
* 194 daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son.
581 The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the
582 sister of the brother /sic/. Thus it is at the present time
595 among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his individual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood. The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder brother is not so indisputable.

* 194 An analogous development takes place if the elder brother-
581 polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up; then
582 each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but
835 at the same time each of the younger brothers will have

/196 cont./
* 194 group rights to the wives of his elder brothers, who in their
581 time enjoyed his wives. In the majority of cases, therefore,
582 we see that only younger brothers enjoy group rights to the
● 835 wives of the elder brothers.

5. Thus far, we have taken the simplest combinations -- one brother and one sister. Where there are several brothers and several sisters, the consequences will be similar, but will assume a more complex form. If there were always the same number of sisters and brothers, and if each brother and sister had a corresponding number of female and male offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Ordinarily, on the contrary, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes in their offspring is even less possible. Let us take several examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. This time it is not only own sisters, but also first cousins who are the group wives of the brothers. Or: there are several brothers and several sisters, but the distribution of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, whereupon the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but of male and female first cousins as well.

Finally, women did not always have brothers, and the latter did not always have daughters, and then, naturally, it was necessary /197/ to resort to the daughters of first and second cousins. In a word, into a marriage group of the offspring of a brother and sister are inevitably drawn, on the one hand, all the collateral brothers up to the most distant degrees, and, on the other -- the collateral sisters, and thus there is established group marriage between own and collateral brothers, on the one hand, and own and collateral sisters on the other -- the typical punalua family in its purest form.

Gi /237 cont./
114 I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are pre-
835 dominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of the Amur region.

G. Gi 601 In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life
835 as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities
171 differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen and
433 dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essentially similar in their classificatory system and norms of marriage.

G. Gi 614 As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /pa-
601 terniteta/. In each generation of a given clan, the men and
835 women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The children of these classes are common sons and daughters and brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"brothers," own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i.e., the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obligatory.

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who are
Gi 601 married to members of another clan, but, by analogy with
835 the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage includes only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects group
G. [601 marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than
835] among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right not only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wives of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely,
Gi [582 aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters of
the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of nieces is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

Gi /237 cont./ It is
601 easy to see that the first norm is a simple consequence of the
835 second, since a daughter of a sister of one's father is one's
582 cousin. In this last norm, the Tungus system resembles the
174 Koryak one, where, according to the testimony of Iokhel'son
[171] /Jochelson/, marriage with a niece -- a daughter of one's sister -- is also permitted. In still another peculiarity the Tungus marriage brings to mind the Koryak one: both do not
Gi [587 permit a person to marry /238/ his wife's sister while the wife
171] is still alive. One peculiarity of the Tungus marriage is especially characteristic and testifies to the origin of this system from the earliest stage of cousin marriage. This peculiarity consists in the fact that the favorite form of marriage up to the present is the exchange of sisters with the wife's brother. Since, at the same time, the most preferred marriages are the marriages with clansmen, and, consequently, of fathers and children -- from one common clan, as a result the majority of marriages are typical cross-cousin marriages. Taking into account the fact that at the present time the Tungus marriage system is in a stage of the decay of its primitive forms, we have the right to conclude that in the past cross-cousin marriage was the only form of marriage, which gave birth to the classificatory system and to the features of group marriage.

Gi In conclusion, it is interesting to note concerning the
171 Tungus peoples that among some of them, for example, the
608 southern Orochi, there is the institution of ceremonial brother-
835 hood, as among the Chukchee, and that the "brothers" --
G [835 anda -- mutually enjoy the right to sexual intercourse with each other's wives. As among the Gilyak, marriages between the children of brothers, just as between the children of sisters, are prohibited.

Y We proceed to the Paleo-Asiatic tribe of the Yukagir,
601 which has been studied by Iokhel'son. Iokhel'son himself
835 refrains from passing judgment on the place occupied by
121 Yukagir marriage in the general evolution of this institution, but the data cited by him provide us with sufficient material to put the Yukagir system within the scope of the Morgan

A Erman (3) relates the same, but he does
595 /244 cont./
835
114
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3. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen /Ethnographic Observations/," Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 162-163, Berlin.

not indicate either the kinship relations between the common husbands or their relationship in the case of the marriage of the second participant. But this in no way allows us to conclude that marriage among the Aleut is confined
G to the details related above. As we have already stated
835 earlier, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described Gilyak mar-
[595 riage in the same terms as Veniaminov used to describe
171] that of the Aleut, whereas we have seen that the Gilyak have the typical group marriage. The description of group marriage as given by Veniaminov and Rinso is quite natural for non-specialist observers, for with group marriage one is most easily struck by that case in which the second husband is not individually married himself, as it is described in Gilyak fairy tales: "two brothers maintained one wife." A non-specialist, however, generally leaves unnoticed group marriages which include several married men. One can therefore say with a great degree of assurance -- especially if one takes into consideration data about the preferred marriage to cousins -- that the polyandry of the Aleut that Veniaminov tells us about was in reality a form of group marriage. In confirmation of my hypothesis I shall permit myself to cite the following example from the life of the Toda, a tribe that lives in the Nilgiri Hills.

The old writer Marshall describes marriage among the Toda in the following way (4):

4. W. E. Marshall, A phrenologist among the Todas, London, 1873, p. 213.

"If a husband has brothers or very close kinsmen who all live together, each one of them may, with the consent

/251 cont./
831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych,
[192] n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
593 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[584 father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
[835 going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
593 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/253 cont./

831 instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo.
58 The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at
159 this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

835 The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers
762 in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solu-
831 tion. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily
533 in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has
835 become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago.
762 A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of
831 her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a
533 long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she
538 began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

/254 cont./

835 the goods that he had brought back, relea
831 he was fattening up for a feast, from its c
762 himself. The song which the unhappy gir
533 ment of parting has been preserved. We
538 entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we
[539] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of
bark will I become... Now one must thin

1. The world beyond the gra

That you may remember me, keep the e
the wall."

832 The Gilyak employ magic means ag
[825] One of these means is the dried-up brain
they mix with tobacco and offer to the gi
they surreptitiously sew the feather of a c
But there are also other means that are n
lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted th
drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and,
dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russ
sell such drugs for a high price, and seve
them.

832 Among the Gilyak, as in our country,
584 dividuals who cannot bring themselves to
of love in person. In such cases the inte
women, who, for this, must be given "te
Sometimes they send some present throug
ordinarily cloth, in which they tie severa
ing to the number of days until the admir

832 There remains to be discussed only w
are for the Gilyak, what individual traits
traction of the beloved. First of all, of c
aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facia
word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language
term poch urland, literally -- "of a goo

sed his bear, which
age, and hanged
l sang at the mo-
present it in its
e quote only the first
the bottom of thy
k only about Mlyvo (1).

ve.

arrings hung up on

ainst unrequited love.
of the cuckoo, which
rl to smoke. Or
uckoo to her dress.
ot so harmless and

ese potions, these
after a few days,
ified, who used to
al women died of

there are timid in-
make a declaration
rmediaries are old
a" -- a present.
h these intermediaries,
l knots, correspond-
er will pay his visit.
hat the stimuli of love
comprise the at-
ourse, there is the
l beauty. The
s expressed by the
d face."

/352 cont./

601 [171] but among them it has long since ceased to correspond to reality among the Gilyak, however, although the terminology does not fully correspond to reality, it does so all but fully. Even now, 601 835 every Gilyak has marital rights (it is not considered a sin) to the wives of his brothers of all degrees of kinship and to all the siste of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with regard to the wives of his younger brothers. This limitation is o recent origin, and its very existence seems to emphasize the legality of the collective marital rights of the younger brothers to the wives of their elder brothers and to all the sisters of their wives. Even at the present time these rights are not always exercised by the Gilyak, and in many cases it is not without displeasure and even forcible protests that the interested parties look upon the realization of these rights, as we shall eventually see; but legally, so to speak, they exist, the realization of thes rights is not considered adultery, is not punishable, and often is even carried on openly with the consent of the brothers and of th 601 husbands of the wife's sisters. Thus, the contemporary individua 835 form of marriage is a new phenomenon among the Gilyak, and t 171 powerful remnants of the old /353/ order of clan marriage pre- [198] served up to the present make it similar to the famous so-called "Punalua family," which still existed in the first half of our century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, such mutual rights to the wives of brothers and to the wife's sisters existed without limitations. And, what is still mor remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another punalua (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "navkh" (the word signifyin literally what punalua means among the inhabitants of the Sandw Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

"The Gilyaks are not an incontinent race, and compare very favourably with the ssian population of Sakhalin. Of course there are individual exceptions, especially w [263] that the pressing poverty prevents larger numbers of adult males having ir own establishments. Yungkin, our 'captain,' had told us the very evening of our rival at Nivo that he was going ashore to steal a wife for the night. We asked him if husband would not object. 'Oh, perhaps. Yes; he may slap her, but I shall give him me tobacco.' It is said that in earlier times cousins (ru-er) had the juridic right of lective use of cousins, and even of the sisters of cousins, and possibly some faint nembrance of this, sanctions the more indiscriminate connexion of later days."

844 When the woman in labor goes to the place made
291 ready for her, she is clad in old soiled clothes. If the weather is cool she takes more clothes along. The only distinction in clothing worn during labor is that the woman in labor takes off the trousers, a garment that Gilyak women wear in summer and winter.

844 Usually an older woman who herself has gone
● 835 through several childbirths helps the woman in labor. If [757] such a midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not at hand the husband of the woman in labor can take her place; but under no circumstances may another male member of the family take this place, not even the younger brother of the husband, although, according to the customs of the Gilyak he has a right to the wife of his older brother and considers himself in a way her husband and certainly the second father of the child.

844 The Birth.

753 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski is' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

845 If the labor pains last too long and the woman suffers too badly, a piece of clothing is moved back and forth in front of her face and somebody blows down from above on the part in her hair.

836

836 PREMARITAL SEX RELATIONS--presence or absence of a standard of chastity for the unmarried; variations in the standard (e.g., by sex, by class status); basis of the standard (e.g., material or ethical considerations); prevalence of premarital liaisons; degree of social approval or disapproval; seduction; assignations; permanency and exclusiveness of premarital unions; reciprocal behavior of lovers; incidence of rivalry and jealousy; termination of liaisons; evidence as to infertility of premarital unions; etc. See also:

Fertility, contraception, abortion, infanticide, and illegitimacy 84
Trial marriage 583
Courtship and behavior during betrothal . . . 584
Identification of chastity 831
Sex training 864
Adolescent activities 883

/150 cont./

684 for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all
● 836 this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual
583 relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction, even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen
584 to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part
of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion;
582 then there is the possibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also, at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship.
835 It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions. Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "an̄g:ej," that is, /151/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

835 What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the
614 extensive class of k:khal, i.e., the persons born into one common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are no classes that call each other "pu" and "an̄g:ej"; neither marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

/171 cont./

* 835 same words with which authors describe the relations between "kumi" and "kroki" in Australia; throughout the whole extent of his territory, wherever the Gilyak finds his an̄g:ej, there he also finds a conjugal bed. For this, it is only necessary that the Gilyak remember the kinship terms. I had many chances to convince myself of this during the time of my travels on Sakhalin. Again and again I appeared with my Gilyak companions in settlements where neither they nor their fathers had ever been before. Nevertheless, after the exchange of a few sentences the bonds of kinship were revealed, and from their first encounter pu and an̄g:ej who were formerly unknown to each other engaged in mimic negotiations about a fleeting conjugality.

* 835 Among the categories of women with whom the Gilyak
● 836 has a legitimate opportunity for sexual intercourse, it is neces-
848 sary to distinguish the unmarried from the married. Maidens, even among the Gilyak, are more restricted in their sexual relations than the married women. The prospect of pregnancy
614 and bearing children does not appeal to the Gilyak maiden;
851 the birth of a child by an unknown father, according to the clan views of the Gilyak, is a dangerous business solely from the fact that the sexual, marital, and clan rights, and even more the religious rights, determined by the father are completely uncertain, and this can lead to violations of taboos, which the Gilyak fears most of all. Therefore, a pregnant maiden is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father, who demands either that she name the seducer, or the destruction of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infant. However hard the moral position of individual women is in such cases, in practice the business /172/ is much simpler. In the first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from childhood on, and the others never sit for very long; there are so few women that every girl is already married by the
* 835 time seductions become dangerous for them. Finally, those
836 who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

/172 cont./
835 sweetheart, and, thanks to this polyandrous practice, they
836 hardly ever run the risk of pregnancy. As to what proportions
these polyandrous habits of intercourse among maidens reach,
it will be sufficient to offer an example intimately known to
me. The wife of my friend Pigunayka from the settlement of
Arkyvo, a likable woman and a splendid housekeeper and
mother of children, before her marriage had in her home vil-
lage alone 14 sweethearts at one time, who called each other,
and she likewise called them, navkh, akhmalk -- comrade,
fellow participator (it is curious that navkh literally means the
very same thing as punalua in Hawaiian and well-known punalua
family). Furthermore, Pigunayka's wife's sexual intercourse
with her sweethearts quite often took place at one time. Her
"husbands" told me quite good-naturedly how all 15 of them
used to get together in a little clearing not far from the
settlement, and one after the other they would exercise their
rights. The most curious thing of all is that in this merry band
was Pigunayka himself, who is now the happy husband of the
602 heroine. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the Gilyak
835 youth in many respects feels much more at home and at ease
836 among his maiden an'gej than he does among his married
an'gej, access to whom is surrounded with great difficulties
in view of the preferential rights to them of their individual
husbands. And, naturally, he is attracted thither most of all.
But he does not find these maidens in his own clan, even
among the most distant of his tuvn. With them he not only does
not have a right to have sexual intercourse, but he does not
even dare to converse with them. In his own clan, he has
only the married women for sexual intercourse. In fact, maiden
(617) an'gej very rarely live in the same settlement as their pu.
The daughters of his mother's brother, the sisters of his brothers'
wives, the daughters of his akhmalk, in other words, the clan
of his "fathers-in-law" -- there is where all his sympathies
602 draw the Gilyak youth. In the yurts of his akhmalk'i nothing
is hidden to him; here he is met with open arms, for, as we

/172 cont./
602 know, an ymgıl is the closest person to an akhmalk and to his
wife. An ymgıl is a preferred hunting companion summer
and winter. He is the dearest guest; they serve the most
delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a
special reason. With their classmen-brothers the akhmalk'i
/173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the
ymgıl is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make
merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there
836 are dozens of maidens -- his an'gej, with whom he may
openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents
itself, have sexual intercourse.
835 Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their
602 married an'gej.
(184) From the kinship terminology we know that a man's
married an'gej include, first of all, the individual wives of
his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the
western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak
speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further --
all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the
married sisters of the wives of his tuvn -- a huge category,
including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the
835 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two
groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers'
wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually,
in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage,
the sisters marry persons of the class tuvn alone, so that with
regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers'
wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers"
operates. But, aside from the traditional tribal norms,
it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the
sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien
man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmalk (1).

(582) 1. An accidental akhmalk is what I
(214) call a man from a clan from which
one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

/247 cont./
602 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
157 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
227 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
(618) war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
578 were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
(463) motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
154 sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to get married. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
454 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
831 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-
law" -- akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
(192) even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was no easy matter. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for all news,
834 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
574 Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
(203) after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

/247 cont./
amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
(834) the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions
of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility,
concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about
her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man
at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has
made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very
quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry
patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then,
after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke to-
gether a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe),"
or "Let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply.
Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved
and at night creeps over to her couch, or vice versa. Some-
times the business is consummated without words, limiting
itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing
the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff,
the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the
symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the
wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a
(196) kind of imitation of the rite of a conferratio /conferreatio/.
(585) The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
171 figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the
Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North
America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according
to the testimony of Boas and Teit.
836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
839 the unmarried youth, but also the mature, middle-aged
574 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my
companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who en-
joyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of
his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in
the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his
young companions about the pretty women of the settlement,
and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/248 cont./
836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
839 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not,
it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young
companions, but only because the competition was already
too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as
revolvers among the young men.
839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the
use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of
instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women
go for several days to places very distant from the villages after
berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless
women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily,
have been quite ready to resort to using force. Violence, how-
ever, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers
which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made
closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all
romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle
of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gymd --
(196) "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also ap-
plied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings:
"to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."
484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
831 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new
arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the
local youth, and the women already have their local ad-
mirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are
required to win, in any success on alien soil. I managed
to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good
and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There
are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even
among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them.
Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the
women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements
of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous
reception always awaits him.

/249 cont./
It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the
836 sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must
831 differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors.
597 The former, when at home in their own settlements, are
more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders
than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when
journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they
avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other
hand, the married women are surrounded with so many
temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they
836 violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity,
839 the more so since far from all marry for love or persons of
847 their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with ex-
847 tramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on
decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything
abnormal, since for the most part they take place between
group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm
of primacy, as concerns excesses among married people,
must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak,
"you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women
you will not find a single one."
Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among
836 the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extrava-
831 gances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman,
538 Pigunajka, who before her marriage was having affairs with
14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or
another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The
hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his
586 daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to
him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People
used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after
that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become
upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry
her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

/638 cont./
834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
574 relatively decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with
them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure,
such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other
(115)
2. N. Buse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped.
1853-55 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Ex-
pedition of 1853-54/, St. Peterb., 1872,
pp. 55, 56, 70.

836 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
839 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
847 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
the Gilyak, i. such a case the girl's mother metes out
corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
(562) secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.
Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
839 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
847 of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
(581) course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/648 cont./

567 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
567 Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has,
595 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
192 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryss-umgu (female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of his marital situation.

567 As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a
•[836] female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
[851] never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother and likewise, as kryghryss, becomes the property of her owner, who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up,
[848] sells it as kryghryss. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case
[847] happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not unhappily permits a marriage between his male and female kryghryss; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children they might have will be his kryghryss and, as such, can be
[563] turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

837

837 EXTRAMARITAL SEX RELATIONS--presence or absence of an ideal of marital fidelity; cultural definition of adultery (e.g., applying to both spouses, to wife only); allegations of promiscuity; incidence of adultery for both sexes; prevention (e.g., cloistering of women, chastity belts); initiation and conduct of adulterous liaisons; cicisbeism; keeping of mistresses; culturally sanctioned extramarital relations (e.g., wife lending, sexual hospitality); etc. See also:

Prostitution	548	Ceremonial license	786
Concubinage	595	Privileged sex relationships	838
Punishment of adultery	684	Illegitimacy	848

1; Shternberg--219 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*601 /147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious
602 how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other -- sweethearts. It seems that terms are often transferred into this area from the
[197] matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart
[184] o'kono (husband, in the western dialect), az'mych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), ivn (groom), navkh (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law
•[837] /zyat'/). It is very interesting that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term akhmalk, while the terms navkh and akhmalk in practical life have taken on the meaning of "comrade" or "participant in a common affair." Thus, the term "navkh" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes its name from this term.

*601 As a result of our survey of the kinship termonology, we find among the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

1; Shternberg--261 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/174 cont./

*835 In clans where a distinction is made between the wives of
614 younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for me still more boldly: "among clansmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ('good'), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his tuvn is invariably exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the woman and, as far
*835 as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse,
593 of course, is peremptory -- he can demand from his wife fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that she
[597] follow him through /175/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that she bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tuvn of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group husbands in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the home), to enjoy their rights, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the
[184] river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at
[512] a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the
[222] women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the
*835 taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor tuvn most of all
•[837] fully enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group ang:ei, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/175 cont./

*835 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights
●837 just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.
*835 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the rela-
832 tions between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

*835 In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their
[593] wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official
[595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but
[184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters
[556] Such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

/182 cont./

*835 their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same
171 way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari designate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all considered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs (ibid., 19).

IV.

831 Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us, broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations, naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal
● [839] fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women, and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such exceptions
831 are not encountered. In the society of the most respected
521 individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ adventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman (urdla n'ig:yvyn) at all. In my presence, and that of a gathering of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Laruk, to the accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter, related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20
831 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/247 cont./

000 amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.
[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
● 837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/248 cont./

836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman wh
●837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, th use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the wo go for several days to places very distant from the villages a berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, how ever, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gyn
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in searc
831 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily goo and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous reception always awaits him.

/249 cont./

831 It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the
839 sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must
577 differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors. The former, when at home in their own settlements, are more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other hand, the married women are surrounded with so many temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity, the more so since far from all marry for love or persons of their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with extramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything abnormal, since for the most part they take place between group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm of primacy, as concerns excesses among married people, must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak, "you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women you will not find a single one."

836 Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among
831 the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extrava-
838 gances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman, Pigunajka, who before her marriage was having affairs with 14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
177 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy, Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

/284 cont./

From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak (Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/302/

A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tûgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
• 837 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam) In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
579 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

579 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

• 837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

9: Hawes--262-263 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 835, 837

"The Gilyaks are not an incontinent race, and co
Russian population of Sakhalin. Of course there are
now [263] that the pressing poverty prevents larger
their own establishments. Yungkin, our 'captain,'
arrival at Nivo that he was going ashore to steal a
the husband would not object. 'Oh, perhaps. Yes; h
some tobacco.' It is said that in earlier times cous
collective use of cousins, and even of the sisters o
remembrance of this, sanctions the more indiscrim

mpare very favourably with the
e individual exceptions, especially
numbers of adult males having
had told us the very evening of our
wife for the night. We asked him if
ne may slap her, but I shall give him
ins (ru-er) had the juridic right of
f cousins, and possibly some faint
ninate connexion of later days."

makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately, there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc.-breaks out more easily if one is face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

838

838 HOMOSEXUALITY--conceptualization (e.g., as normal, as abnormal); prevalence for each sex; specific behavior patterns; regulation (e.g., by incest taboos and exogamous rules); institutionalization (e.g., in bachelor organizations); reactions of the community (e.g., toleration, disgust); variant attitudes correlated with sex, age, and marital condition; transvestitism; etc. See also:

Unconscious homosexual traits. 16
Friendships 572
Marriages between persons of the same sex . . 588
Celibacy. 589
Legal definitions and sanctions 684

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time.
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

147 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

838 In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to standfor hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

839

839 MISCELLANEOUS SEX BEHAVIOR--incidence of nocturnal emission, masturbation, petting to orgasm, bestiality, necrophilia, sexual sadism and masochism, exhibitionism, voyeurism, sexual fetishism, and rape; personal and social characteristics, circumstances, methods, and social reaction for each type of behavior; eunuchs (e.g., number, status, activities); etc. See also:

Psychosis and neuroses 158
Castration 304
Irregular unions 588
Punishable sex offenses 684
Ascetic ism 785
Orgies 786
Coitus interruptus 842
Sexual behavior of infants and children . . . 864

/248 cont./
836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

● 839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gynd --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous reception always awaits him.

/255 cont./
832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
517 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
826 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

● 839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz; (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
703 myg:nga igagh syktymu yz'mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

● 839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder. The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- k:akhtr, ag:n'i, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn' is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

10; Coxwell--128-129 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 839

"A TALE OF A BEAR

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.124-125.]

This story of mating with a bear is one of several stories mentioned in the Note to the Kalmuck story, 'The Birdcage [129] Husband.' But in the present tale we have no mere allusion to the subject; on the contrary, as in 'The Gilyak who Mated with a Tigress,' the tale actually deals with a wooing, and the life of the characters concerned.

The majority of stories of men or women mating with animals were probably, even in the first place, amusing fiction and did not arise from abnormality and depravity of savages or barbarous races. Similarly, considerations of totem ancestry, while interesting from the standpoint of man's early evolution, seem too remote to have played an important part in origination of the mass of folk-tales, even of the most ancient, such as the Egyptian, Indian or Kalmuck. This is not to deny the possibility of such causes, but to lay stress on the greater influence of a story-telling faculty which has used striking ideas and situations in order to divert childish persons or to arrest the attention of dull minds. To the primeval hunter it doubtless appeared that the hunted are not very different from himself, for they lived in the same environment, and were influenced by similar considerations. He developed, but an inherited tendency to look on animals as his fellows persisted after notions of totem ancestry had vanished."

On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be unknown among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards. Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

84

84 REPRODUCTION--general statements dealing with several aspect
cultural adjustments, behavioral and ideological, to the reproducti
in women.

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire v
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begi
to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it
happens that the thief dies from it.

687 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before t
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is all
to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human
chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, th
they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the
balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896)

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reache
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced th
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she b
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on h
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women w
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tugurma
(the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac
837 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the riv

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam
In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summ
three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husb
at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during
birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whol
year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before child
birth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive
stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches
and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with col
water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, t

Amur

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands [155] when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[177] 1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz' nyngydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and nyngydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of prung, two k:ong z'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (pying z'akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special shape (m'erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitur'. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bituz' -- must be fed (settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
789 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
846 and hang it on a tree. O'ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch carefully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
824 for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
761 there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

841

841 MENSTRUATION--theory of menstruation and the menstrual cycle (e.g., association with lunation); beliefs about menstrual blood; associated practices (e.g., medicinal and magical uses of menstrual blood, avoidance of contact, methods of stanching and disposal); behavior and treatment of women during menses (e.g., isolation, imposition of food and sex taboos, purificatory rites); adjustments in behavior of spouse and parents; recognized symptoms of menstruation; explanation and treatment of irregular, excessive, or prolonged menses; etc. See also:

Physiological characteristics of menstruation	147	Purification	753
Menstrual lodges	343	Ideas about blood	838
Notions of the uncleanness of women	562	First menstruation	881
Medical therapy	787	Menopause	886

1: Shternberg--440 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyz') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

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30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
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585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
84 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
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839 commodates a guest under one blanket.

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844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

1:Shternberg--464 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
794 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
796 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
529 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
84 she kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
754 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
562 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
578 away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
794 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
796 She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth
[158] with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

15: Pilsudski--1 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

842

842 CONCEPTION--theory of impregnation and paternity; fertility and sterility (e.g., incidence, conceptualization); desire for children and preferences as to sex; methods of inducing conception and of counteracting barrenness and sterility; treatment of barren women and sterile men; methods of influencing conception (e.g., determining sex, preventing twins, inducing healthy offspring); prevention of conception (e.g., continence, coitus interruptus, contraceptive devices); attitudes toward birth control; etc. See also:

Sex behavior	83	Notions of reincarnation	715
Population policy	168	Ideas about heredity	897
Sterilization of defectives	720		

/250 cont./

831 192 Such instances must not be regarded as a general phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors are also acting. Among the married women, such factors are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an economic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or, if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both [826] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And ●[842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages 831 158 to dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of dissoluteness on the psychics. A whole series of nervous disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among both men and women, and diseases connected with the full loss of psychic composure (self-control /given in English/) are the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the appearance of hysteria.

831 192 Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term for love, es'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term for reciprocal love -- os'mund; for marriage for love, os'mur:kir, vavynd. There are also some other terms for love, for example, hyvnd and others, but there are no special terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although /251/ one can say es'mula nig:yvyn, i.e., "man whom they love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/308 cont./

765 775 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well, live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 786 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear, 626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz;. " "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 768 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was ● [842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[931] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/336 cont./

854 [847] A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 789 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung -- ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 784 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows, 854 755 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of 789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

●842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 [876] Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 782 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack 411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made everywhere and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert [463] [439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the 462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows, 321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly 322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the 517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, [462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one. [855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak 593 of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, ●842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammla, tammla, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however, [592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from The help that they give in the household, a fine bride p

/641 cont./
593 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A
843 sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the hus-
[595] band will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with
[586] children, would soon push her completely into the background.
Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no
means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstiti-
[825] tion gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a
[789] woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief
that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets
specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though
I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists
among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with
the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never
give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of
the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to
844 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village
114 of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses,
I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and
sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was
immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front
of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back
into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard
from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been success-
ful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive.
[132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk.
At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°,
at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to
2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off
its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for
the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery
343 does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground;
they call it langa. From this moment on the whole tribe
is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child,
tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.
753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their
anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and
relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms
of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are
certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone,
squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of
convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is
considered to be a consequence of the mountain
spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says
"tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is
tormenting".
784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions,
they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of
twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow house-
hold articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had
given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are
considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard
objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do
not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the
new one.
●842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the
transference of physical peculiarities from one man
to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an
explanation for the superstitious remedies they use
for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who
cannot bear children must ask another very fertile
woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and
she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired
success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be
transferred from one person to another like a
contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel
which had been used by the sick person.

843

843 PREGNANCY--theory of pregnancy; determination of pregnancy (e.g., from cessation of menses, darkening of areola, abdominal prubberance, fetal movements); forecasting time of delivery; predicting sex, etc.; treatment and behavior of the pregnant woman (e.g., relief from work, dealing with nausea and giddiness, gratification of food cravings, observation of food and sex taboos, regimen, isolation); associated rites and ceremonies; sympathetic behavior of husband; ideas about embryonic development; practices intended to facilitate delivery and insure healthy offspring; differences in treatment of first and subsequent pregnancies; miscarriages (e.g., disposal of fetus, associated beliefs and practices); etc. See also:
Maternity benefits . . . . . 745 Abortion 847

/304 cont./
685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins
to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it
happens that the thief dies from it.
687 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed
to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.
A stick (kyr) -- about an arshin in length with a human
chkhnaj.
If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then
they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the
balagan of the khlaj-n'vukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).
88 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
581 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
585 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
841 themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŭgurmam
[304] (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.
171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
834 commodates a guest under one blanket.
● 843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.
844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam)
In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer --
three days.
84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband
at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during
birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole
year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before child-
birth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in
stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.
[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches,
and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold
water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/335 cont./
832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom
who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht
was made, she married him.
684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for
it and his dogs are taken away.
● 843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
841 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the
langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born,
the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of
pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go
hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female
parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat
food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr)
of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire,
chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being
unclean -- akilaf pachkyr -- and becomes sik urland pomyng --
clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From
the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the
umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the
yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.
843 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.
A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls,
a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846] 1. Among the Orok a woman is in the
[171] balagan only during childbirth; then
for ten days they cook for her on a separate
fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing
to lose their strength.

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child
is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately.
The next day the mother washes the child with cold
water, but she does not pour it directly on the body
of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only
then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises
the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child
is washed twice a day for two years.
856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody
tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom
among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.
846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as
possible before they give birth to a child.
Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water
during a period of ten days before and after the
delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is
given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During
that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish
(salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating
a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum
nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a
child is considered harmful, but later on it is
considered to be healthy. In general liquor is
consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin
consume very little alcohol compared to other
inhabitants of this island.

● 843 Miscarriages.
Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently
among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless
and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that
there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced
one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But
not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew
of a woman who always miscarried and was not able
to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the
normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state
the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the
Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will,
therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

● 843 medical profession. It is possible that the Gilyak belong to a race which is constitutionally inclined to miscarriages. I believe, however, that in this respect it is of great importance that the woman is worn out from perpetual heavy work and that there is a complete lack of consideration for the pregnant woman. Among the Gilyak the immense burden of domestic work is at no time alleviated for the woman during her pregnancy. No man deems it necessary to protect his wife while she is carrying the baby to be born. The eventual miscarriage he attributes without compunction to insignificant causes. The Gilyak believe, for instance, that a miscarriage takes place if a child hits his pregnant mother's face with a strap or a long wooden object, such as a spoon, an arrow, a toy, a wooden knife or a fishing hook. Hitting a pregnant woman with a twig or a little stick recently cut off a tree or bush is considered harmless. A violent blow or a fall can cause a miscarriage too.

844 Behavior of the husband.

The Gilyak has a strange way of expressing his worries about his wife during her labor pains: he unties everything that can possibly be untied. First on himself: he undoes the braids in which his hair is plaited and he unties his shoelaces and top sleeves. Next, he unties or loosens whatever might, at that time, be tied up in the house or in its neighborhood. In the yard, he takes the axe out of the block; he loosens the boat if it is tied to a tree; he takes the cartridges out of the gun and the arrows out of the cross-bow. An image of pity without a belt, he creeps from one corner to another or he lies around pondering what else he might untie or loosen somewhere, for he is convinced that the labor pains and their duration depend upon whether he has overlooked and missed loosening something.

846 Only after the navel of the child is healed is the man allowed to start working or to go hunting, to leave the house on business and visit his relatives or friends. Neither at this period nor later on is the birth of the child celebrated by a festivity in the house or by a meal.

General remarks.

Throughout this period of time the woman who has

844

844 CHILDBIRTH--ideas about childbirth; attitude of the community; importance of first and subsequent births; preparations for delivery; place of birth; witnesses, assistants, and excluded persons; role of midwives and obstetricians; onset and duration of labor; facilitation of delivery (e.g., pressure, massage); posture in childbirth; receiving the baby; severing and tying the umbilical cord; expulsion of placenta; disposal of exuviae; immediate care of mother and child; cleansing, bandaging, and medication of mother; adjustments to postnatal hemorrhage; treatment of baby (e.g., initiation of respiration, cleansing, swaddling); etc. See also:

Birth statistics	163	Hospitals	743
Infant and maternal mortality	165	Medical personnel	759
Birth registration	217	Special mortuary rites	766
Birthdays	527	Omens, divination, and astrology	787

/304 cont./

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754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

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[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

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/336 cont./

854 A newborn baby is washed with his mother's
● [844] and then with cold water from the mouth. For the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only th

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle
789 ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in bir instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. they preserve everything, along with the amulets, f child, whom they again serve; if another child is n preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman
789 along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there

854 fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a b
855 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Ov
789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All th at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secre of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. On take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means
[776] the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the sea.

845 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be
782 Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc. quantities; they first set them in place and then eat selves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made i If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two o ing on how many died. A little balagan is made un Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out o a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the chil

/641 cont./

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During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/641 cont./

844 [343] [132] [165] erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter temperatures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition [846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado. 114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be 844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house 768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn [963] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

/642 cont./

114 844 768 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kulk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in childbirth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other 844 532 782 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth. Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

844 413 [531] No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the

[126] 2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kulk.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

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G [844] [782] →

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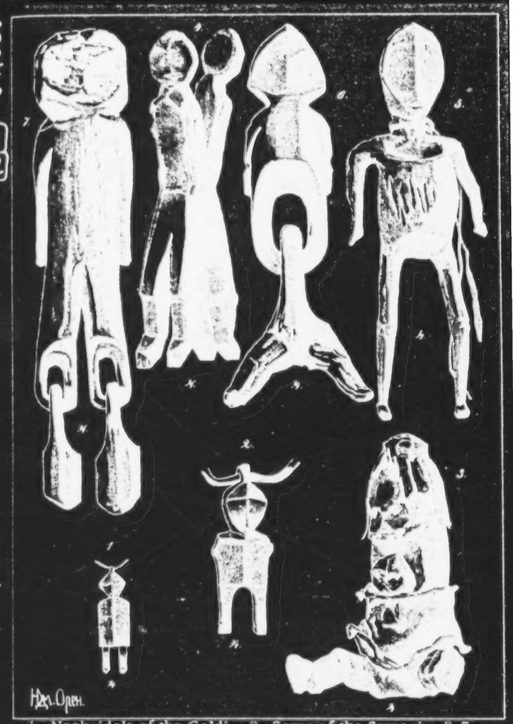

1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
● 844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay. Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
● 844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

● 844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

4 When the woman in labor goes to the place made
1 ready for her, she is clad in old soiled clothes. If the weather is cool she takes more clothes along. The only distinction in clothing worn during labor is that the woman in labor takes off the trousers, a garment that Gilyak women wear in summer and winter.

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5 through several childbirths helps the woman in labor. If [757] such a midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not at hand the husband of the woman in labor can take her place; but under no circumstances may another male member of the family take this place, not even the younger brother of the husband, although, according to the customs of the Gilyak he has a right to the wife of his older brother and considers himself in a way her husband and certainly the second father of the child.

4 The Birth.

3 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

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The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

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777 happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

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553 a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

It is recommended that young women walk around a great deal after they have given birth to a child, while sitting is recommended for older women. Women of all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

3 medical profession. It is possible that
belong to a race which is constitutionall
miscarriages. I believe, however, that
it is of great importance that the woma
from perpetual heavy work and that the
complete lack of consideration for the p
woman. Among the Gilyak the immense
domestic work is at no time alleviated
during her pregnancy. No man deems i
protect his wife while she is carrying t
born. The eventual miscarriage he attr
compunction to insignificant causes. Th
believe, for instance, that a miscarria
if a child hits his pregnant mother's fac
or a long wooden object, such as a spoo
a toy, a wooden knife or a fishing hook.
pregnant woman with a twig or a little s
cut off a tree or bush is considered har
violent blow or a fall can cause a misca

4 Behavior of the husband.

The Gilyak has a strange way of expr
worries about his wife during her labor
unties everything that can possibly be u
on himself: he undoes the braids in whi
plaited and he unties his shoelaces and
Next, he unties or loosens whatever mi
time, be tied up in the house or in its n
In the yard, he takes the axe out of the
loosens the boat if it is tied to a tree; h
cartridges out of the gun and the arrows
cross-bow. An image of pity without a
from one corner to another or he lies a
pondering what else he might untie or l
where, for he is convinced that the labo
their duration depend upon whether he h
and missed loosening something.

6 Only after the navel of the child is he
man allowed to start working or to go h
leave the house on business and visit hi
friends. Neither at this period nor late
birth of the child celebrated by a festiv
house or by a meal.

General remarks.

Throughout this period of time the wo

"During parturition, whether in winter or summer, the unfortunate mother is ejected from her habitation--thrust out of doors, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, there to provide for herself as best she may, solitary and ignored, until a certain period shall have elapsed. During this time every possible assistance is denied her, it being considered almost criminal to lend her the slightest attention, and, as a natural consequence, death often ensues. Their dogs are much more tenderly cared for, they, at least, being allowed shelter."

845

845 DIFFICULT AND UNUSUAL BIRTHS--explanations of prolonged, difficult, and fatal deliveries; methods of dealing with abnormal presentations; obstetrical surgery (e.g., use of forceps, Caesarian section); beliefs and practices connected with unusual births (e.g., premature births, caul births); stillbirths (e.g., conceptualization, disposal of stillborn infant); delivery and treatment of deformed infants; notions about birthmarks; multiple births (e.g., conception of causation, reaction of the community, treatment of twins); special observances and ceremonial associated with unusual births and persons distinguished by unusual births; etc. See also:

Incidence of stillbirths and multiple births 163
Treatment of defectives 732
Surgery 752

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
[755] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[777] 1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz′ nyngydz′ (from kyz′ -- risk, luck, and nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

● 845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of prung, two k:ong z′akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (pying z′akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special shape (m′erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus′. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola′ bituz′ -- must be fed (settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
789 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] and hang it on a tree. O′ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch carefully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[824] for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/335 cont./

832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
847 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the comer.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

343 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
● 345 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846] [971] 1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

/336 cont./

854 [844] A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 789 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung -- ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 784 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish.

854 855 789 Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows, are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 [776] Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 782 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

532 [778] [782] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[795] [787] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 224 164 782 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or

847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 776 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 758 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

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844 The Birth.

753 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

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834 864 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded. If the baby was born in the summer, the children ar told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends have found it in the snow.

845 Twin births.

163 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these case both children are of the same sex. I personally cam to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions rather well known to me there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all these twins died immediatel after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five mont old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of

845 539 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote down are twins of different sex mentioned. The

776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away But, not being certain which of the children is not a offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.

845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to

766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed t

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their neighbors and friends although they may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual pregnancy and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the mountains who, while living among ordinary human beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they are hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground;
they call it nga. From this moment on the whole tribe
is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child,
tonkr chlan, without further prayers or sacrifices.
753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their
anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and
relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms
of their revenge (tohr chlan). These usually are
certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone,
squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of
convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is
considered to be a consequence of the mountain
spirit's displeasure. In such cases people say
"tonkr chlan singrund", that is "the twin child is
tormenting".

The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions,
they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of
twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow house-
hold articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had
given birth to twins. In this case old objects are
considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard
objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do
not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the
new one.

842. It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they always insist on the possibility of the
transference of physical peculiarities from one man
to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an
explanation for the superstitious remedies they use
for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who
cannot bear children must ask another very fertile
woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and
she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired
success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be
transferred from one person to another like a
contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel
which had been used by the sick person.

845 POTNATAL CARE.--care of postpartarient mother during period of recupera-
tion (e.g., rest, isolation, medication, sex and food taboos); duration of
taboo and its disposal; ... of child (e.g., ceremonial washing, ... gradual, after lapse of a specified time); puerperal rites; special care of
child between birth and beginning of ... ; circumcision and dis-
position of umbilical cord; treatment and disposition of mother's ... ; ...
special behavior of father (e.g., couvade); etc. See also:
Gift giving. . . . . 830 Parturition 785
Adoption . . . . . 837 Infant feeding 882

/305 cont./
84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permitted to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
[765] when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[790]

1. On another page of the same notebook,
we find the following notation: "These sticks
are: nyngyd (kyl) -- to sleep, lack,, and
nyngdz -- to seek)," which probably refers
to the above-mentioned stick.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
[790] ... , two kong z'kkh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
strips (pring z'kkh), two small bows (pudz) and arrows of a special
shape (mrlerlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitur', when
they prepare bed, these trees -- olz' Nitur' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'nna).

While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] (1) on a tree. [2] After childbirth it is necessary that they make
when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep, ... shaman
is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
510 does that which he dreams.

The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
/ male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
not permissible to cut the hair of twin). One must watch care-
fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[761] for then the child is lost. [3] The child will die if the tree growing
there is broken. This tree is called pila sigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/305 cont./
832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom
who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht
was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for
it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /307/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
845 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chuhh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the
langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born,
the woman returns to yut yurt. From the seventh month of
pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go
846 hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female
parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat
food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr)
of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the comer.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire,
chuhh-chugyn-tugr, and have a feast. After that she stops being
unclean -- akilaf pach-kyr -- and becomes ek uilend ponying --
clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From
the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the
umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the
843 yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
[789] must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth, otherwise the
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
845 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls,
a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846]
[791]

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the
balagan only during childbirth; then
for ten days they cook for her on a separate
fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing
to lose their strength.

/641 cont./
erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
844 also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[120] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[145] a health demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt that
the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally
small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this
bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it.
It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the supposition
846 that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during
delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, the is

[113]

2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische
Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic
Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl
Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113]

3. Cf. Dr. H. Flous, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science
and Ethnology/, 3d ed., edited and published
by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II,
p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary,
after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
114 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
[76] if the child dies outside the house, and that it has to be torn
[143] down, for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of
the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be
substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a
house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful,
particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child
is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately.
The next day the mother washes the child with cold
water, but she does not pour it directly on the body
of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only
then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises
the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child
is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody
tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom
among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the child.
846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as
possible before they give birth to a child.
Women are actly forbidden to drink cold water
during a period of ten days before and after the
delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is
given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During
that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish
(salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating
a black berry that grows in the tundra (rengetrum
nigrum). Drinking hard liquor before giving birth to a
child is considered harmful, but later on it is
considered to be healthy. In general liquor is
consumed very freely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin
consume very little alcohol compared to other
inhabitants of this island.

843 Infanticide.

Natural miscarriages (ryrrnd) occur very frequently
among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless
and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that
there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced
one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But
not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew
of a woman who always miscarried and was not able
to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the
normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state
the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the
Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will,
therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

843 medical profession. It is possible that the Gilyak
belong to a race which is constitutionally inclined to
miscarriages. I believe, however, that in this respect
it is of great importance that the woman is worn out
from perpetual heavy work and that there is a
complete lack of consideration for the pregnant
woman. Among the Gilyak the immense burden of
domestic work is at no time alleviated for the woman
during her pregnancy. No man deems it necessary to
protect his wife while she is carrying the baby to be
born. The eventual miscarriage he attributes without
compunction to the woman's lack of care. The Gilyak
believe, for instance, that a miscarriage takes place
if a child hits his pregnant mother's face with a strap
or a long wooden object, such as a spoon, an arrow,
a toy, a wooden knife or a fishing hook. Hitting a
pregnant woman with a twig or a little stick recently
cut off a tree or bush is considered harmless. A
violent blow or a fall can cause a miscarriage too.

844 Behavior of the husband.

The Gilyak have a strange way of expressing his
worries about his wife during her labor pains; he
unties everything that can possibly be untied. First
on himself: he undoes the braids in which his hair is
plaited and he unties his shoelaces and top sleeves.
Next, he unties or loosens whatever might, at that
time, be tied up in the house or in its neighborhood.
In the yard, he takes the axe out of the block; he
loosens the boat if it is tied to a tree; he takes the
cartridges out of the gun and the arrows out of the
cross-bow. An image of pity without a belt, he creeps
from one corner to another or he lies around
pondering what else he might unite or loosen some-
where, for he is convinced that the labor pains and
their duration depend upon whether he has overlooked
and missed loosening something.

846 Only after the navel of the child is healed is the
man allowed to start working or to go hunting, to
leave the house on business and visit his relatives or
friends. Neither at this period nor later on is the
birth of the child celebrated by a festivity in the
house or by a meal.

General remarks.

Throughout this period of time the woman who has

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the
hut; only during the most severe spells of frosty
weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in
case she herself is the housewife. If she is not the
housewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut
are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these
spirits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the
most important and mysterious natural events takes
place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the
hut designed to banish the evil spirits. But this
convenient and easy way of protection is not always
sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming
hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who
was completely cut off in the hut in the narrow and
disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood,
is, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's hand.
On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a
Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire
when she had started a fire in order to warm her
chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur
as frequently as one should expect is due to the
admirable strength of character and fortitude of the
Gilyak woman who, even worn out and sick, never
loses her presence of mind and her ability to work.
It is the might of her motherly love which, in such
moments, increases her will power and her fortitude
to a degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.
847 Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
163 which they would have to suffer, sometimes effect
artificial miscarriages; they use the same means
which are said to cause natural miscarriages. But
their skill in committing abortion is not great, for
there are many cases of infanticide.

Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman
gives birth to a dead child, but that happens so
infrequently that I could not be shown a single woman
to whom that had happened.

864 The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
matters and about facts connected with them. That
is probably the reason why the appearance of a new
member of the family is explained to children in such

847 ABORTION AND INFANTICIDE.--prevalence of abortion; reasons and circumstances (e.g., illegitimate pregnancy); methods; disposal of foetus; reactions of community (e.g., toleration, disapproval); prevalence of infanticide; reasons and circumstances (e.g., illegitimate pregnancy, deformity, death of father or mother); methods used; disposal of corpse; reaction of community; etc. See Index.

Legal sections: 118 Miscarriage; 119 Infanticide

Legal terms: 118

/34 cont./

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
836 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the
brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to
them. and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you,
among the Russian. it is no so? You mean one could not live
with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative
answer, they would dolefully shake their heads. saying "Well,
that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at
one another.

Human nature, of course. is the same everywhere; even
in primitive conditions it is natural for jealousy. with regard to groups of
permitted categories. jealousy never expresses itself in any kind
of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother
will kill an intruder; it is more usual for another house to arise in the village.

Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity: it is, of
course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman that is retaining his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not especially
value chastity. and only considerations of an external nature force
them to be modest and to preserve the appearance of virginity. Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become in-
837 creasingly more and more unsuitable with regard to his property
status. and. besides. that the child born to her will be outside the
given clan and so will have to be killed.

Another more substantial reason, however. there is no moral
838 prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the
greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness
prevails and sexual rotativity is absent. If by rotativity /33/ we
understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a
given society. the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual
rotativity. for. with regard to persons who are outside of the group
sexual relationship. their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing.
The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have
intercourse with a relative of her husband if he is not of the
category of her go. even though the seducer is younger than her
husband and she likes him.

/199 cont./

There is no need for a man to abduct that which belongs
583 to him through a religious imperative, so powerfully active
584 in primitive society. Abduction can only arise under special
circumstances, when there are no women in the marriage
group, while other groups are obligated in turn to give their
women to definite groups. Individual cases of abduction
have led to the institution of mock abduction. For the side
which is giving its women in marriage in violation of the
prohibition, this is a means of deceiving the gods, the gods-
ancestors, to whom marriages with persons of alien blood are the gravest sin. By this means we explain the
wide distribution of this otherwise inexplicable institution
among primitive peoples. Only by this pious deception of the
gods can we explain those frightful rites which are
practiced in connection with mock abduction, although both
parties are joined in wedlock with the willing consent of the
mother of the bride and groom. It is sufficient to take the
example of the Kurnai tribe, among whom there exists the
institution of marriage, analogous to that of the
Gilyak. In this tribe, the kinsmen of the girl, fearing of
their own free will allowed the bride to run away with her
lover, that said to be pursued by him, and, when they have
caught her, they pierce her leg with a spear and beat her
half to death. And in many tribes even the abductor con-
sidered it his obligation to beat his beloved on his return
than her parents, desiring to show the gods-ancestors that
it was not at all love, the intention to marry, which
prompted him to abduct her.

An insufficiency of males or females can lead also to
another institution, likewise not uncommon among primitive
peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a
time when it cannot do so. And so it has been with the
Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial
ideals of their forefathers, economic conditions force individual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

/200 cont./

584 murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-
585 known among the Gilyak tribes, in spite of the fact that the
number of males is greater than the number of females.

10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of
586 bride price is impossible; instead of the bride price present
for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of
marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen
among the Gilyak today; no matter how avid the Gilyak may
be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to
the sister of the groom's brother.

In order that such an essentially exogamous system might
be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of
favorable circumstances is necessary. First of all, a very
complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating
themselves the number of marriages should not be so large
to maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on the
other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the
tribe in such a way that there is no cases of extinction of
entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore,
some degree of uniformity in the sanitary conditions is
necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory
marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor.
Finally, it is necessary that there be no extraordinary conditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the
members of the phratry would remain more or less the usual
phenomenon, and, on the other hand, there would be no influence of new economic conditions there should not be
engendered one or another temptation to make woman the
object of purchase and sale.

The preservation of all these conditions among primitive
peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a
time when it cannot do so. And so it has been with the
Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial
ideals of their forefathers, economic conditions force individual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

/336 cont./

The importance of the role of love in the life of the
Gilyak can be judged by the wealth of song material. Not
number of males is greater than the number of females.
every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone
knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in
Gilyak love. The song is the means of wooing. Lovers of their
antagonism lovers sing improvised songs to each other in
place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to
meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through
a third person. Special terms have even been made up for
such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
love encounters some obstacle. In such case the only
solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is
presence of the parents, who have their own matrimony
motives or from an unwillingness to violate /555/ the child-
ren's agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
woman is violently carried away. In mild cases, lovers
frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
separation of the lovers, and, finding no other way to save
herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event
of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such charac-
teristic case. A girl from the village of Nivkhi was betrothed
given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from
her husband to her father, who handed her over to her father,
emigrant, who then taken a milk and second high born face,
tier first husband would not reconcile himself to this and
utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force.
Half a year the unhappy woman lasted herself.
There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
by him, in order to defend their rights against the father.
Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/337 cont./

Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was
a bear.

A representation of twins -- tongchi -- is placed in a little
storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongchi, while
if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chaka-chogyne
gives to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen
and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal'-g'gyrn, who
gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion
in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to
support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded
with shavings. The mother of the twin is considered as if she has
married after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with
insap placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done
with the dead twin.

The tongchi helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
The tongchi: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
(khayvyn).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a
girl.

A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy,
a member of another woman, was beaten, and after they cut off
given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from
her husband to her father, who handed her over to her father,
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/338 cont./

569 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
570 married women, are, of course, not impossible, but are
571 more severely punished by the parents of the girl who has
572 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
573 the Gilyak, in case the girl's mother remains at
574 corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
575 to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
576 throwing it into the sea. This is always done if the child
577 is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
578 stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

579 Children are sold by purchase, and in part because
580 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
581 of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
582 character. Sometimes, however, the husband, as the Gilyak
583 jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
584 she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
585 her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
587 the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
588 if he cam out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
589 parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
590 fund of the money he paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
591 he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
592 own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
593 friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/338 cont./

594 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to
595 the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
596 Gilyak, by the way, also asked how much I paid for my wife. He
597 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
598 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his
599 wives and has the same relations with her as with his wives. This is
600 easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy
601 among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of
602 the wives are his much (wives) or ohanai-munch-wyn (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely hryghyn-umgo
603 (female slaves) are always necessary in order to obtain a proper
604 understanding of his marital situation.

As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a
605 female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, the fact that a man
606 not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried
607 men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
608 not suffer any inconvenience from the fact of his child, and
609 nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The
610 child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother
611 and likewise, as hryghyn, becomes the property of her owner,
612 who let it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up,
613 sold it to another. If the child is a girl, then, as much ever case
614 happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and
615 brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the
616 mother, who is usually offered, as a daughter-in-law, to him
617 and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not un-
618 happily permits a marriage between his male and female
619 hryghyn, if he has a female slave, he will, of course, probably
620 also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children
621 they might have will be his hryghyn and, as such, can be
622 turned to good account. Then, the Gilyak has nothing against
623 assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed
624 marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such
625 mixing with the aborigines, and he considers the offspring
626 of such from his own caste, and, on the other hand, strongly
627 supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation
628 of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

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member of the family is explained to children in such

848

848 ILLEGITIMACY--cultural definition of legitimacy and illegitimacy; frequency of illegitimate pregnancies; tests of legitimacy; behavior and treatment of mother (e.g., ordeals, confession); treatment of father (e.g., forced marriage); treatment of offspring; status of illegitimate children; etc. See also:
Legal sanctions . . . . . 684 Premarital sex relations 836

/34 cont./

835 829 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at one another.

835 152 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not violating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters. [848] [847] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become involved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 577 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing. The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her husband and she likes him.

/84 cont./

*614 587 768 his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligatio husband and father, and even where the deceased has no brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the " Such is the immutable law of the clan.

*614 848 Such are the advantages which the clan union offe virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage norms which directly issue from it. It is completely nat that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who ha right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being bo a clansman is the only justus /85/ titulus to being counte the clan. Ytk-khavrnd -- a man without a father, i.e., out of wedlock, not knowing who his father is -- is a ma without a clan, a pariah, a burden to himself and others. who does not know the identity of his father and conseque does not know to which clan he belongs, therefore does n know which women can be his wives and which are forbi and, unbeknownst to himself and others, may violate the sexual norms, incurring incalculable disasters upon all. nately, there are in fact no persons who do not know thei fathers. If a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock, they pel her to name the father of the future child. Having le who he is, they compel him to marry the seduced girl, w he is only too glad to do, because in such a situation the fewer difficulties about paying the bride price. In the ev of disavowal on the girl's part, they slay the newborn chi and the clan is saved from sin and unhappiness.

*614 597 The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in reta the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a de and reconcile itself with the institution of adoption, with acceptance into its bosom from time to time of individua from other clans.

/171 cont./

835 same words with which authors describe the relations between "kumi" and "kroki" in Australia: throughout the whole extent of his territory, wherever the Gilyak finds his an'g:ej, there he also finds a conjugal bed. For this, it is only necessary that the Gilyak remember the kinship terms. I had many chances to convince myself of this during the time of my travels on Sakhalin. Again and again I appeared with my Gilyak companions in settlements where neither they nor their fathers had ever been before. Nevertheless, after the exchange of a few sentences the bonds of kinship were revealed, and from their first encounter pu and an'g:ej who were formerly unknown to each other engaged in mimic negotiations about a fleeting conjugality.

835 836 848 Among the categories of women with whom the Gilyak has a legitimate opportunity for sexual intercourse, it is necessary to distinguish the unmarried from the married. Maidens, even among the Gilyak, are more restricted in their sexual relations than the married women. The prospect of pregnancy [614] and bearing children does not appeal to the Gilyak maiden; [851] the birth of a child by an unknown father, according to the clan views of the Gilyak, is a dangerous business solely from the fact that the sexual, marital, and clan rights, and even more the religious rights, determined by the father are completely uncertain, and this can lead to violations of taboos, which the Gilyak fears most of all. Therefore, a pregnant maiden is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father, who demands either that she name the seducer, or the destruction of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infant. However hard the moral position of individual women is in such cases, in practice the business /172/ is much simpler. In the first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from childhood on, and the others never sit for very long; there are so few women that every girl is already married by the 835 time seductions become dangerous for them. Finally, those 836 who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

/183 cont./

831 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
*835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
● 848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an unmarried ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) is a most desirable guest in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
562 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
*[835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an appearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And, on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example, reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
ooo most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

577 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/648 cont./

569 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to
the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
569 Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has,
595 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
192 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his
wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can
easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy
among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of
the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (law-
ful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryys-umgu
(female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper
understanding of his marital situation.

569 As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a
[836] female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is
not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried
men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
(851) never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and
nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The
child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother
and likewise, as kryghryys, becomes the property of her owner,
who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up,
sells it as kryghryys. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case
• [848] happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and
[849] brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the
mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed
and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not un-
happily permits a marriage between his male and female
kryghryys; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably
also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children
they might have will be his kryghryys and, as such, can be
[563] turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against
assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed
marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such
mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation
of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly
supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation
of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

851

851 SOCIAL PLACEMENT--assignment of infant to a male parent (e.g., under polygamy), in case of a posthumous child; Public announcement of birth, formal acceptance of infant into a social group (e.g., by family head or chief); alignment with the supernatural (e.g., baptism), changes in marital status and social relationship wrought by birth of a child, etc. See also:

Affiliation of children of mixed marriages	56	Orphans	196
Naming ceremonial	553	Concept of reincarnation	775
Adoption	597	Adult baptism	798
Descent	611	Theory of paternity	842

/31 cont./

601 periods in the evolution of marriage. and, although they could
191 have influenced one another. they basically belong. speaking in
174 the language of geology. to different formations. It is sufficient
595 to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
835 individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with
the wife of the father's younger brother. while among the Gilyak
this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
587 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
583 rarely two or three wives. who come over into his clan and are re-
garded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
• 851 his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
611 succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father. he
551 is no longer called by his former name. but is called the father
681 of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
614 itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
586 of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
tion. and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak. live
620 in their yurts. and observe their family life for a long time. and
592 not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
558 large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
families. each living in relation to its own particular interests.
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband.
(*65) wife. and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses.
When one of them dies. the other frequently lays hands on himself
or dies from grief. In a word. to all appearances we are dealing
with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal.
Actually. however. it is not. First of all. one is struck by the
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a
whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise. a whole group of men call
[114] a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their
fathers (ytk). and these call the former their children.

1: Shternberg:--196 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/130 cont./

58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[891] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emi-
grations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
• [851] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
561 husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
563 names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" —
[684] teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
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spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[591] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

1: Shternberg:--256 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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views of the Gilyak, is a dangerous business solely from the
fact that the sexual, marital, and clan rights, and even more
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uncertain, and this can lead to violations of taboos, which
the Gilyak fears most of all. Therefore, a pregnant maiden
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who demands either that she name the seducer, or the destruc-
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ever hard the moral detention of individual women is in such
cases, in practice the business /172/ is much simpler. In the
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• [848] happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and
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mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation
of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly
supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation
of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

852

852 CEREMONIAL DURING INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD--rites of passage prior to puberty; maturation ceremonies (e.g., at first step, at first tooth); rites associated with cutting of hair, ear piercing, and circumcision; ceremonies correlated with achievements (e.g., first animal killed, first cloth woven); adult guidance and sponsorship; participation of children in adult ceremonies (e.g., Christmas) etc. See also:

Motherhood	206	Parent-child relationship	608
Birthrite	527	Baptism and confirmation	795, 863
Naming ceremonial	553	Religious ceremonial	796

/942 cont./

552 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
• 852 is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any ceremony; the father simply names the name desired by him or the mother, or /943/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are
[850] practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving. In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special
[852] celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villages and friends.

When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle
851 (Gilyak uchjakk). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of
[192] a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a
[850] length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head, can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttocks, is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
• 853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

843 Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

/336 cont./

A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days
• 854 (847) and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung --
[789] chhl-chugirr(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride
[784] along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. Chhhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows,
854 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of
[785] a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up
[787] at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlaag (tongch: means "twins" and
[876] the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for
[882] Pal-n'ivukh; mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chhhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan it made under the chhhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

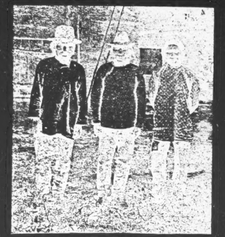

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Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

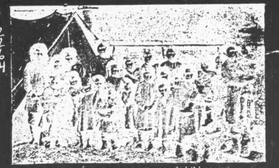

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Photo. 18. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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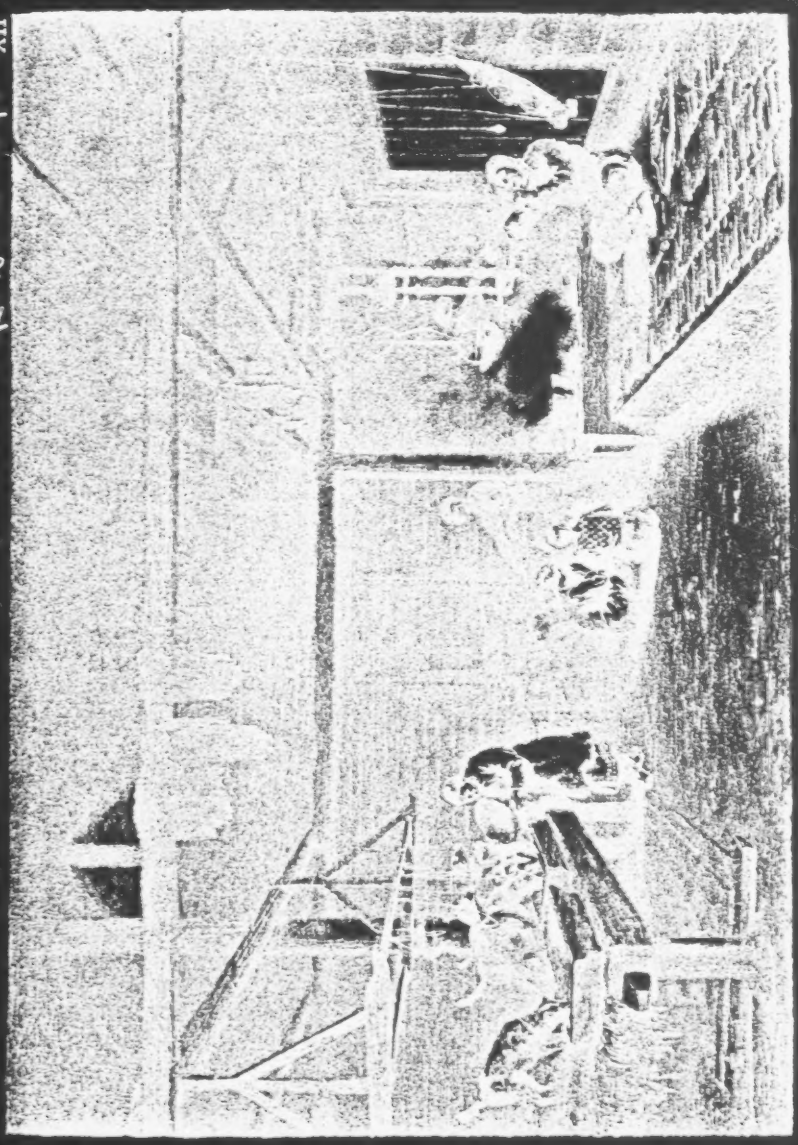

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

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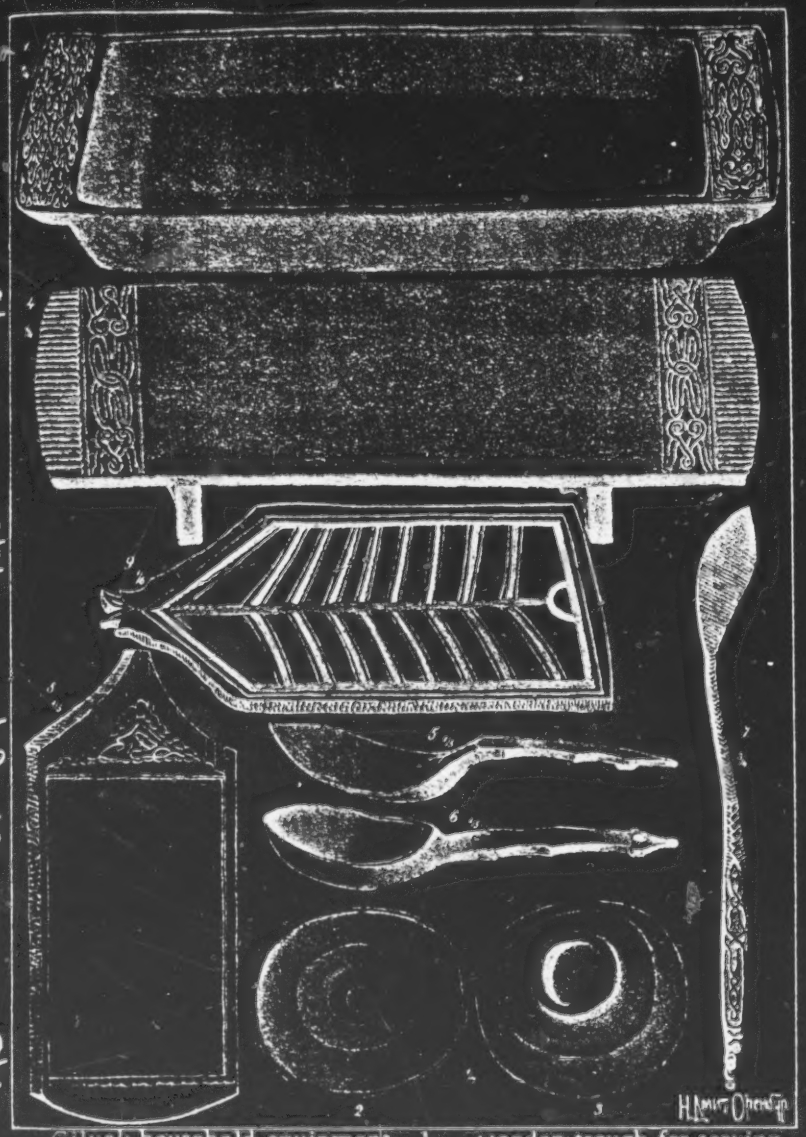

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

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Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the chil is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in morning of the following day, depending on whether it was bor in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without a ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him o the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts ar [556] practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-givin In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a spec [556] celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally expre their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villagers and friends.

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When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle (Gilyak tschjakk). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its hea can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboa which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked but is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket ha filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal positi as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of variou small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle

/643 cont./

when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This reminded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off.

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh): it was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy

out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.

The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the improvised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

13: Seeland--32 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

116, 854

"At or near one end of the shed was a babe, tightly bandaged in a wooden box or cradle, something like those used by our American Indians, but with its little legs from the knees downward unfettered. This cradle was suspended from the ridge-pole, in an upright position, by four leather thongs, which were just long enough to enable the little one to reach the ground with its feet, by which it swung itself back and forth without assistance."

855

855 CHILD CARE--supervision, care, and support of children from earliest independence (e.g., walking, talking) to puberty; distribution of responsibility among parents and other relatives; institutionalized care (e.g., day nurseries); beliefs and standards concerning proper clothing, feeding, and housing of children; provisions for physical and mental health; protection from physical and social dangers (e.g., confinement, removal of dangerous objects); attitude of adults toward children (e.g., indulgent, indifferent, censorious); spoiling and coddling; mistreatment and neglect of children; etc. See also:

Discipline and training	86	Preventive medicine	751
Family relationships	593	Medical care	758
Care of orphans	736		

*614 /112 cont./
clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
[562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry,
593 which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
[606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

561 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the
● 855 representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
[86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

/113 cont./
561 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.,
● 855 but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover,
86 to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe, and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys, hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct himself in society.

561 All these qualities, however, would have no significance if
596 the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples
855 of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult members. The sons are completely free to separate from their father, obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion.
596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather, father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free associa-
[422] tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a
[434] participant in such an economic union, every member can have his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arms, enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there is extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour, rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift [755] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[777] 1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz′ nyngydz′ (from kyz′ -- risk, luck, and nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of prung, two k:ong z′akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (pylng z′akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special shape (m′erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus′. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola′ bituz′ -- must be fed (settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
789 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] and hang it on a tree. O′ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch carefully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[824] for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlä, tammlä, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from
The help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

/643 cont./

854 when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw
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862 mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous
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855 862 113

1. (cont.)
Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

855 862 145

Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is un-

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

doubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

855 Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

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boy, but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the
mitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and an-
le procedure was for him.
of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair,
dren are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very
garments, made for them as a copy of those of the
own to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments
nents on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect
re no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are
cking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one
small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by
hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult,
-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., ex-
are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the
their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time
n and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.
cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children,
in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the
they simply grow up, following the patterns that they
their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without any-
attention to them.
ak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and
heir games the activities; work, and amusements of
lts. One of the earliest, most common, and most
of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of
which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy
es, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite
ong the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260 /) and
en vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents
hers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is
intended in producing them. The legs of the animal,
e not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply
lly assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could
s one might almost suspect from its general usage among
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imal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

576 /721 cont./
k796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
762 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day w therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[857] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
[533] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

9: Hawes--262 T-3 (190

116, 165, 562, 595, 855

"The Gilyaks treat their children re
wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding price
fish-winner, is naturally of more acco
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gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 130,
88 deaths among the older persons), i
chief reason, however, of the decline
A wife has to be bought, and she is a r
unremunerative investment, but few G
expenditure."

markably well, and though a girl is potential
e,' the boy as an early bread-winner, or rather
ount. The death-rate among young children is, of
he west coast, north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg
out of which there were 34 deaths (in addition to
. e. an average of more than 26 per cent. The
in polygamy is more probably growing poverty.
moderately expensive article. Not that she is an
ilyaks are in a position to make the capital

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524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Southwest Siberia RX1

/409 cont./

As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

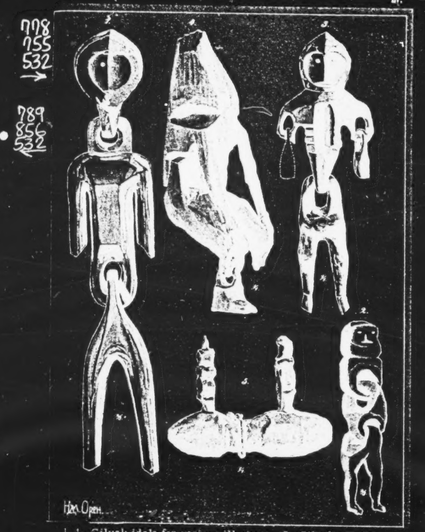
The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/643 cont./

when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This reminded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.



1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

It is recommended that young women walk around a great deal after they have given birth to a child, while sitting is recommended for older women. Women of all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

857

857 CHILDHOOD ACTIVITIES--extent to which a special culture of childhood exists; children's play; imitative activities (e.g., make-believe); habits of rest and sleep; children's playgroups; cliques, and gangs; quarreling and fighting; children's explorations and haunts; tasks performed by children and age at which each is undertaken (e.g., errands, chores, care of younger children); etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Age-grades	661
Education	87	Primary groups	671
Baby talk	196	Ingroup antagonisms	678
Mutual aid	476	Child betrothal	684
Daily routine	512	Residence changes by children	695
Children's games, toys, and playthings	526	Quest for guardian spirit	787

/383 cont./

683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
[411] with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[857] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to
this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
648 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
[178] present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

121 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
128 ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/645 cont./

524 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really
• 857 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to
868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the
[593] household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not completely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

/707 cont./

*796 bear did not leave or enter Judin's house until after it had been
231 led back and forth through the door four times. Again the bears had to be led through all the houses in the village and treated everywhere with mossj and crushed ice. Twice they came into
*796 Judin's house and received the same treatment. The Gilyak espe-
• 857 cially like to see their boys, even if they are very small, partici-
231 pate in the feeding of the bears; they bravely step up to the animal and offer it the spoon filled with mossj, which is sometimes held and supported by several small hands; many a little fellow who can hardly stand on his legs, not to speak of holding a nichyr, must be helped by the father or older brother, who lifts up the
[825] little one. Perhaps this is done for pedagogical reasons, but more probably for superstitious reasons, namely, in the belief that through this the children will continue to have the good will of the mighty animal even after they are grown. As soon as the bears have again been taken out of the house, however, the children use the free space to romp about in and to perform an exact duplicate of what they have seen during the leading of the bears, during the changing of the bands on them, etc., most faithfully imitating all the movements, positions, and demeanors of the adults, as has been described above (pp. 1136 ff.). Thus they learn how to deal with the bears long before they can lend a helping hand.

*796 In the evening, in bright moonlight, the bears were led
231 beyond the village and all the way around Cape Tebach on the river ice. It was a long procession that started moving down toward the river, for, in addition to the three bears, who were led in the same order as /708/ always, a great number of idle boys followed them. Since the bank is high and slopes rather steeply down to the river, it was interesting to see how the procession moved down the slippery hill without falling into disorder even for a moment: while those standing at the front rope ran down at top speed, the ones busy on the rear rope had to hold back with all their might in order to prevent the bear from running down just as quickly and causing damage below; by their combined efforts, however, they succeeded in letting all three bears slide down the hill slowly and evenly. It was much easier going back, for those

/710 cont./

*796 bears, volunteered to do this. The day before he had already per-
231 formed a feat on the large bear that /711/ brilliantly proved his
156 bold and resolute courage. When this bear was led out of the house, it seized so firmly with its claws the front Gilyak goading it that the latter could not free himself any more and was pulled close to the furious animal. At that moment, Chusisin, who stood immediately behind the bear, jumped over the animal's back and landed directly in front of its snout; the startled bear, infuriated anew, dropped its first prey and bit at the second, but fortunately without success. Now, for the small bear, Chusisin took the precaution of wearing his dog-fur coat reversed, with the fur on the inside, and over it he put on a reindeer-fur coat with the fur on the outside and the back part turned to the front, at the same time tying his belt around himself in such a manner that the fur coat projected out in front of him lump-like and stuck out far from his body. So equipped, he waited for the moment when the bear, goaded with sticks, showed its teeth in a roar; now he stepped up to it with chest thrust forward and let it bite into the puffed-out fur-coat over it. Then he threw himself around the animal's neck, seized its head at the ears, and bent it down. The men standing around were ready at this moment to muzzle it, to press its paws down, etc., as I have already described above.

After this was taken care of, the bears set out on their
*796 last walk: in the same order as before, the procession, accom-
231 panied by the loud drumming of the women, went down the high bank to the river. Having reached there, it circled at a distance of several steps the hole in the ice where the women scoop water (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248 /), and returned up the hill. The bears passed close to Judin's house and the one where the owner of the third animal lived: the doors were open, and the procession involuntarily came to a halt because the bears made the greatest effort to get back in. But they were no longer permitted to do this. The procession halted at the entrance to the kadhra. Boys
•[857] came running from all sides in order to shoot their small, but not always harmless arrows at the animals, which the leaders, visibly amused, permitted them to do.

576 /721 cont./

*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
962 first bear meat that was taken. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p.1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
•[857] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,
[533] for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

*614 /112 cont./
clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
[562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry,
593 which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
[606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

561 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the
855 representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
[86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

/113 cont./
561 labors, he is not only a skillful s
855 but he is already in fact a worke
●86 to a considerable degree he has
of spiritual learning. He alread
customs, all the religious rites,
appellations, he knows the leger
and, to top it all off, he has tha
constant presence in the society
hunting, fishing, festivals, etc.
own worth and weightiness of spe
himself in society.

561 All these qualities, howeve
596 the patriarchal principles existed
855 of low culture also attain self-re
special, almost religious venera
train them in submission, is dem
Gilyak there is nothing of the so
despotism of the head of the fam
bers. The sons are completely f
obtaining from him their allotm
sleighs, and such, and when the
catch, they do this quite freely,
596 One encounters large families li
the head of which stands the eld
father, or one of the brothers, b
[422] tion, from which one may depar
[434] participant in such an economic
his own individual economy in t
enjoying the right to individual
merits; and what each member
extensive sharing, especially in
purchased -- is shared without a
rice, kumiss, and so on from the
the common kettle for all. Com
combined without any friction.

ot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.,
, like all the others. Moreover,
lready mastered the whole sum
knows from practice all the clan
e remembers all the kinship
ds, tales, and songs of his tribe,
knowledge of men and life that
of adults provides: on journeys,
Hence, also, his feeling of his
ech, and his ability to conduct

, would have no significance if
. The youths of other peoples
liance at an early age, but a
ion of their elders, who purposely
anded of them. Among the
rt. All the more absent is the
ily with respect to its adult mem-
ree to separate from their father,
ent in the form of implements,
y assist him with a part of their
with absolutely no compulsion.
ving in a communal economy, at
er in the family, the grandfather,
ut this is a completely free associa-
t at will. And even though he is a
union, every member can have
he form of sleds and dogs, arms,
earnings by means of his personal
shares with his own -- and there is
food supplies, both natural and
ny compulsion. They bring flour,
e city, and all this is cooked in
mmunism and individualism are

861

861 TECHNIQUES OF INCULCATION--ideas about childhood training; gener
methods of inculcation and discipline; specific techniques of providing n
tion (e.g., inciting, warning, scolding, threatening, punishing); specifi
niques of guidance (e.g., leading, demonstrating, explaining, command
specific techniques of providing rewards (e.g., helping, recompensing,
special emphasis on particular techniques (e.g., in general, at differen
for particular types of training); consistency or inconsistency in the us
techniques; ages at which conscious parental inculcation begins and end

See also:

Data on habit formation	153	Military discipline	
Family relationships	593	Native ideas about learning	
Social control	626	Education through play	
Legal sanctions	681	Educational theory	

861

HNIQUES OF INCULCATION--ideas about childhood training; general
hods of inculcation and discipline; specific techniques of providing motiva-
(e.g., inciting, warning, scolding, threatening, punishing); specific tech-
es of guidance (e.g., leading, demonstrating, explaining, commanding);
cific techniques of providing rewards (e.g., helping, recompensing, praising);
cial emphasis on particular techniques (e.g., in general, at different ages,
particular types of training); consistency or inconsistency in the use of
niques; ages at which conscious parental inculcation begins and ends; etc.
also:

ta on habit formation	153	Military discipline	703
mily relationships	593	Native ideas about learning	828
cial control	626	Education through play	867
gal sanctions	681	Educational theory	876

/183 cont./

831 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
●861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on
account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
*835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1)
the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden cate-
gories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of
several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-
in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their
disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose
this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an
unmarried ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) is a most desirable guest
in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
562 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
*[835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of
the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an ap-
pearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be
the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to
their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And,
on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example,
reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially
sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is
observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown
to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions
on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither
physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable
basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
000 most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

/644 cont./

855 case of a small boy; but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the
howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and an-
noying the whole procedure was for him.

In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair,
855 the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very
291 fully. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the
adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments
and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect
the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are
probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one
524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by
293 a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult,
ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., ex-
cept that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the
fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time
to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.
855 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children,
861 of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the
like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they
have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without any-
one paying any attention to them.

524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and
mimicking in their games the activities; work, and amusements of
parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most
popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of
wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy
that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite
stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260 /) and
only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents
or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is
obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal,
for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply
the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could
it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage among
the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language among
them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

862

862 WEANING AND FOOD TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concern-
ing weaning and appropriate eating habits for children; special reasons for
weaning (e.g., insufficient lactation, illness or pregnancy of mother); normal
age at weaning (e.g., from breast, from bottle); abruptness or gradualness
of transition; method of weaning (e.g., separation from mother, ridicule,
application of bitter substances to nipple); reactions of children to weaning;
imposition of rules about eating; teaching of table manners; resistance of
children to food training; etc. See also:

Diet	262	Etiquette	876
Eating and table manners	264	Infant feeding	883

/643 cont./

854 when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw 854 in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, 789 which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, [856] more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

855 The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak 862 mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous 855 demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This re- 862 minded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in 171 de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

/644 cont./

855 862 113 1. (cont.) Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

855 Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition 862 to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the 145 mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is un-

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

doubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

855 Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

864

864 SEX TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning sex behavior in children and methods of sex training; incidence of specifically sexual behavior in infants and children (e.g., masturbation, fingering of genitals, exhibitionism, sex play); rules for the control of such behavior (e.g., imposition, inculcation, enforcement); training in sexual modesty; imparting of knowledge and beliefs about sex and reproduction; reactions to curiosity of children about sex; normal age for each aspect of sex training; reactions of children to sex training; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Ethical ideals	577
Sex	83	Initiation	881

85

6

86

en birth to a child does not leave her place, the
; only during the most severe spells of frosty
ather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in
e she herself is the housewife. If she is not the
sewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
confinement who were left to themselves in the hut
attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these
rits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the
st important and mysterious natural events takes
ce, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the
designed to banish the evil spirits. But this
venient and easy way of protection is not always
ficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming
riedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who
compelled to do all the work in the narrow and
gusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood,
, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's head.
another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a
yak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire
en she had started a fire in order to warm her
lled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur
frequently as one should expect is due to the
nirable strength of character and fortitude of the
yak woman who, even worn out and sick, never
es her presence of mind and her ability to work.
s the might of her motherly love which, in such
ments, increases her will power and her fortitude
degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.
Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
ch they would have to suffer, sometimes effect
ificial miscarriages; they use the same means
ch are said to cause natural miscarriages. But
ir skill in committing abortion is not great, for
re are many cases of infanticide.
Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman
es birth to a dead child; but that happens so
requently that I could not be shown a single woman
whom that had happened.
The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
tters and about facts connected with them. That
robably the reason why the appearance of a new
mber of the family is explained to children in such

834 a way that every discus
864 If the baby was born in t
told that it was taken fro
or trunk; if a baby was b
have found it in the snow
845 Twin births.
163 No tribe on Sakhalin I
of triplets to any woman
there are no legends abo
Not infrequently twin
natives. They contend th
both children are of the
to know two living twins
between forty and forty-
rather well known to me
births in a population of
within a decade, but all
after birth. When I left i
old twins living in the fa
845 mine. Only in a single o
539 down are twins of differe
776 brother is in love with h
asks her to take his hea
will die.
The Gilyak are convin
the son of the god of the
ni-rookh (mountain man)
benevolent, now malevol
Gilyak. [761] (1) That is

1. I was, howev
explanation by a
twins is said to
the mountains,
offspring of the

rookh, should be given b
But, not being certain wh
offspring of human being
both equally.
845 It is a custom among t
766 cremate dead bodies (2),

2. In general, c

sion of the fact is precluded.
the summer, the children are
om under the roots of a tree
born in winter, one pretends to
y.

sland has reported the birth
at any time. That is why
out such an event either.
births take place among the
at in each one of these cases
same sex. I personally came
of the Gilyak tribe who were
five years old. In regions
there occurred three twin
more than 300 persons
these twins died immediately
n 1905 there were five month
mily of a Gilyak friend of
ld Gilyak song which I wrote
ent sex mentioned. The
is sister and, in this song,
rt into her hands, or else he

ced that one of the twins is
woods and mountains, pal-
, a mighty deity now
ent towards the poor, weak
why the child of the pal-ni-

er, given another
Gilyak: one of the
be an offspring of
the other one an
sea.

ack to his father right away.
hich of the children is not an
s one prefers to treat them

he majority of the Gilyak to
but twins are not allowed to

nly those Gilyak tribes

866

866 INDEPENDENCE TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning dependence in children and the development of independence; culturally prescribed age levels for the achievement of independence; incidence and treatment of dependent behavior (e.g., clinging to parents, tattling); induration to heat, cold, pain, and fatigue (e.g., exposure, ordeals, flogging); inculcation of courage; teaching of self-reliance and readiness to assume responsibility; inculcation of cooperation and competitiveness; instilling of levels of aspiration (e.g., for knowledge, for skills, for social advancement); reactions of children to demands for independence; etc. See also:

Economic cooperation and competition 47
Social mobility 55
Cooperativeness and competitiveness 157
Age stratification 861
Military training 702
Vision quest 787
Activities of children 867

/376 cont./

593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
476 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[226] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[866] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[224] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[225] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
464 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
591 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[768] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equipment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between members of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among these barbarians than in a civilized family.

86

867 TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL NORMS--inculcation
propriate behavior for children (e.g., rest and sleep
children into social relationships (e.g., teaching to s
struction in etiquette and kinship behavior); training i
values (e.g., ladylikeness, manliness); instilling of
struction in social, ethical, legal and political norms
morals and character; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Labor and leisure	
Mutual aid and competition	47	Occupational speci	
Kinship behavior	60	Standard of living	
Social norms	183	Sleeping	
Public opinion	208	Esthetic ideals	
Status and role	554	Citizenship	
Interpersonal relations	571	Legal norms	
Etiquette	576	Juvenile delinquen	
Ethical ideals	577	Taboos	
Social control	62		

7

of norms concerning ap-
routines); initiation of
hare and take turns, in-
n sex-typed attitudes and
respect for property; in-
; techniques for inculcating

. 461
lization 463
. 511
. 513
. 517
. 641
. 671
cy. 674, 738
. 784

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
• [867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
585

835 /181 cont./
17]

Contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 passim.

intercourse are legalized, in contrast to the Gilyak marriage system, with the differentiated terms noa and piruari. According to this system, every woman is joined in individual marriage to one man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage to a whole category of men, who mutually call each other piruari, with the characteristic distinction that persons of this category are solemnly affirmed by the high council of the tribe.

/182/ The object which these measures pursue is evidently the following: 1) to strengthen in the social consciousness the lawfulness of sexual relations for a certain group of persons; 2) to make commonly known the names of the persons of this group of spouses. Among the Gilyak the matter
[867] has not gone so far -- the tribe is too small, and every person from childhood knows very well from the words of his parents the names of his group pu and an'g:ej, and, consequently, all the rights connected with these names. Under other conditions the Gilyak would probably have developed the procedure practiced among the Dieri. The following characteristic analogies between the marriages of the Gilyak and the Dieri are also curious: 1) "a woman becomes the noa of a man, having been married to him when she was still a child" (1).

1. Howitt, op. cit., p. 811, Table IV.

2) Judging by the kinship terminology, piruari (i.e., group husbands and wives) are not arbitrarily designated by the great council, but from a definite circle of kinsmen, specifically, for the women the brothers of her husband are piruari, while for a man -- the sisters of his wife. So, by one and the same term, apiri waka, the piruari designate

/185 cont./

35 marriage, and without the instinct of sexual repulsion or indifference for persons of the forbidden categories, the majority of the prohibitive norms would lose their strength.

How were these powerful instincts, or at least semi-instincts, able to develop?

35 In the development of these instincts a powerful influence
867 was exerted by the classificatory system of kinship. From earliest childhood the little boys and girls know exactly whom they should designate by what term, and what sexual rights-obligations are bound up with those terms; thus from childhood they begin to regard certain relationships with certain individuals as something established by nature itself and as immutable. Just as our training develops sexual indifference toward parents, children, and own brothers and sisters, in the same way among the Gilyak, owing to the class terminology and the prohibitions mastered at an early age, there is developed a similar feeling with respect not only to own father and mother, but also toward all "fathers" and "mothers," toward all the brothers of the father, toward all "sisters" and "brothers," sisters of the mother, agnate cousins, etc. And in just the same way a baby knows from childhood the rights of the pu category to its an'g:ej; once he knows from childhood that every tuvn has the right to his individual an'g:ej, then when he is an adult he will be able to look indifferently enough on the sexual relations of his own wife with his tuvn and her pu. But at the same time
35 he is far from indifferent when such relations take place with
864 outsiders. Then his wrath knows no bounds: /186/ he kills an adulterer in flagrante delicto, and in other cases he furiously fights a duel with his rival. And moreover, if even his own tuvn allows himself to break the established etiquette -- non-publicity -- in his relations with his wife, he does not remain indifferent, but forces the offender to withdraw from the settlement.

/254 cont./

832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
826 from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both
609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrà -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

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832 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
291 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
533 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability
577 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ívukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer, Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the
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/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
577 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867

A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
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626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
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529 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

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/257 cont./

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881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.

881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point when she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man
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881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos con-
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585 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
833 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

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VII.

Miscellanea

148 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's
149 story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone; she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

● 867 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygrys (1896). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about, "She did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tengakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atx (see p. 222, IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

814 is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following
614 the decision of the clan, to one of the nuvn of the deceased,
580 generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a nuvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,
614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages
[324] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from
● [867] father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the
[323] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the in-
173 capacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

1: Shternberg--375 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ŷvukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.
881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen
[302] her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
● 867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos connected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,
881 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
585 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before
833 its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

1: Shternberg--440 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

687 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-niŷukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyt) -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ŷukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).
● 881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mer'kh); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŷgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
834 commodates a guest under one blanket.

842 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
842 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam)
844 in winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.
[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

882 STATUS OF ADOLESCENTS--cultural definition of adolescence (e.g., age limits); beliefs and attitudes about adolescents; prerogatives and disabilities of adolescents; relaxing or tightening of social control for each sex; residence shifts at puberty (e.g., removal of boys to men's house or to home of a grandparent or maternal uncle); readjustment of social relationships, etc. See also:

Age stratification	561	Social control	658
Men's clubs	575	Legal liability	672
Residence rules	535		

1: Shternberg--367 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych,
[192] n'arr'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
● 882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
573 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-
ings, seeking advice on how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
[835] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
[762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
573 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

883 ADOLESCENT ACTIVITIES--behavior patterns characteristic of adolescents (e.g., dating, loitering); economic activities expected of adolescents; adolescent organizations (e.g., work groups, cliques, bachelors' clubs); adolescent recreations (e.g., expeditions, picnics); adolescent problems (e.g., reactions to social pressures for adult behavior); etc. See also:

Cliques, gangs, mobs, and rioting	87	Mutual aid	478
Welfare organizations	74	Athletic sports	698
Socialization	96	Dancing	698
Education	87	Courtship	584
Slang	100	Juvenile delinquency	674, 750
Loafing and loitering	481	Premarital sex relations	936
Child labor legislation	666		

1: Shternberg--272 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/183 cont./

83 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
83 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
86 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
83 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
*835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
843 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
83 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
● 883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an unmarried yŋgıl (son-in-law /yŋat'/) is a most desirable guest in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "yŋgıl" (son-in-
85 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
842 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
83 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
*[835] especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of the class pu, and for this reason they always affect an appearance of the strictest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
83 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
836 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And, on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example, reactions of jealousy with respect to one's nuvn, and especially sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
880 most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

885 ADULTHOOD--conception of the prime of life; cultural definition of adult status; differential status and activities of adult males and females prior to and subsequent to marriage; concepts of the ideal man and the ideal woman; etc. See also:

Social mobility	55	Ethical ideals	577
Leisure-time activities	517	Activities of newly married persons	585
Age stratification	561	Celibacy	589
Sex status	562	Civil rights	641

/341 cont./

VII.

Miscellanea

648 199 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

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/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

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868

868 TRANSMISSION OF SKILLS--acquisition of language; teaching children to walk and swim; techniques for inculcating manual dexterity and technological skills; teaching and learning of economic skills appropriate to each sex; informal instruction in occupational skills; acquisition of artistic skills (e.g., playing of musical instruments); relative importance of imitation, practice, and instruction in the transmission of skills; etc. See also:

Language	19	Motor habits	516
Fine arts	53	Athletic sports	526
Division of labor by sex	462	Military training	702
Occupational specialization	463	Age at walking and talking	856
Locomotion	481	Formal vocational education	874

respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.
796 Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of
23 the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an ele-
ment of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some
occasions may catch young animals, and whenever he finds
it profitable, he feeds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur,
and young eagles for their feathers. Similarly, it is disad-
vantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers
to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and
an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more
natural than the need to use the killing of the bear for
a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast
[826] for a close person. By the way, the feeding and the killing
[826] of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth.
who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible
animal of their taiga, learn not to fear it, and study its dis-
position, its strength, and its weaknesses. The procedure for
getting the bear out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting
it out of its lair.

796 Nonetheless, it is not these crude, utilitarian motives that
825 play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome,
and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by
other motives, perhaps also utilitarian, but of a quite differ-
ent order. As we have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak,
the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is
concealed under the hairy covering of the bear, a divine
clansman of the master of the mountains, a mountain man, or
a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in
any case he is a creature of a higher order, more powerful,
and superhuman strong. The presence of such a being for a
long stretch of time in their native settlement, according to
the view of the Gilyak, who is convinced of the constant
conspiracies of crowds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threaten-
ing his life and health, must be extremely beneficial. The
presence of this mighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant,
must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

Kreinovich--6 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

25 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
76 must often get out on the floes for it is not always convi-
54 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
61 If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
25 are five oarsmen, one pila:and one other man, then the pila:
76 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
61 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
85 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example:
if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if
both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the
oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving
orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the
rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pi:skuk and
Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pi:skuk and
Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars,
Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them
all sits at the stern. It happens that the pila: is younger than
the extra man in the boat. In that case the pila: tends the
rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know
of such a case. Pila: Norp took along with him in the boat
old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while
Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting
at the seals and:t, to whom Norp had turned over the steering
oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting
about his work Onkan said to me: "I was sitting with-
out doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others
that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare
food. He also seems to have helped with some other things;
which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable
to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time
in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number
of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner,
he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient
degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

5 [82] As mentioned above the pila: performs mu-ziv:d
9 and t-ka:.

Mu-zi:d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
1 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern
board. The distance between them is approximately two fin-
gers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres
around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform this on hands
of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog
and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the
child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[859] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to
this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
248 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
197 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally popula-
tion of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most
remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom
at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to ensnare whole settlements in
deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable
lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting
authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the
quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have
the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi"
of different clans for a resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified
[878] Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension
and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian
administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise"
and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election,
regulating the time of the meetings, the area of their authority,
etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of vari-
ous clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect
men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected
court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

12 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
28 ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/645 cont./
521 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp
(Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite dif-
ferent character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really
857 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to
868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small
bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling
on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the
manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for
which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the
others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely
as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear
festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or
older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods,
for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent
techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the
girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and
older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handi-
crafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same
house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section
of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the
wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the
[593] household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not com-
pletely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is
almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work
falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by
the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-
purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for some-
times, as Junchin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take
a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for
the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by giving
a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal
depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate
themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another.
For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
125 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
252 784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
552 parts of the clan.

Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Ch'arvak
848 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and Ch'isk (Agiska) informed
883 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects
526 used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by
women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-k-i:mr). Also, a child
must not play with a woman's cutting knife (ian-dagd).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit
to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,'
'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a
cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the
taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that
he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow,
or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local
Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step in-
advertently over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep
into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls
are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children
are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in
play - have anything to do with implements used by women in
their tasks and that, conversely, girls must use implements
used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legiti-
mize for both men and women, virtually from the time of
birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until
recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak
rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs,
row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy,
the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the
rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreput-
able and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food,
make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous
tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dig-
nity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food.
They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury; some never do it and leave it to
chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water;
some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which
they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a
wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat
and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their
hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept
in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are
three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed.
The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed;
on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child
is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the
open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slant-
wise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother
leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to
her back.

● 868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke
but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

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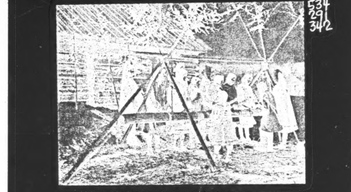

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ulchi 532
and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the 525
bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers 101
were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved
with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given
bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they
indicated the sex of the whole village, if the bear was killed in a hunt
or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so
forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a 534
primitive one-string instrument (ngyrgyd) and a jew's-harp (kazagyd). 796
During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an 871
ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks. ● 842

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu-
tion. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary,
Protof'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Maritisk; two
others were opened in 1905. By 1908 they were closed for lack of funds.
Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

871 EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM--degree of development and elaboration of formal education; prevalent types of educational specialization (e.g., schools, tutors, apprenticeship); source of support of teachers and educational institutions (e.g., fees from students, ecclesiastical aid, private gifts and endowments); systematization of education (e.g., local school boards, state educational agencies, voluntary organizations of educational administrators); degree of standardization as to levels, policies, and curricula; primary objectives of formal education (e.g., piety, morality, citizenship, vocational skills, intellectual leadership); diffusion of education (e.g., educational statistics), etc. See also:

Literacy	512	Reformatories	788
School buildings	346	Philanthropic foundations	741
Public support of education	698	Sunday schools	794

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the
648 Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be-
came the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized
to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted
several years.

807

Kreinovich--6 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

[82] Mu-zi:d

[82] ACTIVITIES OF THE AGED--regimen of the aged (e.g., diet, exercise, rest); economic tasks performed by the aged; leisure time activities of the aged; sexuality in old age; professional activities of the aged; other functions and activities of the aged (e.g., ceremonial, political); etc. See also:

Domestic authority of the aged	50	Educational and disciplinary functions	
Authentic cases of extreme longevity	105	of grandparents	603

2; Schrenck--1156 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/715 cont./ At this window,
*796 after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation
552 of a toad (Gilyak mintuch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from
826 the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see
the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the
adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to
represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig.
3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst
reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently
as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in the text.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the mis-
fortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and
finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak
heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear,
and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house,
but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may
witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a
welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal
(hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Fur-
ther proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can ex-
press only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustra-
tion appears here./

*796 Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this
252 day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the
work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the
[838] hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the
[839]

2: Schrenck--1157 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/716 cont./

Toad made out of birch bark.

*796 graybeards, as a high port of honor; the women and girls, the boys
252 and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
[838] deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
[839] fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the
[789] kettle was filled with snow for it is plain to see water for cooking
bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shaving and
fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time.
Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly
under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
[832] The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and
figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and
on the other side a toad likewise executed.

[839] The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not
until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs
and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of
the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only
then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were
fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

2: Schrenck--1158 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/716 cont./
*796 hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides
252 the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so
it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking
and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the
*796 old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat.
412 which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the
[252] house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals
[887] dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was men-
tioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from
the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached
to the bear rack in colorful confusion: pieces of fur and the skins
of paws of bears killed bears; the skins of chains with which they were
led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives
which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of
hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uing-
dthakko of the Gilyak, with which it is ulisch to cut anything other
than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a
number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The
[415] latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth ob-
[264] tained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with
the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when
consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed
discussion.

*796 The bowls called nichvy-ngir or nichyy-ngith, i.e., bear-
412 spoon bowls, are made in Gilyak after the bear (nichvy), are always
[415] carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about
[264] in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather
deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and
2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat
broth, the latter (the same piece, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat.
What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that
sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood,
and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided
with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival.
The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

2: Schrenck--1160 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/718 cont./
*796 just as it would be extremely uitsch if one wanted to fry, not only
259 bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the
[789] bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
[263] frightened. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the
broth was scooped out in a forementioned bowls and drunk, but
the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and
covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the
trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward
[782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was
about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in
front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and
were intended for the forthcoming feast.

In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old
*796 men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young
[887] people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in addi-
[851] tional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in
order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women
had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.
*796 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals
22 which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They
541 were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars
and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven
by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the
women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the
river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended
without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng.
Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while
the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat
252 into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and
fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads,
and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them
down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same
way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the mean-
time, more life and commotion had entered into these prepara-
tions for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

4; Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

225 of a small boord equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to
30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter had himself
nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the
hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.
As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a
smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after
the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears came down to rivers to treat
themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi availed them with bows or
guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears
with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season.
Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an im-
portant part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn
in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning
from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable
on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees
which served the sables as crossings.

The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century
204 replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow
[187] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and
[178] foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large
[184] animals.

214 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi at the middle of
the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi
had carried goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.
326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in
some of the villages, who refurbished Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian
metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved,
adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so
forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of
massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old
smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The
● 887 old men wore robes from bast and nettle, bulk sleds and made dog-harness.
Brow's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these
462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation
and tanning of skins, sewing and embroidery. The women processed the
skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and
ornamented clothing, made wooden vessels, gathered plant products, did
the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East Revolutionary Committee, commodity relations were quite
179 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective
433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact
of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who
lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and
other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income
from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an in-
significant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and
sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fish-
ing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 4 to 7 persons.
Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during
the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in
194 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.
22 The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; pikeia
262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

/68 cont./

respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier. Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an element of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some occasions may catch young animals, and, whenever he finds it profitable, he feeds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur, and young eagles for their feathers. Similarly, it is disadvantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more natural it would seem than to use the killing of the bear for a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast for a close person. By the way, the feeding and the killing of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth, who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible animal of their taiga, learn not to fear it, and study its disposition, its strength, and its weaknesses. The procedure for getting the bear out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting it out of its lair.

Nonetheless, it is not these crude, utilitarian motives that play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome, and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by other motives, perhaps also utilitarian, but of a quite different order. As we have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak, the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is concealed under the hairy covering of the bear, a divine clansman of the master of the mountains, a mountain man, or a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in any case he is a creature of a higher order, more powerful, and superhumanly strong. The presence of such a being for a long stretch of time in his native settlement, according to the view of the Gilyak, who is convinced of the constant conspiracies of crowds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threatening his life and health, must be extremely beneficial. The presence of this mighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant, must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

/383 cont./

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/645 cont./

and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not completely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
626
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.

868 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Čarvax
183 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and Ōisk (Agiska) informed
626 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-kəlmr). Also, a child must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,' 'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow, or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step inadvertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in play - have anything to do with implements used by women in their tasks and that, conversely, girls mustnot use implements used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legitimize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs, row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy, the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreputable and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food, make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dignity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food. They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

> 1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

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524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

871

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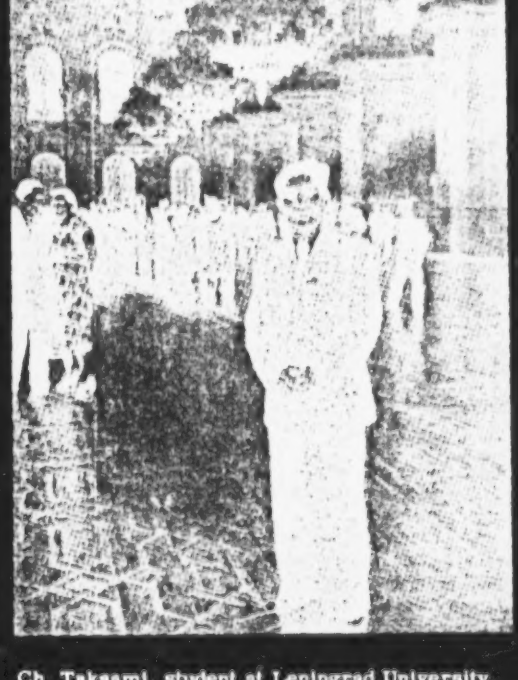
tellectual leadership); diffusion of education (e.g., educational statistics)
See also:

Literacy 212
School buildings 346
Public support of education 658
Reformatories 7
Philanthropic foundations 7
Sunday schools 7

vanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

142



Ch. Taksami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

177 648 753 871

ay the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse medical ions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most remote ive-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet government bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy among lts. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years after ablishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi young were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at cen- r the liquidation of illiteracy.

177 648 871 212

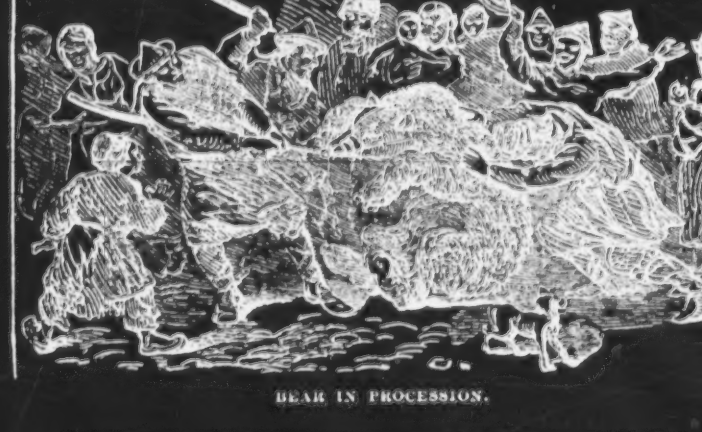
Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbooks ublished. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children were at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Nivkhi n of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only after ablishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In the of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Noglíki there -year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade schools osol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-on- ur.

22: Knox I-2 (1866) 1870

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, inclu wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me f souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyh in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

871 The school is in operation ten months of each year. superintendent said the children of the Russian peas could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The tea was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The exp of the establishment was paid by Government, with the sign of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 825 964 766 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the tempts to Christianize them have not been very succe thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among ani they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was kn of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other



BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him a once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage i

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872 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION--tutorial education; primary schools (e.g., private, parochial, public); periods of instruction (e.g., terms, vacations, hours per day, days per week, weeks per year, years required for graduation); compulsory or voluntary attendance; objectives (e.g., universal literacy); curriculum (e.g., subjects and their progression); grading and advancement; educational aids (e.g., textbooks, stationery, blackboards); ceremonial (e.g., graduation); special institutions for very young children (e.g., nursery schools, kindergartens); etc. See also:

Books and writing materials 21
Religious beliefs 77
Traditional history 173
Reading, writing, and spelling 212
School buildings 346
Music 533
Ethical ideals 577
Civics 641
Arithmetic 803
Ethnogeography 823
Informal transmission of social norms 867
Teachers 875

73 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
81 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
21 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

53 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

53 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
09 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

53 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
21 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
77 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

873

873 LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION--existence, number, and variety of institutions on the secondary and college levels devoted to instruction in the liberal arts; special objectives (e.g., inculcation of aristocratic ideals, preparation for democratic leadership, refinement of personal tastes, preparation for rational choice of careers); sources of financial support; administration; scholarships; curricula; courses and terms; educational aids (e.g., libraries); grading and advancement; degrees; ceremonial (e.g., commencement); student organizations; extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, politics, debating); special institutions (e.g., finishing schools, adult education); etc. See also:

Fine arts	53	Esthetic ideals	517
Humanistic studies, philosophy, and science	81	Public lectures	544
Ideas about nature and man	82	Student uprisings	664
Cultural participation	184	Mathematics	808
Libraries	217		

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
[463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
474 many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

[641] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races. The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

[182] The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
562 Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women ~~and girls~~ were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

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881 PUBERTY AND INITIATION--ideas, beliefs, and practices associated with first emissio seminis and first menstruation; rites of passage at or near puberty; prevalence of special initiation rites for each sex; ceremonial sponsors; function and purpose of ceremonial; mystery and seclusion; taboos; ordeals and tests; inculcation of secret lore; special instruction in sex life; ideas of death and rebirth; etc. See also:

Age at puberty 145
Mutilation 304
Masks 532
Bullroarers 534
Age-grades 561
Initiation into clubs and secret societies 575
Tests of marriageability 582
Artificial kin relationships 608
Concept of reincarnation 775
Taboos 784
Religious confirmation 795
Religious ceremonial 796
Menstruation 841
Sex training 864

888

STATUS AND TREATMENT OF THE AGED--cultural definition and explanations of old age; idealized and derogatory evaluations of old age; conception of the ideal old man and old woman; symbols and synonyms for age and longevity; prerogatives and disabilities of the aged; special exemptions (e.g., from legal sanctions, from taboos); etiquette toward the aged; treatment of the aged (e.g., exploitation, neglect, obedience, respect); support of the aged (e.g., investments, fees for services, annuities, pensions, assistance from relatives); care of the aged; customs of abandoning and killing the aged; etc. See also:

Investment 454
Insurance and annuities 466
Age stratification 561
Etiquette 576
Status of widows 589
Family relationships 593
Polygamy 595
Legal liability 672
Incidence and relief of old age dependency. . 737
Social insurance 746
Last favors before death 763

/113 cont./

596 Finally -- and this is particularly necessary to note -- it is not at all obligatory that at the head of large families with a common economy there should be elders in years; most frequently, on the contrary, they are young people who have distinguished themselves by their activity, resourcefulness, and zeal, in a word, by their personal talents. Old men enjoy /114/ authority only with regard to special questions, as the preservers of traditions, as experts in the rituals and history of the family-clan relations. They are consulted on confusing questions of kinship and in the giving of names; it is they who must supervise the ritual aspect of festivals, but this does not give them any power or advantages.

596 ●888

* 614 622 And that which is absent in the family -- the despotism of the eldest, the head -- is also lacking in the clan. It knows neither despotic elders-patriarchs nor any permanent authorities in general, collective or individual, neither elected ones nor any by right of birth and inheritance.

* 614 The clan is not a fiction, however; it is a complicated institution, surrounding the Gilyak with a thick net of regulations, prohibitions, and obligations, but at the same time providing him with all the benefits, material and spiritual, of a firm social union.

We thus return to the question that we raised at the end of the preceding section. Where are the driving forces of the mechanism of this almighty institution -- the clan, where is the secret of the amazing combination of the closest community with a complete absence of despotism, of all-embracing wardship and regulation with the absence of compulsion and the maintenance of individual freedom?

This secret is contained in two conditions: 1) the simplicity of economic conditions and relations, which offers a broad scope to the comprehensive development of the powers and abilities of the individual and their free application to the wide-open gifts of nature equally free to all; and, secondly, the entire socio-religious world-outlook, which quite spontaneously, without any external pressure, directs the will and activity of each toward the harmony of the common interest, substituting for external compulsion the force of the inner consciousness of each.

/715 cont./ At this window,

* 796 532 825 after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation of a toad (Gilyak mipitsch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig. 3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

> 2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

> 3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear, and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house, but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal (hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can express only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustration appears here./

* 796 252 Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the

● 888 887

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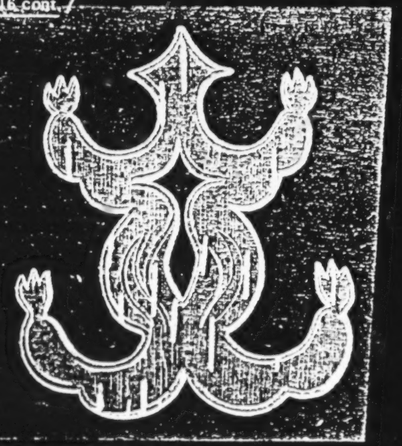

Toad made out of birch bark.

716 graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys
252 and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
888 deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
887 fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
784 similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the
kettle was filled with snow for it is ulïtsch to use water for cooking
bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and
fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time.
Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly
under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
532 The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and
figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and
on the other side a toad likewise executed.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not
887 until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs
and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of
the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only
then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were
fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

7: Kreinovich--23 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be
cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned
from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet
from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of
one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides
is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a
bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process
of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide
with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet
with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a
large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with
her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ŋɔ̃χ) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep
trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet
begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to
give a more detailed account of the process which takes
place in the suet). This yellow fat (tõm) flows out of the
suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is
either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted
fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the
melted suet (taχ) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by
the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the
Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up
to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder.
Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

●888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing
the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it
was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the
heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a
certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of
which are the old people.

193 [93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common
the sound combination hem and differ in their respective
endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male
and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo
where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they
call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dial-
ect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient
forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

9: Hawes--258-259 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 574, 577, 888

"The Gilyak expects and finds a welcome almost everywhere, since he has relations, members of his khal, at every other village. Hospitality is not a virtue, but an obligation, and few there are who take unfair advantage of it. The guest of to-day may be the host of to-morrow. Those who are too aged to hunt are supported by the exertions of the younger generation, and even they can slice and [259] clean fish in the season. There was one notable exception to these old people, who did travel, and who having no relations nearer than the mainland went about begging. Of him the Gilyaks were very much ashamed, and I feel almost guilty of a breach of confidence in making public this skeleton in their cupboard. His proper name was Poeikan, but he can no longer be called by that, for he has disgraced it, and so he goes by the title Pillanütsich, or the 'Grand Old Beggar.' "

and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

[222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

The quiet way in which several families live in one house, or more accurately, in one room, already points to peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.